

START

The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

REEL

40

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 40

Correspondence

April 1, 1937, to July 31, 1937

Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

Cambridge, England

The Emma Goldman Papers Project

Editors

Candace Falk, Ph.D.
Editor and Director
1980-1991

Ronald J. Zboray, Ph.D.
Microfilm Editor
1984-1990

Alice Hall, J.D.
*Associate Editor,
Government Documents*
1987-1991

Daniel Cornford, Ph.D.
*Associate Editor,
Correspondence Series*
1989-1990

Administrative and Program Staff

Sally Thomas
Administrative Analyst
1985-1991

Ami Samuels
Administrative Assistant
1990-1991

Jennifer Collins
Administrative Assistant
1989-1990

Susan Wengraf
Exhibit Designer
1989-1991

Research Associates

Robert Cohen, Ph.D.
1987-1991
Dennis McEnnerney
1985-1991

Sarah Crome
1980-1985

Barbara Loomis, Ph.D.
1988-1989
Tom Peabody
1990

Production Editors

Stephen Cole, Ph.D.
1991

Ellen Ratcliffe
1986-1989

Jennifer Smith
1988-1990

Kurt Thompson
1987-1990

Editorial Assistants

Brigida Campos
1990-1991

Colleen Colter
1990-1991

Oz Frankel
1990-1991

Christopher Gales
1990-1991

Robert Geraci
1991

Susan Grayzel
1987-1989

Marilynn Johnson
1989-1990

Leigh Anne Jones
1990-1991

Michael Katz
1990-1991

Sherry Katz
1987-1988

Joanne Newman
1985-1989

Kristin Penner
1990-1991

Julia Rechter
1989-1990

Rachel Rivera
1989-1991

Maxine Snow
1989-1990

Françoise Vergès
1990-1991

Jessica Weiss
1989-1990

International Search Coordinators

Brenda Butler
1986-1990

Karen Hansen
1985-1986

International Researchers

Henrik Berggren
Miguel Flamarich I Tarrasa
Barry Pateman

Furio Biagini
Rebecca Hyman
Elizabeth Station

Maria José Del Rio
Professor Lu Zhe
Susumu Yamaizumi

Wolfgang Haug
Gactano Manfredonia

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.
Alexandria, Virginia; Cambridge, England; Paris

Copyright © 1990 by
The Emma Goldman Papers

Documents included in this publication have been reproduced with the permission of the archives in which the original documents are located.

Documents from private collections have been reproduced with the permission of the successors and heirs of the collections. Every attempt has been made to contact all successors and heirs of the private collections.

The arrangement of the pages on microfilm is the property of Chadwyck-Healey Inc., and no copy of this complete reel of microfilm may be made without the written permission of Chadwyck-Healey Inc.

Contents

Reel 40

Correspondence: April 1, 1937, to July 31, 1937

- [Letter, 1937 April? Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor.
- [Letter, 1937 April?] Jerusalem [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mary Feivel.
- [Letter, 1937 April?] Jersey, C[hannel] I[slands to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry.
- [Letter] 193[7 April?] Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Pedro Herrera].
- [Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April [London to Brian?] Howard, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April [London to] G. Goodhart, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April [London to] F.W. Gaisberg, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April [London to] Lynton Hadley, Upper Warlingham [England] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 1937 April] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].
- [Letter, 1937 April] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 1 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] Sybil Thorndike, Brighton [England] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] B[oris] Yelensky, Chicago / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 1, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 1 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Rose Pesotta, New York / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 2 [London to] Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Zelda Kirschner, Jerusalem / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937] April 2, Brighton [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Sybil Thorndike.
- [Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway.
- [Letter] 1937 April 2 [New York to] Emma G[oldman], London / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 3 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 4, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman].

- [Letter] 1937 April 5, Birmingham [England to] Emma Goldman, London / Barry Jackson.
- [Letter] 1937 April 5, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[homas] H. Bell.
- [Letter] 1937 April 5, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Thomas H. Bell].
- [Letter, 1937 April 5, Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Thomas H. Bell].
- [Letter] 1937 April 6, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Federación Anarquista Ibérica.
- [Letter] 1937 April 6, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter] 1937 April 6, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [W.S.] Van Valkenburgh].
- [Letter, 1937] April 7, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 8 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 8 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 8, Sneek [The Netherlands to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P. Fijlstra.
- [Letter] 1937 April 8, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1937 April 10, Mundesley [England to] E[mma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson.
- [Letter] 1937 April 10, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London [fragment] / Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.
- [Letter] 1937 April 10 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].
- [Letter, 1937 April 10, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].
- [Letter] 1937 April 11 [London to] Maurice Brown, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 12 [London to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 12, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 April 13, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 April 13 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 13, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter] 1937 April 13 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Flora Robson.
- [Letter] 1937 April 14, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry [Kelly].
- [Letter] 1937 April 14 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Gertrude Willoughby.
- [Letter] 1937 April 15, St. Tropez [to] E[mma] G[oldman], Paris / F. Pélet.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 15 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Arthur Hanson.

- [Letter, 19]37 April 16 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 16, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / J[ohn] C[owper] Powys.
- [Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldma[n, London] / David Antona.
- [Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].
- [Letter 1937 April 17] Chicago [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / B[oris] Yelensky.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 18, London [to Louis] Golding, [London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 19, London [to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 April 19 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].
- [Letter] 1937 April 1[9, London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 20, London [to] Morris, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 20 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 April 20, London to Augustin Souchy, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 21, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter, 1937 April 21 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.
- [Letter] 1937 April 21, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter, 1937 April 21, Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / [Nemesio Galve].
- [Letter] 1937 April 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 22, London [to Monica] Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 22, Towanda [Pa. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rocker].
- [Letter] 1937 April 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter] 1937 April 23, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.
- [Letter] 1937 April 24, London [to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 24 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Alma V. Finnmore.
- [Letter, 19]37 April 25 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 25 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 25 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 27, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Claro J. Sendon.

- [Letter] 1937 April 27 [Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / C[laro J. Sendon].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 28 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] P. [F]ijlstra, Sneek [The Netherlands] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen] Wales / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Martin Secker [and] Warburg [Ltd., London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] E.A. Kirschner, Tel Aviv / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 April 30 [London to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 April 30 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg.
- [Letter] 1937 April 30, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1937 April 30 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / N[emesio] Galve.
- [Receipt] 1937 [May?] Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI].
- [Letter, 1937 May? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.
- [Receipt] 1937 [May?] Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI].
- [Letter, 1937 May? Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / [Nemesio Galve].
- [Letter] 1937 May 1, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 May 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 2, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 3, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 4 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 5, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 5, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 6, London [to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 6 [London to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to George Bernard] Shaw, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 9, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[t]lau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] Max Nettelau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 10, Jerusalem [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mary Feivel.
- [Letter] 1937 May 10, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Alfred A. Knopf.
- [Press release, 1937 May 10, New York to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Alfred A. Knopf].
- [Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 11 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 12, London [to] Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 12 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ollie] S[teimer].
- [Letter, 1937 May 13, London to] Abe [and] Selma [Bluestein, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 13 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Net[t]lau, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Envelope] 1937 May 13, London [to] Max Nettelau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 14, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 14 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] M.M. Ernst, Garden City, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Eliot White, [Roselle, N.J.] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.
- [Letter, 1937 May 17, New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Eleanore Charles-Werner.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 18 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 18 [Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / I[lse Jueneman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].
- [Letter, 1937 May 19, London to Spain and the World, London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 19, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 May 22 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Gol[d]man, London / David Antona.
- [Receipt] 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / David Antona.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].
- [Letter] 1937 May 22, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway.
- [Letter, 1937 May 22, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Fenner Brockway].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].
- [Invoice] 1937 May 24, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company.
- [Letter] 1937 May 25, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 27 [Vence, France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 May 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter] 1937 May 28 [London to] Alfred A. Knopf, New York / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 28, Paris [to] Emm[a Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Mollie Steimer].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 29 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 May 29 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 29, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 1937 May 29, London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales (enclosure, fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 29, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter] 1937 May 29, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter, 19]37 May 31 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 May 31, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy.
- [Letter, 1937 June? London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Envelope, 1937 June? London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June [London to] St. Louis Post D[i]spatch, St. Louis, Mo. / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter 1937 June, London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June [between 1 and 10] London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 1, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper] Powys.
- [Invoice] 1937 June 1, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company.
- [Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 2, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg.
- [Letter] 1937 June 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / W. Farrer.
- [Letter] 1937 June 4, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 4 [London to] Max Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 4 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [W.S. Van Valkenburgh].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 5 [London to] Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 5, Sneek [The Netherlands to] Emma Goldman, [London] / P. Fijlstra.
- [Letter] 1937 June 7 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 June 7, London to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].
- [Envelope, 19]37 June 7, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 1937 June 8, London to] Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 June 8, London to] Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Jeanne Levey, [Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 8 [London to] W. Farrer, London / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 8, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mercedes [Comaposada].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 9 [London to] Nemesio Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Statement of Accounts] 1937 June 9 [London to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 9 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R[oger] B[aldwin].
- [Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman.

- [Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 10 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 10 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill.
- [Letter] 1937 June 10, Street [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Phyllis Holman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 11 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 11 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 11, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1937 June 11, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor.
- [Letter] 1937 June 15 [London to] Marion Rosselli, Paris / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937] June 15 [New York to] E[mma] G[oldman], Paris / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh].
- [Letter] 1937 June 15, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / K. M. Murphy.
- [Letter] 1937 June 16, Paris [to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 17, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 18, London [to] The New York Times, New York / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 18, London [to] Ben [and] Esther [Laddon, Toronto?] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 19 [London to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 19 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 19 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 19 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Mercedes [Comaposada, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 21, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].
- [Letter] 1937 June 21 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].

- [Letter] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Comité Nacional, [CNT-FAI].
- [Receipt] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].
- [Receipt] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].
- [Letter] 1937 June 22, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 22 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 22, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 23, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 23 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 24, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter] 1937 June 24 London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 24, London [to] Doris [Zhook, Edgware? England?] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 24 [Crompond, N.Y. to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / Milly [Witcop Rucker].
- [Letter] 1937 June 24, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 25, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 June 25, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein.
- [Letter, 19]37 June 26, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop] Rucker.
- [Letter, 1937 June 26, Crompond, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Milly Witcop Rucker].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 28, London [to] T[h]om[as H. Keell, Stroud, England] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.
- [Letter] 1937 June 28 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / K.B. Kavanagh.
- [Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 June 30, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 [June] 30, London [to] Robert [Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 June 30, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf Rucker.
- [Letter] 1937 June 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.
- [Letter, 1937 July? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].
- [Letter, 1937 July, London to] Rudolf [Rucker, Crompond, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein.
- [Letter, 19]37 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 3, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 3, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 July 6, London [to] Fann[ie] Barrett, [Toronto] / Emma Goldman.
- [Envelope] 1937 July 6 [London to] Fann[ie] Barrett, Toronto / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 7, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 1937 July 7, London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.
- [Receipt, 19]37 July 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / V[ernon] R[ichards].
- [Letter] 1937 July 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman.
- [Letter] 1937 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 1937 July 9, London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 July 9 [London to Nemesio] Galve, Paris / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 9 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 9, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
- [Letter] 1937 July 9, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.
- [Letter, 19]37 July 12 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter] 193[7] July 13, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.
- [Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma [Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to H.? Yaffe?, Los Angeles] / E[mma] G[oldman].
- [Letter] 1937 July 13, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Emilienne Morin.
- [Letter] 1937 July 13 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest [Taylor].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 14, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Witcop] Rocker.
- [Letter] 1937 July 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
- [Letter, 1937 July 15? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
- [Letter] 1937 July 15, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouchy].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].
- [Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].

- [Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 16 [London to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.
[Letter, 1937 July 18, London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 18, London [to] Ernest [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 18 [London to Juliet] Sos[k]ice, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 18, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].
[Letter, 19]37 July 19, London [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 1937 July 19, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
[Letter, 19]37 July 20 [London to Dorothy Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to] Evelyn [Scott, New York?] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to C.W.] Daniel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to] Garden City Publishing Co[mpany], Garden City, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 20, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Mollie Steimer].
[Letter] 1937 July 20, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].
[Letter] 1937 July 20, Pickering [Canada to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ev[a Langbord].
[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to John] Anders[s]on, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to Louis Frank, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 1937] July 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / L[ouis] Frank.
[Letter, 1937] July 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ilse [Jueneman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 23, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 24, Stockholm [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouchy].
[Letter, 19]37 July 25 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 25, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 1937 July 26, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].
[Letter] 1937 July 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Secretario, Comité de Ayuda a Euzkadi y Norte.
[Letter, 19]37 July 27, London [to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / Emma Goldman.
[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell.
[Letter, 19]37 July 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ilse [Jueneman].

- [Letter] 1937 July 27, London [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / C. W. Daniel.
[Letter, 19]37 July 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Abramovich.
[Letter] 1937 July 28, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Alfred A. Knopf.
[Letter] 1937 July 28, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Alfred A. Knopf.
[Letter, 19]37 July 28] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].
[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 30, London [to] Mariano [R.] Vázquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 30, London [to] Mariano [R.] Vázquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 30 [Spain? to] Emma [Goldman], London / A. Vidali Arabi.
[Letter] 1937 July 30, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Mercedes [Comaposada].
[Letter, 19]37 July 30, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure) / [Mercedes Comaposada].
[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].
[Letter] 1937 July 31, London [to] M[ariano R.] Vázquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].

Introduction to Reels 38 through 45 (July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Francisco Franco's Fascist forces and their allies among right-wing groups.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman at a loss about the future direction of her life. "We burried [sic] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (7/1/36). She was unable to work on her lectures with the deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades to respond to. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes, she helped his companion, Emmy Eckstein, relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to get a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement. There she met Federica Montseny, daughter of veteran anarchists and during the Civil War the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s, Goldman had been impressed with Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organizations, which were among the most successful in Europe.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to follow events in Spain more closely. She learned about conditions there from several of her correspondents who had become involved with the Spanish anarchists: Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), they volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the

association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, however, and even for a few weeks into the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. Indeed, on first hearing the news of the outbreak of fighting between the military forces of General Franco and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (to Therese Souchy, 7/22/36). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (8/29/36).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, and then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French, the most commonly spoken foreign language in Spain, she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovativeness of Spanish

revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while naturally influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are all the more valuable because of the war's controversial nature, which produced grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España (PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade (12/7/36), she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them."

Another issue that Goldman faced was the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the Right were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any anarchist alliances with other organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. But she continually urged anarchists to expand their own

political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that otherwise, in the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy with its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis corrected both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Her role as a representative of an organization, the CNT-FAI, was a new one for her. Throughout her life she had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she agreed to function as an official of a large organization, an organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Federica Montseny, for example, one of Goldman's associates in the CNT, was serving as the Minister of Health, along with three other anarchist ministers. Goldman faced this dilemma with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power

used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning the central tenet of their political philosophy: that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of Fascists.

Her first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid for the casualties of an increasingly mechanized war that targeted civilian populations. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a prime mover behind the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States in the similarly charged atmosphere of the years before World War I. As before, she was convinced that she could do more in the United States to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937 she applied through Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. Without foreign aid, except the small amounts of arms

and a few advisers from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite general public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the leadership of the Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the government's "neutrality". In addition, Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions. They were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, which was formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. She worked with Vernon Richards, the son of an Italian anarchist, and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, the daughter of the Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a major figure in the CNT in Barcelona, on the fortnightly newspaper, *Spain and the World*. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies to try to correct their inaccurate reporting on the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including the poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and the neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to the Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the outbreak of street fighting in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE, during the "May Days" of 1937. The fighting, which continued for several days, began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange, the primary center for communications for Catalonia, from CNT

control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested. After the negotiated settlement, in which Federica Montseny played a crucial role, Goldman changed her initial stance of muting her public criticism of the other leftist parties in Spain. She began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the Republican government, dependent on Soviet aid, was being forced to eliminate the revolutionary programs of the CNT-FAI, that the desire to limit the revolutionary potential of the Civil War guided the Soviets' policy. They ostensibly wanted to maintain the participation of all levels of Spanish society in the Popular Front against Franco and to avoid offending the governments of Britain, France, and the United States, countries whose governments were opposed to a communist or anarchist revolution in Spain. When the left-wing socialist premier, Largo Caballero, who had resisted communist influence, was removed, along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and procommunist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings Series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri--found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days--to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened this campaign, which included attacks on agrarian collectives, to the repression of the anarchists and other noncommunist leftists in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of the CNT leaders who were trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie

Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement, who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency of the war against Franco, in which the Republican forces were taking heavy losses, made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of the constructive efforts they were making.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. A comrade from New York, Abe Bluestein, after visiting her in London, wrote her several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the Executive Committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in an article, "Political Persecution in Republican Spain," in *Spain and the World* (12/10/37, Goldman Writings Series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI, in a response to this article, advised Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the support the Republican government sought in its struggle against fascism.

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening

for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British branch of a new organization, Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to arouse support for the Spanish cause as the attention of the public was drawn to Central Europe; Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Meanwhile, after the Soviet government's indictment of the Old Bolsheviks, Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to draw inspiration once again from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (to Arthur Leonard Ross, 6/17/38).

At the same time she faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain brought fewer results.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 for her third and final visit, a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI, led by Pedro Herrera, that adhered to the classical anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter about which she was unwilling to comment. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the

Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT personnel like Mariano Vázquez to do more to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office, as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work, and she convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA. Before moving to Canada, where she planned to raise funds for the SIA, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History, located in Amsterdam, because of its reputation for independence from any government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 cataloguing his papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she thus insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists with the fall of Barcelona to Nationalist troops in late January.

The plight of the Spanish refugees detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France, however, evoked an immediate response from Goldman. She began work to raise money to help them emigrate to North America. She also began a dispute with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. Goldman believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor; their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefited the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of the groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the failure of Western democracies to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left the Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by their German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

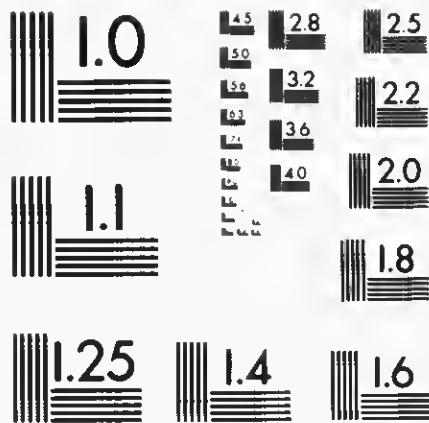
Each of these positions included differing assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to ally with the Communists in the Popular Front government. She was aware of the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties; therefore it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union. In late 1937, Goldman had been willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the strength of the anarchist movement in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, 9/7/37).

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Emma Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence Series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult reels 68 and 69, which consist of supplementary correspondence, for those documents, especially material from the

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives at the International Institute of
Social History, Amsterdam.

16X



The Emma Goldman Papers

871001083

[Letter, 1937 April? Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor. — 1 p. ; 9 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19534

My dear Emma

Tuesday

I am very sorry I did not
add my wife's amount to mine when
sending my cheque last night
I do so now with apologies for
oversight. Yours

Ernest. L. Taylor

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001226

[Letter, 1937 April?] Jerusalem [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mary Feivel.—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19707

2849a H.
Jerusalem.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am enclosing £5/-
for the women & children of Spain. This
is from my sister Zelda, Michael & myself.
I shall try to send you money for ~~the~~ Spanish
women & children whenever I can.

I hope your theatre
show was (a success?) a great success.

I feel very proud
indeed that I have met you. Please
give my regards to "Auntie" — I don't know
her real name.

Yours sincerely

Mary Feivel

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April?] Jersey, C[hannel] I[slands to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry. — 3 p. ; 13 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18114

MILLBROOK 200

RED LODGE
BEAUMONT
JERSEY C.I.

Saturday.

My Dear Emma,

Tons of apologies (as usual) for not writing you so long, but as you already know I am disgracefully lazy over letter writing. I have been very busy all January & February doing a very risky thing, namely producing Bernard Shaw's "St Joan" with a cast of amateurs: it has been a great nerve strain, as I naturally had to put in about 4 times the work on it as I would were I dealing with professionals: However, the result was amazing, and it was without any shadow of doubt a great success.

I enclose Local Papers Criticism, and they always try to pick

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April?] Jersey, C[hannel] I[slands to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry.— 3 p.; 13 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

holes in our shows if there is the ¹⁸¹¹⁵
least justification. "The Maid" gave
an outstanding performance: indeed
there are not many professional
actresses that could have bettered it.
I have never seen the local matter of
fact audiences so roused to enthusiasm
as they were at the final Curtain.

Much as I want to I
cannot manage to come over for
your concert, but wish you all the
very best of luck: keep your programme
on the popular side: don't let it
get too highbrow: don't forget it is
the money you want.

We are all coming over
for the Coronation; a sort of family
gathering: I personally wouldn't cross
the road to see it, but one must of
course, unfortunately, consider others.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870926028

[Letter, 1937 April?] Jersey, C[hannel] I[slands to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Harry. — 3 p. ; 13 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18114A

Anyhow it will only be
for 3 days or thereabouts.

My health is not good,
and in spite of most determined
efforts by various specialists, I think
I get slowly a little worse.

What a tragedy about
Sasha: the news really upset me;
what has happened to poor Emma?
Both Bronie & I liked her very much
indeed, and would like to think that
she is being cared for.

I would like to have
seen Paul, particularly as I wanted
him to fly over here and give a

recital one Sunday Afternoon: perhaps
you could ask him what his fee
would be: he would need to bring
his own accompanist.

All the rest of the family
are very well indeed, and the
country around & the garden is
looking lovely with the march of
Spring.

With Lots of Love
and again wishing you work
all success

I remain
Your affectionately

Harry

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005112

[Letter] 193[7 April?] Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / [Pedro Herrera].—
1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20066

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Durruti, 30, 6.º, 32 y 34, 4.º
Teléfono 14578

Barcelona,

de

de 193

Comrades,

We have the intention - as we already told you - to call in an International Anarchist Congress in Spain. For several reasons, we have been obliged to postpone the date of the Congress until the 11th - 17th of July 1937. All anarchist organizations are invited to send their delegates.

The definite program of the Congress - which we composed with the propositions of the organizations participating in it - will be enclosed with this letter.

The organizations should inform us about the arrival of their delegates as soon as possible. We have the intention to translate all the reports of the various organizations and publish them in three languages. Therefore we need all reports until the 25th of April.

Comrades, this Congress must be organized on different lines and on much bigger a scale than all other anarchist congresses before. Here in Spain, we have the possibility to arrange a Congress which will have a world wide reflection. We must prove ourselves worthy of our great mission. After the failure of State-Communism, the hour has come for Libertarian Communism. This movement shall conquer the world. We count on your help and on your efforts.

Our activity must not be confined to celebrating the week of the Congress only. Before and after the congress we must give the matter the largest publicity possible, hold meetings in all parts of the world, and publish pamphlets about the most important points of the program. Also create new anarchist groups everywhere.

We here in Barcelona shall hold meetings and public manifestations.

The Local Federation of the FAI is preparing for a worthy welcome for all the comrades and delegates who are coming to our Barcelona, the center of international anarchism, so famous for its revolutionary tradition.

With anarchist greetings

FED. ANARQUISTA
COMITÉ PENINSULAR
F. A.
Secretaría de Relaciones
Exteriores

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713090

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1456

April, 1937.

The Editor,
The Manchester Guardian.

Dear Sir,

As an old reader of your paper I have always been keenly interested in its contents. I have always felt that it is the only liberal paper in this country, liberal in the true sense and not merely in pretence. I have been particularly struck with your fairness to anarchists and anarchism. That is more than I can say for all the other publications in this country, or the United States for that matter.

I am here as the accredited representative of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). I have been here since last December trying to counteract the astonishing amount of misrepresentations and often deliberate villification of these two gallant Spanish organisations. I would almost say that there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the so-called Left publications, and the most malignant fabrication on the part of the Conservative papers. I was therefore not a little surprised to find that even the Manchester Guardian is sadly

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713090

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1457

-2-

misinformed of the actual place of the CNT/FAI in the anti-Fascist struggle. I say misinformation because I cannot believe that your paper would deliberately misrepresent the anarchists of Catalonia. I am referring to your editorial in the Manchester Guardian of April 3rd which I unfortunately missed while on tour in the provinces; it came to my attention only a week ago.

You say in your article "On the Cause of the War": "it is remarkable, for example, (although not perhaps without an historical explanation) how little military assistance has been given by the Catalonians to Madrid during the war. The anarchist leader, Durutti was sent with 15,000 men to fight on the Madrid front, but the bulk of the valuable Catalanian resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon"....

I do not know where you got this information. I can only say that whoever gave you the story gave you a gross misstatement of the actual facts of the situation in Catalonia. Will you permit me therefore to place before your readers several facts which occurred while I was yet in Barcelona: First, as late as September 1936 the CNT/FAI submitted to the Madrid Government a plan for the immediate organisation of a Council of Defence. That was rejected.

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713090

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1458

-3-

Secondly, it was again the CNT/FAI who offered to reorganise an old depleted munition factory in Madrid and to proceed at once with the intensive manufacture of arms. That was also refused although it was known to the Central Government that the CNT/FAI succeeded in turning a famous automobile plant into a munition factory within 48 hours of the 19th July, and that it was working day and night in producing the largest amount of arms for the anti-Fascist struggle.

Thirdly, it was Durutti who went to Madrid to offer his services and the services of his marvellous international column which he had organised to begin fortifications of Madrid. He begged to be permitted to appeal to the people direct to defend themselves, their city and the revolution. That was equally refused.

One month later when the danger to Madrid became acute it was again Durutti with 15,000 men of his column who undertook the defence of Madrid. Actually it was Durutti who repulsed the first attack of Franco's Italian and German patriots of Madrid. It may interest you to know that Durutti had set his heart on conquering the Aragon front. He

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713090

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1453

-4-

worked for that day and night and he perfected his column to that end, but when the call came to go to Madrid he did so without a moment's hesitation. The heroic battle was short-lived for as you know he was killed on the 20th November. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

From the earliest beginning of Franco's murderous attacks of the Spanish people the CNT/PAI and Catalonia have contributed arms, manpower and foodstuff to Madrid, depriving its own city and population of the necessities of life and the equally great necessity of arms to defend itself. Finally it is also Catalonia that is saddled with the heaviest brunt of carrying the evacuated women and children, already numerous before I left at the end of December and since mounted into the hundreds of thousands as a result of the exodus of Malaga (incidentally it is an open secret that while large sums are being raised in England for all sorts of purposes for Spain, Catalonia as such has received precious little help) in any shape or form. That is another matter yet to be disclosed in due time; for the present I cannot emphasise enough that Catalonia has continued to strain every nerve and muscle for the needs of Madrid.

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713090

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1460

-3-

In your editorial you state that "valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon. Actually Catalonia remained without "valuable resources" because everything it could muster up went to Madrid. As a result the column on the Aragon front was condemned to inactivity against the enemy, for even the most burning faith and enthusiasm cannot make up for the lack of munitions. It seems therefore extremely unjust to charge Catalonia with having "frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon."

In other words the charge against Catalonia of having in any way sabotaged the defence of Madrid is pure invention on the part of the people who, though claiming to belong to the United Front in Spain, have left nothing undone to stab their allies, the CNT/FAI, in the back. They seem to be working overtime in spreading the most libellous rumours about the CNT/FAI. They simply cannot forgive these organisations who have been steeped in libertarian ideas for three generations, to have been the first to go out on the streets of Barcelona in July 1919 to fight the military

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

1461

-6-

and Fascist conspiracy and who have since endeared themselves to the Catalan people by their magnificent constructive work and their valour. But then the truth has a way of making itself heard sooner or later. I am certain that the time is not far when the whole world will know the sacrifice, the consecration and the fortitude of the Catalonian people and CNT/FAI in the anti-Fascist struggle and in the attempt to build a new social order amidst danger and death.

Yours faithfully,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001264

[Letter] 1937 April [London to Brian?] Howard, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

19854

Sponsors—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6829

April 1937.

Dear Sir,

Your name has been given to us because people whose race has undergone, and is still suffering, such barbarous persecution cannot but understand the terrible plight of the victims of a similar cruelty in Spain. We are therefore confident that our appeal to you will not go unanswered. Details are given in the enclosed folder.

We feel sure you will be interested in the artistic merit of the performance and equally in the humanitarian object to which the evening is to be dedicated - namely, Aid for the homeless and destitute women and children of Spain.

You can help to make the evening a great success by reserving boxes at five guineas, stalls at one guinea, or seats in any other part of the house you may prefer.

The entire proceeds will go to the Fund. All the artistes and committee members have given their services completely free of charge. Please send your order for tickets either to the Honorary Treasurer or Honorary Secretary at the above addresses. Cheques should be made payable to the Honorary Treasurer.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Howard,
80, Carlton Hill. N.W.6.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001215

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] G. Goodhart, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

19773

Spans—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6809

April 1937.

Dear Sir,

Your name has been given to us because people whose race has undergone, and is still suffering, such barbarous persecution cannot but understand the terrible plight of the victims of a similar cruelty in Spain. We are therefore confident that our appeal to you will not go unanswered. Details are given in the enclosed folder.

We feel sure you will be interested in the artistic merit of the performance and equally in the humanitarian object to which the evening is to be dedicated - namely, Aid for the homeless and destitute women and children of Spain.

You can help to make the evening a great success by reserving boxes at five guineas, stalls at one guinea, or seats in any other part of the house you may prefer.

The entire proceeds will go to the Fund. All the artistes and committee members have given their services completely free of charge. Please send your order for tickets either to the Honorary Treasurer or Honorary Secretary at the above addresses. Cheques should be made payable to the Honorary Treasurer.

Yours sincerely,

G. Goodhart, Esq.,
10, Bayley Street, W.C.1.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001272

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] F.W. Gaisberg, [London] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

19864

Sponsors—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6829

April 1937.

Dear Sir,

Your name has been given to us because people whose race has undergone, and is still suffering, such barbarous persecution cannot but understand the terrible plight of the victims of a similar cruelty in Spain. We are therefore confident that our appeal to you will not go unanswered. Details are given in the enclosed folder.

We feel sure you will be interested in the artistic merit of the performance and equally in the humanitarian object to which the evening is to be dedicated - namely, Aid for the homeless and destitute women and children of Spain.

You can help to make the evening a great success by reserving boxes at five guineas, stalls at one guinea, or seats in any other part of the house you may prefer.

The entire proceeds will go to the Fund. All the artistes and committee members have given their services completely free of charge. Please send your order for tickets either to the Honorary Treasurer or Honorary Secretary at the above addresses. Cheques should be made payable to the Honorary Treasurer.

Yours sincerely,

F.W. Gaisberg, Esq.,
42, Crediton Hill, N.W.6.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001270

[Letter] 1937 April [London to] Lynton Hadley, Upper Warlingham [England] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

19862

Sponsors—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6829

April 1937.

Dear Sir,

Your name has been given to us because people whose race has undergone, and is still suffering, such barbarous persecution cannot but understand the terrible plight of the victims of a similar cruelty in Spain. We are therefore confident that our appeal to you will not go unanswered. Details are given in the enclosed folder.

We feel sure you will be interested in the artistic merit of the performance and equally in the humanitarian object to which the evening is to be dedicated - namely, Aid for the homeless and destitute women and children of Spain.

You can help to make the evening a great success by reserving boxes at five guineas, stalls at one guinea, or seats in any other part of the house you may prefer.

The entire proceeds will go to the Fund. All the artistes and committee members have given their services completely free of charge. Please send your order for tickets either to the Honorary Treasurer or Honorary Secretary at the above addresses. Cheques should be made payable to the Honorary Treasurer.

Yours sincerely,

Lynton Hadley, Esq.,
The Cedars,
Upper Warlingham.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726178

[Letter, 1937 April] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —
1 p.; 30 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23645

Paris
148. rue d'Haugouard
Hotel Paris-Nord-Port.

Barliu —

You can see even suppose that I meant
"I don't want to have the curtains?"
Oh dear, it is just the opposite. I may have
made a mistake or left out a word? But
for in all heaven, will I ever think
of that.

I meant that auntie would
have told me, in order I should not
dispute further! You see that I did. I
promised her and could not keep
my promise.

It is a damn shame that auntie
would send you this card. It is
a greater shame that you should
even suspect me in this regard.
Well, that is enough for me.

It is not enough that I have
a hard struggle being without
work being not well without Sasha
and you make it still
more unbearable. I am outraged!

I meant I have nothing against being
anybody "especially Emma!"

If you see the fine bank line should certainly
I will never talk to you again

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726179

[Letter, 1937 April] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. —
2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Emmy Eckstein
Hotel Paris-New York
148 bis Rue de Vaugirard
Paris XVI
Ség: 39-45

Dear Emma:

I received your letter and am glad that after all you will have success with your effort in building a theatre. That is very good. I am also very glad to know how active you are and that you are speaking in all those places where you are able to get some money for the starving comrades in Spain. It is this the only way to live for you, dear Emma, and therefore I am satisfied that you have no time to think over things too much.

I had some work. I earned 400 Francs, but since then I have got nothing. I have to economise more than strictly, and I am trying to find more work. It is all not easy, but that you know and no use talking about it too much. My health is fairly well, and I am fatter than ever. But that, it seems has nothing to do with my feeling better or worse.

I am very, very touched by all the kindness I get from anybody. Be it Senia and Molly or Sania and Fanny, the latter being daily together with me and being highly interested in my welfare. Oh, Emma, that is very necessary when one has fought through what I had. I have found some relations through Kay Boyle, one of which may give me some work again. Let us hope. But meanwhile time is going on and rent has to be paid, of course. So I have to search further for work.

Yes, of course, Emma, the 700 from Mods helped me considerably. I paid off rent and things I needed urgently, little things to be attended to. And the Frei Arb. Stimme is sending every month 10 dollars for which I thank you because I know that you have procured me this needed help. I had a letter from Friedman telling me it would be the best for me to come over. But I do not know who is going to give me the affidavit. In case our Modest comes over, may be he would "marry" me, Emma, that at least I have a right to go over and then there may be after a certain time get a citizen ship. I am not going to ask Modest, but he wrote so beautifully in remembrance of his great friend, that for Sasha he may do it... I am satisfied as far as one can be with my life here, though I needed more work, in order not to tremble what tomorrow is going to be... Well....

In summer I am going to Megeve. That is so, but very uncertain WHEN. So I will see you, and I am longing to see you nice and tender towards me. I miss that terribly, I have missed that all those years. Maybe in your heart you do not mean it, but circumstances never showed me your love for me, dearest Emma.... I never will forget Venice, never will forget what I had to fight through when I needed friendship. I never can forget what Cohn told me, about my depending on you etc...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726179

[Letter, 1937 April] Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. —
2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

2364

and my throwing upon others as he said it. I cannot see, dearest Emma, that so far you had trouble with me. And I do hope I will get enough work and that my health will not break together again.....

I believe in frankness. And the one thing I really appreciated deeply in you is that one can tell you what one thinks. That is a great side of yours. So let me tell you, that I am still craving for your love and your real deep affection, which, I never can believe.

Well, dearest, do not brood about anything. Life is strange. Most people do not understand each other. We both never did. But there is within me the thing that you are a part of my beloved great own Sasha. So let us fight it out.....

All I can promise you is that I will do my utmost as I have always done.

Devotedly, *E.E.*

P.S.

Dear, ich hoffe, dass Sie die First flight covers fanden? Das ist ja die eigentliche Sammlung, die Sashenka fuer mich machte. Steckt noch Geld drin. Weil ich immer von stamps hoere. Ich meine diese Zeppelin covers etc etc...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726194

[Letter, 19]37 April 1 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23673

April First 37

My dear Emmy. I hope you understand that if I do not write often it is only because I am crowded with work and too worried because of the difficulties in England to achieve much worth reporting. If there were anything of cheer, or I could add to your comforts and health I would I suppose squeeze in an extra letter among my ever increasing correspondence. But not being in a position to help you I do not think it necessary something

I had to take the letter out of the machine ~~because~~ something important came up that needed immediate attention. But what I started to say was that since I cannot lighten your life now is there a necessity to add my troubles to it. That's why I do not write often.

I am relieved to know that you are continuing in fairly bearable physical condition. I hope eagerly it may go on. I heard through your note to Auntie that you had some typing to do but not the kind or how much the work was. With all the lit every friends say and Lawrence have you should find much to do. Meanwhile it is a relief to know that Modest sent you seven hundred francs. Yes it is great of him to keep it up. I heard from Freedman of the Freie Arb. Stime that the Jewish comrades are sending you \$10 a month. But he said the money was being sent to Brno. So I immediately sent him your address in Paris the American Express Co. It is safer than your room.

I am so glad you love your room. That is half the misery of room when one has a clean and decent place to live in. At least I had that this time in London, the first time in years. Do not misunderstand I loved being with the Koldofskys. I would want for no more devoted friends as Liza and Simon Koldofsky. But the room I had was the size of the little bed room in Bon Esprit. It was impossible to receive anyone there. Besides Simon is too ill and Liza too hard worked helping to earn their living for me to have been there this winter. In Auntie's flat I have a large room and I could receive people without interfering with Auntie. Then too Auntie is an artist in economizing on household expenses. The only thing was the furnishing of the two rooms which while not much was yet a big load to carry. However, now I have two households Bon Esprit and London. I wish I had hopes of getting rid of the former as it will be easy to rent the latter. In fact if I could do not now I would get a good price for the furnished part because of the Coronation. Masses

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726194

[Letter, 19]37 April 1 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23674

are flocking to London, to see this circus that will cost millions while the unemployed are starving. But as I am not yet sure when I will return to Spain or how long I will have to remain there I cannot risk remaining without a roof. I am waiting to hear from the comrades in Barcelona and Valencia. I will then decide.

Naturally I will see you when I pass through Paris though I will not have time to remain for more than a few days on my way to Barcelona. But returning to England I will ~~have~~ not be so rushed. So unless you have joined Kay I will see more of you than on my way to Spain.

Poor Auntie had a frightful winter. She was ill for nearly two weeks. Then got better. Then I was laid up with Flu and she nursed me as my adorable sister Helene used to do in my youth. Then she got bad again. In fact she was feeling so wretched it was impossible to let her go by rail. She went by boat. A Dr. friend of hers who had also treated me and David G. took her to the town where the boat was sailing from the night before, last Friday. I felt so relieved when I got a note from her written before she sailed that she had had a good night and hopes she will improve on the way. I am sure she will. You see dear kid my energy is often too much for you. I fear it was also too much for Auntie. But one cannot begin to change at 67, can one?

Saturday I am leaving for Bristol. I had one marvelous meeting there five weeks ago. I raised hundred pounds for the Spanish homeless and suffering women and children. Now the comrades have arranged another one. I will be back Monday afternoon.

Should you see Eve Adams and Bella give them my affectionate greetings. I know I am a pig. I have not written them. I will soon. I am inclosing a copy of a letter to an old friend of mine and I hope you will see what a dreadful time I had getting up a theatre entertainment. But its going to take place anyhow. The 25th of April and Paul Robeson will sing. I hope it will be a great success for the struggle in Spain.

Goodby my dear and do not grow impatient if I am not punctual with letters

affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005282

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] Sybil Thorndike, Brighton [England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1st April, 1937.

Dame Sybil Thorndike,
The Theatre Royal, Brighton.

Dear Sybil Thorndike,

I learn to-day that you are playing in Brighton this week. As it is very important that I should reach you, I am going to send this letter by Express. Will you be good enough to reply by telegram at my expense? The haste is due to the following:--

In spite of all the efforts I made to have our theatre venture on April 11th, I couldn't carry it through. I am not going to burden you with an account of all the difficulties that arose, which made it quite impossible to hope for a successful affair at The Victoria Palace on April 11th. Not the least among the drawbacks was the unfortunate failure of Mr. Alfred M. Wall to get the people of the stage he had set out to do.

That and other unfortunate experiences having decided me to postpone the affair to the 25th April, I am very fortunate in having secured the promise of Paul Robeson to sing at the affair - and we have other musicians who will participate. But we want you very much indeed. You will probably be through with your tour by April 25th. Will you consent to let us put your name on our bills, streamers and posters? - etc.

Not having lived long in England I had no idea of the many restrictions from the L.C.C., of Sunday evening theatre performances. We had the promise of Miss Flora Robeson with a company of 15 people to appear in their 40-minutes' Play - given in evening dress without any settings except the tables and chairs. But we could not even have that.

So if you will be kind enough to consent to appear on the 25th it will have to be in some reading of any Play you care about. Anything that you will do will be satisfactory. It is your name and your great reputation as an artist which will

-P.t.o-

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Impress people.

I implore you in the name of the homeless and suffering women and children of Spain to consent.

Please wire me yes or no.

If this letter should reach you in time and you care to write, you might do so. The letter would reach me to-morrow. But I don't want to burden you shortly before your performance to-night, so I would really prefer a wire - at my expense.

Sincerely yours,

Shirley F. Love, owner

admission India-150

your name and your great reputation as a writer which will
about. I think that you will do well to continue to do
best. I will have to be in some way of any first you do
So, I will be kind enough to continue to appear on the
future could not even have been
evening dress without any recognition of the ladies and that
of 12 people to be in their to-morrow. Play - this is
freedom. - He had the feeling of Miss Jane Johnson in the company
needed to be from the L.C. of Sunday evening in the future
- that nothing lived long in which I had no idea of the way
here in our little, strange and noisy - also.
your hour by April 1931. Will you continue to let me hear from
we want you very much indeed. You will probably be through with
still - and we have the magnificent who will be in the future.
in having secured the position of Paul Johnson we find at the
to postpone it until the next year. I am very anxious to
first and the intention to expand it as we decided in
to rest the people of the future. I had not out of 1930.

— 1954 —

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522014

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] B[oris] Yelensky, Chicago / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

1st April, 1937.

Mr. B. Yelensky,
3,332, Potomac Avenue,
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

Dear Comrade,

I really don't know whether you owe me a letter or if I am in your debt. If the latter is the case, you will have to forgive the delay. I have been overburdened with work for Spain since my return to England.

It is not only the amount of work which consumed me. It is even more the insurmountable difficulties in the way here, against our Spanish comrades. I am sending you some enclosures, copies of letters recently written. They will tell you the sad tale. There is hardly a hand in any Party that is not raised against the CNT-FAI. The same prevails in Spain itself. The only difference is that it is underground in Spain; it is open here. Every political Party, — whether Labour, Trade Union, Socialistic or Communist, they all hate us and there is nothing too vile that they would not use against us. The only solitary exception has been the I.L.P., but then they have never been steeped in the "Talmud" of Marxism. They never were fanatics; they also have an ulterior reason to make overtures to the CNT-FAI. It consists in their adherence to the POUM. They know that the POUM is being persecuted and that the only people who are defending it are the Anarchists. Of course they are not doing it because of their love for the POUM, they are defending these people out of a sense of justice and because they are being ferociously attacked by the Stalin gang within Spain and outside of it. It is of course stupid to call the POUM 'Trotskyists'. Trotsky himself has repudiated them. They are in point of fact in the opposition to the Stalin régime — but that is all.

However, that is quite enough; to be hounded into the grave by the modern Torquemado, Stalin, and his satraps all over the world. Anyway, it is impossible, for a supreme effort to reach people in England in behalf of the struggle our comrades are making. But you will gather all that from the copies I am enclosing.

-----1-----

P.t.o.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522014

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] B[oris] Yelensky, Chicago / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Mr. B. Yelensky.

-2-

1-4-1937.

I have not time to write Comrade Irving S. Abrahams. Will you please give him the following message:- I tried to enlist the co-operation of a few people in behalf of your 50th anniversary of the death of our comrade but I have not succeeded. Some said they did not know anything about it and would have to look it up - for which they have no time; and others refused. The last refusal came from Bernard Shaw. Among other things he said that he did not believe in digging up the dead past when so many terrible sacrifices had been made in the last fifty years. He does not believe in the importance of any individual death compared with the cheapness of life during the war and since. He also ventured to suggest that Anarchism is dead. That instead of bothering with the past I should turn to the future. I should talk about Fascism and Sovietism - meaning of course that I should show how superior Sovietism is to Fascism. I have not yet answered his letter. I will soon. You bet I will pay my respects to Mr. Shaw! Some day I may publish his letter. I cannot do it now nor is it important for your undertaking for 11th November.

The main thing is that he does not want to participate in the Anniversary in any form. I am terribly sorry, dear comrade, that I have to admit failure, but if you and comrade Abrahams would know the difficulties in moving the English in behalf of anything connected with our ideas you would appreciate that I have not failed you, even if I did not succeed in getting any help.

I received a letter from Comrade Freedman and also from Mark. Both have written that the Jewish Anarchist Federation have asked me to represent them at the International Anarchist Conference in Barcelona, the first week in May. I have since received a credential from Comrade M. Grishkan. I don't know at this writing if it will be possible to get to Spain. The French border officials are acting like former Russian Cossacks. They make it extremely difficult to get past the French border. Nor do I know whether the Conference will take place the first week in May. I myself have suggested postponing it for a month. The difficulties of getting to Spain may be lessened by then, but I have not yet heard from the comrades. We will see.

I have heard from New York that the Libertarian Group is sending comrade Blueston to the Congress as a delegate. I expect him here next week. I wonder is anyone going from Chicago? If not,

PTO.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522014

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] B[oris] Yelensky, Chicago / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

1st April, 1937.

Mr. B. Yelensky.

-Page 3-

would the Free Society group want me to represent them? In that case, it would be necessary for them to send me their resolution as indeed the Jewish Anarchist Federation will do. But you will have to let me know very soon.

Dear Comrade, I have just looked over my unanswered file of letters and I discover that I am in your debt, disgracefully so. Your letter was dated December 29th and should have been answered ages ago but I have already explained why I have not written.

As regards the unfortunate stand taken by our Spanish comrades in relation to Russia, I quite agree with you that it is a terrible thing - not only because it is in a measure a betrayal of our comrades in Russian prisons, but also because it is reacting very badly on the Spanish comrades themselves. From whatever angle one considers it, and of course their step was due to the imminent danger of Fascism, the fact that Franco was and still is at the throats of the Spanish people does not minimise the unfortunate step taken by our comrades. I can only tell you that I have protested against it. I didn't know the full details when I was in Spain. I have since learned that the damnable gang in Russia offered assistance in the way of arms and food supplies to the Spanish Anti-Fascist forces, only on condition of a complete stoppage of Anti-Fascist propaganda. If the CNT-FAI, had been the only organization engaged in the struggle, I don't believe our comrades would ever have made that concession, but you must not forget that they are but one fraction of the Parties allied in the Anti-Fascist struggle. Had our comrades refused and Russia would have abstained from sending arms, it is reasonably certain that Franco would already now be in possession of Spain - which would have meant the extermination not only of the CNT-FAI, but of half of the Spanish people. I imagine that the CNT-FAI, felt it could not take such a responsibility on its shoulders.

It goes without saying that they would have been held responsible for the triumph of Franco but I do not believe that even that was the deciding factor with the CNT-FAI. It was more the feeling that if they will refuse they will jeopardise the lives of millions of people

P.t.o.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522014

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [London to] B[oris] Yelensky, Chicago /-[Emma Goldman]. -
4 p.; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

-4-

Continuation of

and the marvellous constructive effort they have made. Mind you I am not excusing the concessions; I am only explaining the possible motivations which induced our comrades to go back on our imprisoned comrades in Russia and on their own traditions.

We all have the unfortunate tendency to say emphatically what we would do if we were in the position of the other fellow but actually no-one knows in advance how he would do, until he has reached the psychological necessity. I am certain that the CNT-FAI, never imagined it would make compromises but with the knife at their throats they acted as perhaps we too would act in their shoes. Deeply as I feel the injustice against our Russian comrades I cannot condemn the CNT-FAI, not while they are sacrificing themselves on the altar of Anti-Fascism. Their struggle is heroic, their courage beyond belief and their revolutionary spirit as warm as flame as it ever has been. It is really the latter which makes me plead with you and all the comrades not to be too harsh in your judgment against our Spanish comrades.

About my going to the States, don't build too much on it. The letters I receive from the friends who are trying to get me a visa are not very encouraging. The only thing I know is that they go on trying. The idea is to begin the real intensive work after Congress retires. I don't know whether I ever told you that when an extension was tried for last time we were told that as long as Congress is in session I could not be permitted to travel up and down the country lecturing. It has therefore been decided to wait until June when the Congress sessions end and then try for a visa for me to come to America in August, which would give me a few weeks for a much-needed rest before starting out on a cross-country tour.

I quite agree with you dear comrade that my last visit was miserably mismanaged. I paid dearly for having consented for the 1st time in my life to go under management. You bet it won't happen again but as I said I don't build on it too much. Go on writing me at my address and please do so as soon as possible, especially if any of the groups in Chicago would care to have me act for them at the Conference. With fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Fraternally,

(Enclosures)

Accredited Representative of the CNT-I

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 1, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London April First 37. ¹²³⁹⁵

Secretaria,

Comite Nacional
Confederación Nacional
del Trabajo
Calle Landerer
Valencia Spain.

Dear Comrades.

I have sent you a long letter March 11th with our comrade Vidal. But as he has been detained in Paris this letter may not yet have reached you. In any case I am inclosing another copy of this letter.

Some weeks ago I received a letter from comrade Galvez informing me that you wanted me to attend the Conference of the Second International held in London. I was very much surprised that you actually believed that the members of the second International would permit me, an anarchist and the ~~repr~~ representative of the CNT-FAI to attend the private ~~xxxxx~~ sessions or to participate in their public demonstration. I happen to be sick when Galvez letter arrived. But even if he had been well it would have been a hopeless effort to reach the people who have hated the anarchists and have attacked them ferotiously since the days when Marx and Engels attacked Bakunin. And what is more, men like Citrin, Bevin of the British Labor Party are as bittely hostile to us to day than they have always been.

What is more to the point the Spanish delegates from the U.G.T do not seem better. They too hate the CNT. And ~~what~~ however they may hide their hatred against you dear comrades in Spain. They are not so particular outside of it. The following example should convince you of the unmistakable attitude of the Spanish delegates. The comrade who is editing our paper SPAIN AND THE WORLD was in the Socialist bookshop in London when some of the delegates to the second International arrived. he was introduced to them. So they knew perfectly well that he is an anarchist faithfully working for the Spanish Revolution and the anti Fascist struggle. Nevertheless they did not hesitate to inform him that the CNT-FAI had played no part of importance July 19th, they they were losing in numbers, that they are sabotaging Madrid, and that they were actually shooting peasant who will not join the collectives. Now if these men could do such an outrageous thing to a young comrade of twenty one. What must they have reported to the Conference? In other words it is important you should know dear comrades that your so called allies are only too willing and too ready to stab you in the back even before Fascism is conquered. It requires no great imagination what they will attempt to do after.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918188

[Letter, 19]37 April 1, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12396

2

The truth of the matter is that Franco, Mussolini, Hitler and the rest of the Fascist and reactionary powers are not the only enemies of the CNT-R.I. The British Labor leaders and Trade Unions and even more so the Communists are all working intensely to misrepresent and lie about you and your heroic work. The Communists have spread the dastardly rumor that that CNT has and is sabotaging the defense of Madrid. I was confronted with this only last night at a public meeting. In fact I am being asked this question by all sorts of people. If at least the so called Left Press could be reached I would write to explain how utterly false it is to charge the CNT with sabotage of Madrid and with all the other lies. But every ~~xxxxxxx~~ every letter of protest I have sent has been ignored. This will prove to you the difficulties confronting my campaign here for the CNT-R.I.

Please do not think I am discouraged. One does not devote forty eight years to our movement to lose courage because of difficulties. I am going ahead just the same with large meetings, with a Manifesto to the British workers, with a large theatre affair to raise funds for the refugees. And with a lot more. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Compared with your gigantic labors this seems hardly worth mentioning. I have done so that you may not think I am losing faith. Not at all. As long as your gallant fight is going on I will go on and you can rest assured I will leave no stone unturned to make your cause and your sacrifices known in England.

In your first and only letter I have from you you sent me a questionnaire which you had answered to the workers who had visited you. I have had it translated ~~xxx~~ But I have been assured by our comrades who belong to trade unions that it would be useless to send it out from here to the various Labor bodies. It will never reach the rank and file. They suggested that they would get a list of the branch organizations and that the questionnaire together with a short letter inviting Labor missions to visit you should be sent out from Valencia. Just as soon as I get the addresses I will send them to you together with an English copy of the letter.

When I ~~xxxx~~ told the comrades of the Comité regional about my going to England as the CNT-R.I. representative I had no idea what can be accomplished in England. I said I would try it for two months. I am now convinced that a great deal can be done. But it would be necessary to go back to Spain to give you a verbal report of all that should be done. Many things have come up that caused considerable confusion. For instance, different people who came here from Spain with credentials from Santillan ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ who seem to me incompetent, and there were other things that should really have gone through the London Bureau of the CNT-R.I. I find therefore that it is really important I should go back to Spain, go on to Valencia to give you a full report and to submit a plan for intensive systematic propaganda for the CNT-R.I. Another ~~xxx~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918188

[Letter, 19]37 April 1, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12397

3

reason for my return to Spain is the International ~~Conference~~
Anarchist Conference. I want to attend it and I have been asked
by the Anarchist Federation of America and groups in Canada to
represent them. Lastly but very important for my further use
fulness here is to get new impressions of the situation in
Spain, of the magnificent defense of Madrid and other parts of
Spain and of the constructive work carried on by the CNT-FAI.
I hope you agree that all this is important. I have written
the comrades who are preparing the Conference ~~xxx~~ whether it is
possible to postpone the Conference. The embargo makes it now
very difficult to get to Spain through the French border. I
understand the border police act like former Russian cossacks.
I should prefer to go back to Spain the end of May. That would
give me a chance to remain for the first anniversary of your
magnificent victory July 19th 36. There is not much to do in
England during the months of June and July. Will you write me
soon to let me know what you think of my plan to go back to
Spain for a little while.

I had a letter from comrade Souch informing me that y
you had instructed him to let me know that I am to keep the
collections I have made so far here. I am going to prepare a
complete statement of all expenses connected with the Bureau and
the work so far carried out. I will send that to Souchy but wi
will also send a copy to you.

In the hope of hearing from you soon, write
Spanish. It will be translated.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 1 [New York to] Emma Goldman, London / R[oger] B[aldwin]. —
1 p. ; 20 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox
and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

April 1, 1937.

Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton,
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W. 14, England.

Dear Emma:

I hardly need to say more in reply to
your exceedingly vivid and welcome letter of the
16th than that I am in hearty accord with your
devoted activity and your plans.

How far anything can be done to get
you in here remains still quite uncertain. The
new Commissioner has not been appointed. Miss
Perkins cannot be approached on anything until
after Congress is over; and until her bill, not
yet introduced is passed, it would be a perfectly
useless gesture. Otherwise it well may be if
Congress runs a long time that you cannot come in
August. Only time and politics will tell us that.

If you really want a list of women's
organizations, I can get it for you, but I sup-
pose Stella is able to put you in touch with the
right people.

Ever yours affectionately,

RNB:MS.

42X11 14

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522011

[Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 2nd April, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Mark,

It certainly paid to complain about you to Freedman! - you actually wrote three pages. That means a red-letter day, which I will have to mark in my book of your and my sins. But if you thought that your three pages did me more good than one, you are mistaken. Of course when one sits in a glass-house one should not throw stones about him. My hand-writing is so rotten that I really have no right to complain about the hand-writing of others, and yet I find yours not very much better than mine. Actually, I had to get our old friend, Dora Zhook, the sister of William Wess, to decipher your letter. Next time I hope you will write more distinctly. What is the use of writing "love" letters when the other party cannot read them? So be a good boy and make an effort to write legibly.

When I asked you whether you want articles from me, I did not mean it in the sense that you would not print them. I meant that I would have to send you either the original or a copy, of whatever I do for "Spain and the World". My time is so taken up with the campaign for the CNT-FAI., that I find it difficult enough to do an occasional article for one of our papers. I cannot do separate ones for all of them. I therefore wanted to know whether you will be satisfied with a copy, as the one I sent you about the collectivized village in Elbalata?

I wonder whether Sanga sent you a copy of his letter to Borghi, which really represents a substantial pamphlet? If he has, you will know that it is a blank condemnation of the CNT. As to the FAI., Sanga was always extremely antagonistic to that organization. He has sent me a copy and asked me to comment on it. To do it justice, I would have been compelled to write at least as much as his article comprises, but as I could not take the time I wrote him a letter in reply. I have only one copy left, so I cannot send it to you. I may have some copies next week, then I will send you one. Meanwhile, I want to tell you that the gist of my letter was that I agree with the charges against the CNT., as regards the compromises it has made, especially the compromises with Russia. My objection was the method

P.t.o.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Mark [Mratchny, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mruchnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Continued.

-Page 2-

of Sanya's attack. He certainly was not as condemnatory of the régime in Russia the first four years of its existence. On the contrary, he had not a good word for the Nabat or for any other group outside of his own. He approved of Rotchin's stand and he was extremely impatient with Sasha and me, and especially me, because of my critical attitude. He showed no such patience for the steps taken by the CNT, but, as I said, I will send you a copy of that letter very soon.

All right about representing the Jewish Federation; I am only hoping the Conference will be postponed. I still have much to do before I can leave what I have undertaken here, but you will see all that and other things from the enclosed copies of my recent letters. Yes, I know you have always been a lazy person. I thought the American "speed" would put some go into you but you have remained the same old languid and charming young man.

Give my love to Johanna and take a part of it for yourself.

Emma

(Enclosures).

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522016

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Rose Pesotta, New York / [Emma Goldman]. --
4 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

2nd April, 1937.

Miss Rose Peseta,
c/o The International Ladies'
Garment Workers' Union,
3, West 16th Street - New York, U.S.A.

My dear Rose,

I was very glad to get your letter. I was beginning to fear that mine never reached you. I was so anxious to know whether you actually received the letter from Souchy. I am delighted to know that you did get it.

Souchy has a thousand irons in the fire and he sometimes forgets to attend to what he is being asked to do. I feel relieved that he was not guilty in this case.

You are certainly a busy lady, almost as busy as I am, though I am sure that you are having greater results. I am often at the end of my tether; again and again I have tried to reach people in this country. While I have succeeded in a very small measure, the effort I made was far beyond the results - but all this you will learn from the enclosures I am sending you. I am also enclosing a Questionnaire which the comrades from Valencia have sent me. It represents questions put to them by a group of working men who had been in Spain, and the replies from the CNT-FAI. I had this translated because the comrades asked me to send them out to Labour Unions. I have discovered however that it would be postage wasted. It would never reach the rank and file. The British Labour Party and Trade Unions are reactionary to the core. They hate the CNT-FAI. Of all the thousands of pounds they have collected, and the other organizations working for Spain, really not a penny has gone to Catalonia. Yet that part of Spain is standing the whole brunt of the care and feeding of the tens of thousands of refugees and homeless women and children. It may seem exaggerated when I tell you that these Labour people and the same gang at the Spanish end would rather make a pact with Franco than have the CNT-FAI. The latter are trying to defend the Revolution - which means a new economic experiment, - through their socialism. The Labour Parties don't want that. So it is no use wasting paper and postage trying to reach the rank and file through the various executives. But it occurred to me that you might be able to do something.

-1-

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522016

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Rose Pesotta, New York / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

2nd April, 1937.

- Page 2-

Miss Rose Peseta.

Perhaps you can have some copies made and send to the different Locals? - of your own organization and many others.

The Comrades have begged me to organize Workers' Unions who might go to Spain, so they could see for themselves the marvellous constructive work that has been done since July 19th. In this too I am helpless in England. The Workers are in the strait-jacket of the British Labour Party and Trade Unions. Without their leaders they cannot budge. Perhaps you will have more luck in America? Perhaps you could send out a letter to various Labour Organizations, urging them to send workers to investigate the socialization undertaken?

I realise that with the amount of work you have to do during May it will not be possible for you to get away. I myself will find it pretty difficult as I still have a number of dates in London and the Provinces, in behalf of Spain; and in addition a theatre venture for the Spanish women and children. I have been at this damnable theatre project for over 2 months. It was to take place April 11th. I had to give it up just a few days ago. My letter to John Cowper Powys will explain this part of my campaign. Believe me, it represents enough material not only for another chapter but for a whole book.

I am not surprised that your colleagues in the Labour Unions would not mention Sasha's name and his great pioneer part in the Homestead strike. Anarchism still sticks in their gullets. You will agree that Labour leaders are by no means blessed with too much courage or daring. It does not matter as far as Sasha's reputation is concerned. Whenever the history of the Labour struggle will be written, by some able person who is big enough to do a great work, Sasha's part in the struggle of the Steel workers will have to be given a large part; but it is sad indeed that men at the head of the more progressive Trade Unions also lack courage. As to Lewis, his past does not lead one to depend on his integrity too much. It is quite true that he has done a great deal to rouse up the masses in the Industrial Unions. But whatever success the I.W.W., has had, the fact remains that they, and not Lewis, have put Industrial Unionism on the map. It was merely the luck of Lewis that he came along at the right psychological moment. Whether in the end it will also prove the luck of the workers is yet to be seen. I am not one to stand for the Conservative conception that human nature cannot be

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Rose Pesotta, New York / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

- 2 -

2nd April, 1937.

Miss Rose Pesotta

changed but I hold that whatever changes in human nature can take place must begin at an early age. It certainly does not apply to Mr. John Lewis - he is too old and too set in every way to undergo a deep fundamental change and you will agree that as President of the United Mine workers his part never instilled faith or confidence. Well, the workers will have to be on their guard. They have to do that with their best leaders. I hope that they are realising that.

Oh yes, the Communists are active. Their bitterest enemies cannot deny them their propaganda genius. They know how to penetrate through every crevasse and to get under the skin of all kinds of people and all kinds of parties. You have no idea how many parties there are in England going by all kinds of names, who are out-and-out Communists; but they get away with it. In the last analysis this is not difficult to explain. If you are willing to run with the hounds, to compromise on every step, to damn Democracy one day and shout for Democracy the next, if you are ready to barter your ideas for the faiths of every Government, - then it is not difficult to reach everybody. Besides that, the Intellectuals in this country are like those in America - they are nothing but climbers; they would be the first to sabotage a Revolution were it to take place here. They are drunk with the power of the Soviet Union, because they can still remain in England free from the tender mercies of Stalin, well fed and well housed. You bet their Communism would go quickly if a Revolution in England or the U.S., would deprive them of their comforts. I respect the average Communist of the rank and file but I have utter contempt for these pseudo-Intellectuals.

To come back to the Congress, I have written the comrades asking whether they cannot postpone it say for the end of May or beginning of June. The present embargo will make it extremely difficult for some of our comrades to get through France into Spain. I understand the border officials are acting like former Tsarist Cossacks. Besides that, it would give me another month to finish up my first campaign for the CNT-FAI. The most important is my desire to be in Barcelona at the Celebration of the first year of the Revolution. If I could go the end of May, I would not mind remaining there 6 weeks for that grand event. I don't believe I could stay so long if I had to go in May, but whether I can be there for the first anniversary or not, I hope you will be able to go and take a group of worth-while Labour people along. In any event, don't wait until we can meet after Fascism will be conquered. It may take a long time until that.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Rose Pesotta, New York / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Mark Mrachnyi Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

-Page 4-

You are quite right in not writing Dubinsky regarding my
vise. It is so easy to refuse in a letter - but when you see
him personally, tell him from me that if he really meant the
tribute he gave me at the banquet in Montreal, he should try
his utmost to secure the vise. It ought to be very easy for him
to achieve results, after the help he gave in putting Roosevelt
back in the White House ~~in~~ for another four years. Before he
does anything he should get in touch with Roger Baldwin. It would
be bad to be at cross purposes; but do impress upon D, what it
would mean to me to get back to The States for 6 months, and what
it would mean to Spain. The enclosures will tell you the rest.
Don't wait so long in writing me.

Give my fraternal greetings to the Shanes. With love.

(Enclosures)

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001275

[Letter, 19]37 April 2 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19860

April 2nd 37.

Dearest, own AUNTIE.

I have been thinking of you so intensely I feel you should have felt it on your trip. It was thoughtful of you to send me the note before you sailed. It was a great relief. To know that you had passed a good night and that you were with such friends as dear Dr. Russell and David. Believe it or not I felt rotten not having gone along instead of the stupid Ortodox procedure which I had long outgrown. I don't mind if the Steinbergs have their religious spleen. That is their affair. But for me to sit through it was stupid. Especially when you were leaving. It was all for the best since a fifth person in the car would have crowded everybody. I hope you had a fairly smooth trip and that you retained your old spirit and joy of life.

You know the old complaint saying about the silver lining in every cloud. Well, the trouble with Killick and the necessity of having to give up the affair for the 11th may turn out to be the silvery part. Knock wood dearest AUNTIE. What I mean is that Mr Oscar Barrett turned out to be far bigger than we thought and a man of theatrical experience to boot. He called me Tuesday to say he would come to see me Thursday noon. He was here on the dot, and so were David and James Harrison. I thought it best to have witnesses to the transaction. Besides it was essential that our good Scotch friend should see Mr Barrett. To make a long story short Mr B. proved a wizard. He seemed to have great influence with Killick. He got him to give us the Victoria for the 25th. He made suggestions for the streamer and posters which Harrison is getting ~~now~~ reprinted. He made other valuable suggestions. He has an appointment with the Gial to day about licence etc. In short Barrett has taken the whole management of our affair into his own hands. To make sure I asked him frankly about his fee. You'll never guess what his reply was. He said "Miss Goldman I have been forced on you by Mr Killick. I do not feel justified in stating a fee. Let us make the affair a success. And then you will give me what you consider right". Could we wish for anything bigger? Both Harrison and David were impressed by Barrett's practical sense, his evident experience and his decent approach to the undertaking. So you see the "sil ver" in our clouds. Don't you?

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001275

[Letter, 1937 April 2 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19869

Last night I heard Rostal. He is truly a great artist. So we are fortunate in having him. Altogether Mrs Rottenbach who got him and Sybil Crawley for us is proving invaluable. She is now trying to get us a String Quartette and a Pianist. She sent me a list of hundred people, mostly Jewish who she thinks would take guinea seats. And she is going to interest a certain Mrs Slesinger, very wealthy Jew who might help to dispose of ~~many~~ tickets. However I am not being carried away by ~~xxx~~ the new hope. The last couple months have proven that one must not be too optimistic. I mean to work hard on my own, reach people direct. But I am sure of one thing, Mrs Rottenbach has taken a keen interest from the beginning and she will continue until the affair is over.

A bit of news that will surprise and no doubt shock you. The ladies of the Spanish Medical Aid, all Communists with ~~Wilkin~~ Elizabeth Wilkinson have grabbed my idea of a theatre entertainment and have approached Paul Robeson to sing on the 27th in Albert Hall. It must be Wilkinson since no one else of that group knew about my having secured Paul nor that he is back in London. ~~That~~ that would simply kill our affair the 25th. The Spanish Medical Aid has a host of people to sell tickets, they can pack Albert Hall as they did it for the Left Book Club. Compared with their facilities mine are piffling. Fortunately Paul is leaving for Russia the 26th. So he has refused to sing at the affair in Albert Hall. You may say "is not the work of the others also for Spain". Yes, but not for Catalonia in the first place. And in the second it is rotten to steal other peoples ideas without as much as asking permission. But that is the usual way of the Communists. In case you doubt it I want you to know that the Spanish Exhibition Committee did a similar, if not worse trick. The Committee dissolved and turned the Exhibition over to Darling Kavanaugh and some I.L.P girls without as much as phoning me about the whole matter. What hurt me most was that Fenner consented to such a breach of faith. Its rotten all around. You bet I will have nothing more to do with it.

I wrote Nellie that if she comes to London I would put her up and if she cared to keep the Aprt when I go to Spain we would arrange for it. I had a reply to say that she had been very ill and that she planned to come here in May. She might like to take the Flat she writes. You will therefore have to let me know how much to ask for it. I admit I would like to get back a little for the furniture. So when you write tell me what would be reasonable if Nellie should really decide to take it while I will be in Spain. At this moment I know no more about when I will go than when you left.

"Propos of the Flat. You told me that White who is doing some jobs for you will have to be paid £10-10. At least that is what I remember. Imagine then my surprise when he came Tuesday even before he had finished part of his job to say that you ~~owed~~ owed him £18-10. I was surprised in the first place that I would have to pay the first sum you told me so quickly. I thought it would be around the 7th. But that did not

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001275

[Letter, 19]37 April 2 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1937

19870

matter was the extra 28 he demanded. Naturally I would not do it without your instructions. And I am sorry I could not even do it then because I haven't got the money. I have overdrawn from the collection account as it is. True I have some pounds in the St Seligman Bank to make it up. Barr and Rodriguez are now preparing a complete account of all I have raised and the indispensable expenses connected with the campaign here. Of all that I am merely charging rent, telephone light, heat, secretary and such incidentals as stationary, printing and postage. And the expenses Barr had in connection with the work. I am not going to charge ~~anything~~ your ~~part~~ ~~of~~ your and my living expenses. Not from the meagrely £304 collected. I might if I could raise £1000 from the Theatre undertaking. Some check to expect that isn't it? I still have couple of hundred dollars in the Paris bank. Our living must come out of that. I am explaining this earliest AUNTIE first because you have become a large part of my life and my work. And also because I wish you to know that it is hard for me to draw another eight pounds right away. Charles was to see me to report that the Flat down stairs will be finished this evening. And that White will want the balance of his money. So please write me by return mail what you want done. Of course if you are absolutely broke I will pay the additional money. So far I have given him a check of £9-10 for two jobs. I am sorry that my first letter should contain worry about money. Please forgive me. One more thing David told me that he had written him and had informed him that she had sent you the £1-10. Why she should have done it when you instructed her to send it to me I don't know. I hope she has actually returned it to you. Let me know please.

I hope you found your place in better order than last year and that you will really have a good season to make up for whatever you may have lost. That you should have lost any thing through my bringing you here is a source of much heart-ache. But I naturally could not know the rotten trick the General would play me. Nor did I know that you had an invitation to go with Norman Douglas to Florence. As they say "my heart was in the right place". Knowing how miserable the weather is in Vence and how much you liked to get away in the winter especially after you had been so ill. I thought your coming to London would help you and me, and that the damned Exhibition would enable me to give you

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001275

[Letter, 1937 April 2 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 30 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19871

05001

are not enough. One must also have his head in the right place. And that I often do not have as you can well testify.

Dearest own AUNTIE I miss you terribly. These months with you have increased my love for you and have brought you far closer than you have ever been. I am only sorry that I am so possessed in whatever I have to do for the one thing in my life that has given it raison d'être. I have always been that way. I must give all or I can give nothing. But not every one can stand such madness. It wears them out. And I fear it has also sapped your energy. My one consolation is that you now feel the Spanish situation and the plight of the refugees as deeply as I do even if your life and your interests run into different channels. Anyhow I am glad you were with me. You see what an egotist I am.

I embrace you my dear with love.

Give my greetings to Dr. B'ek and to the two nice girls who were in your flat.

Please don't send me the addresses you want me to have. We must not lose a day to make the 25th successful. We will get out a nice folder early next week to be sent out with individual letters. By the way, the names of the people whose names you will send; do they know who I am or shall I sign Colton? It makes no damned difference to me. And as I tell you that they are being approached at your suggestion?

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Zelda Kirschner, Jerusalem / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18084

2nd April, 1937.

Mrs. Zelda Kirschner,
17, Rambam Street,
Rechavia, Jerusalem.

Dear Mrs. Kirschner,

Your letter of March 17th reached me only Friday - rather a long time from Palestine. Thank you very much for it and for your interest in me and my work.

I am terribly sorry that your letter containing five pounds was lost. I suppose you sent it in a plain letter? Unfortunately, that is no longer safe since the war. It is a common occurrence in France for money to be taken out from letters but I did not imagine it would happen in England. However, it seems that poverty is no respecter of old ethical ideas. People earn so little these days that they must needs grow dishonest though there are millions who would never dream of prying into private mail and helping themselves to its contents!

It is all right about your not being in a position to send money. Any time you feel able it will go a long way to help the homeless and destitute women and children in Spain who are daily growing more numerous. The callousness of the world towards human suffering has never been greater it seems. People don't want to be disturbed. They hug their own comforts and so-called safety too much to care what happens to others. This applies not only to the individual but to countries and nations. Also it would be difficult to explain the attitude of English people towards the frightfulness in Spain and the crying needs of its refugees. One would have to despair were it not for the sublime effort the Anti-Fascist forces are making. Verily the Spanish struggle represents an epic of gigantic magnitude. Nothing like it has ever happened; a people surrounded by enemies within and without Spain, desperately fighting on, religiously clinging to their ideal of a new social life. It is a subject for a supreme genius, to give it to the world in a work of art. I often despair in this country because of the insignificant efforts I can make but the last marvellous advance of the Anti-Fascist forces has strengthened my courage and lifted my spirit - so I intend to go on. It is so little to give in comparison to the greatness that the simplest and humblest in Spain are contributing.

-1-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [London to] Zelda Kirschner, Jerusalem / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18065

2nd April, 1937.

Mrs. Zelda Kirschner.

-Page 2-

Thank you very much for your kind offer of hospitality. If I had means of my own I would visit you and make a study for myself of the achievements in Palestine. I wanted to go over so often but I never had the means and never was and am not now affiliated with any Jewish organizations who might help me to get to Palestine. I am not worried about the difficulties. I don't think that I would be refused a visa if I went for the purpose of an exhibition, but, as I said, I have never been loaded with the world's good to the extent of travelling, unless sent on lecture tours. However, I have not yet completely given up the idea. I am hoping to see some people connected with the Palestinian work some time during the coming month. Perhaps they can help. I want so very much to go, now more than ever. Tell me of my meeting your beautiful sisters and being in touch with you.

I am delighted to know that you were inspired by "Living my Life". It has been a very painful though exhilarating effort to write it. It took me almost 3 years and gave me out of misery to go back to the past; but it had to be done. Since the book was finished, in February '35, I have lived another 25 years; so much material crowded in 7 years! The will to life seems to be overwhelming in all of us. I am no exception. It must be that which urged me on during many bleak hours, but as long as one can serve humanity one really must go on. I only wish my services were of greater use to mankind, would reach any more people than I have been able to do since I was torn out from my moorings in the United States. One does not deslittinize easily when one is growing old. I find it almost impossible to take root anywhere.

The only country next to America where I felt at home was Spain. I wish I could go back there and remain to share the lot of my heroic comrades whether their struggle will lead them to triumph or mean defeat; it is greater to go down in defeat for a grand cause than to drag on one's life to decrepit age; but my people feel that I must be here to plead their cause. I ask myself every day, what is the use?

Do not in touch with me dear Mrs. Kirschner. Give my love to Mary Falvill and ask her to get in touch with me.

Cordially,

Accredited Representative of the CNT-FAI.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726057

[Letter, 1937] April 2, Brighton [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Sybil Thorndike. — 2 p. ; 19 x 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Thea ki Royal. ²³⁴⁵⁰

Brighton.

April 2.

Dear Mrs. Goldman. I am
staying in town and not
yet. I am with the theatre but
trouble to write you. I
fear I shall be on town till
May 3rd & then sales
are out - for April 25th
I shall be playing mandolin
that week. This evening
I'm speaking for the
Spanish medical Aid

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726057

[Letter, 1937] April 2, Brighton [England to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Sybil Thorndike. — 2 p. ; 19 x 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28440

His red neck in
hottish rain.

word link to you

broken by you

Sybil Thorndike

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005283

[Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. —
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT.

Telephone: Central 3196
Telegrams: Iper, Lud, London



Secretary: A. FENNER BROCKWAY
25 St. Bride Street
London, E.C.A.

2nd April, 1937.

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road, W.14.

Dear Emma,

Thank you for sending me the statement of accounts for the meeting at Friends' House on February 19th. I am disappointed that our London Branches did not sell more tickets, but you must add the tickets sold through the Socialist Bookshop (the great majority of whose customers would be stimulated by our Branches). I notice there is no item covering tickets sold at the Meeting itself. I suppose there were some and assume that they have been included under other heads.

part /
But you must not assume that the sale of tickets for reserved seats was the limit of I.L.P. help. I am certain that a very large/ of the audience attended either from the publicity given to the Meeting through our Branches or because they were attracted by the announcement of our Party speakers in addition to yourself. At the Meeting itself our collector and stewards also contributed to the success of the collection. I do not think that 20% represents an over-proportion of the proceeds, and, after all, whether the money goes to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. or to P.O.U.M. does not greatly matter in principle.

You have a little misunderstood the position regarding the Spanish Exhibition. It has not been turned over to "Darling, Kavanagh and two I.L.P. girls." Darling, Sybil Wingate, who is a member of the Socialist League, and Edith King, who is an ex-member of the Communist Party and who has resigned from it on the Spanish issue, have been asked to act as secretaries in the merely technical matter of arranging for the sending of the Exhibition to various parts of the country. The Exhibition

- 1 -

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 2, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20276

Emma Goldman

Committee itself reached this decision to ask them to do us this service and laid down the principles under which they should do their work. These include non-interference by local Committees with the contents of the Exhibition and the reduction of the proposed charge of £10 to £5 and the cost of transport.

I appreciate what you and the members of the London Committee of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have done in connection with the Exhibition, but I don't think you are quite fair to others in your estimation of the work done. Roland Penrose and many of our members put in a great deal of time.

There are many things which I regret about the Exhibition and particularly the absolute impossibility of my taking control of details to a greater extent and watching the expenditure of money, but on the whole I regard it as a good job worth doing. I went round the Exhibition with some care and I don't think it is true to say that there was any discrimination against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I have had complaints that P.O.U.M. did not receive proper representation, but under all the circumstances it seems to me that those who arranged the Exhibition made a sincere effort to be fair.

You will know that the first purpose of the Exhibition was propaganda rather than money-raising. Unfortunately it is not true that £137 remains on hand. A debt still has to be met and in the first instance money will be returnable to the guarantors, including the I.L.P. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I., in proportion to their gifts. The decision is that if there is any balance finally it shall be divided into three parts, one-third of it going to the Sanidad in Barcelona.

Fraternally yours,

Fenner /

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305765

[Letter] 1937 April 2 [New York to] Emma G[oldman], London / A[rthur] L[eonard] R[oss].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

NOTICE: This material may be protected by copyright law (Title 17 U.S. Code). THIS COPY IS FOR PERSONAL USE ONLY.
No part may be sold, loaned, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library- N.Y.U.

April second
1937

Mrs. E. G. Colton
18, Castletown Road
London, W.24, England

Dear Emma:

Huebsch (Viking Press) returned Dr. Kaminski's manuscript for the reasons stated in my last letter to you. I have had difficulty with other publishers. I do not believe there is any further use of peddling the manuscript. Do you want me to return it to you or where shall I send it?

I sincerely hope that I will again have the pleasure of seeing you in the dear old U.S.A.

I hope that you are enjoying good health.

My family join me in sending you their best love.

Faithfully yours,

als/r

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005057

[Letter, 19]37 April 3 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19974

April 3rd 37.

Dear Augustine. This time I have been slow in answering your letter. You will admit that does not happen often. My excuse is the devil's own time I have had with the Theatre affair. I am inclosing copy of my letter to John Cowper Powys, a great English writer and an old friend of Sarah's and mine. It will give you an idea what it means arranging anything in England. Really, it is often beyond my strength and patience. But as my friends in America used to say; "she is like a cat. Throw her from the highest elevation and she will fall on her paws." Ten days ago I was on the verge of giving up my venture. To day I am going ahead just the same. I had to postpone it for the 25th. But I have some very outstanding artists, mainly musicians. And Paul Robeson the greatest Negro singer in the world. So I am more hopeful than I was two weeks ago. But it kept me so busy I had not a moment to write you, nor did I want to do in a black and desperate mood.

I have before me yours letters of March 24, 25 and 29th with the authorisation of Berneri inclosed. And also dear Ilse's short notes. I am afraid I will not be able to answer them in full because I have to leave for Bristol this afternoon. I speak there tomorrow afternoon at a Conference of I.L.P. delegates. And in the evening on the Church in Spain and Fascism. I hope the evening affair maybe as successful as last time when I raised hundred pounds. But I doubt it at the same time.

Alright about the letter you received from Valencia. Our comrades are queer. They insist on my writing them direct yet they never answer. But write to you. Not only is this a double waste of time but it is not satisfactory. However I am not going to quarrel with them. As per your suggestion I have written them. I am expecting the translation which our Spanish comrade in London is sending over to me. If it arrives in time I will inclose a copy, or the English text. You will see that I wrote them I will have a complete statement prepare for them and you of the monies I have collected and what I had to draw for the activities of the CNT-FAI Bureau. You will also see that I tried to make it very clear to them that they need expect nothing worth while from the rotten people of the SECOND OR THIRD INTERNATIONALs. On the contrary, they are doing as much harm as they possibly can. The Communists as you know are masters of boring from within. Their slander of the CNT-FAI and their deliberate sabotage of everything we have undertaken stinks to the heavens. The latest wretched piece of interference is an affair on the lines of my theatre scheme has been organised by

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005057

[Letter, 19]37 April 3 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19977

by the so-called Spanish Medical Aid, all Communist of course, in order to interfere with our affair. They actually asked Paul Robeson to sing. Now in as much as only one purpose of the Communists knew that Robeson was back from Africa and that he had promised to sing at our affair it is certain that her comrades simply appropriated the idea and also went after Robeson. Had he promised I would have been forced to give up the whole thing. Their affair is for the 27th. They have Albert Hall that seats ten thousand people. They have a huge group to peddle tickets. We could not hope to compete with them. But I spoiled their breath. I told Robeson our affair would be killed if he also sang the 27th. And as he had promised me first and has always been a devoted friend of Sasha's and mine he refused the miserable gang and he is going to participate in our ~~xxx~~ programme. It merely goes to prove what we are being faced here and how the CNT-FAI is hated.

About Berneri and Collanz. I can do nothing about it until Monday. Everything closes at noon on Saturday, and I am too much in a hurry anyhow. I will try to get Collanz on the phone Monday afternoon when I return from Bristol. But the authorisation will only be of value if the MSS has already been sent. Collanz will not negotiate or consent to do anything about the matter until he has seen the MSS. So you must rush it. Naturally I will do my utmost to get the best possible terms for Berneri and the comrades. If there is any hitch with Collanz I could cable Knopf, or find some ~~xxx~~ other publisher here. Collanz will want to make money. That's as far as his Communism goes. Well we will see.

It's alright about your letter to Alfred. But I don't see what I can do. The attacks for years have been coming from that end. I have never replied or paid the slightest attention to Alfred's stupid charges. But he got it in his head that I have influenced the group of the A.P.C.F. in Glasgow. I believe I have already written you that until these comrades came to see me on my arrival here I knew not one of them, nor had I corresponded with them. But A. is ~~xxx~~ obsessed by the notion that I have done anything against him. The fact of the matter is dear Augustine that the man has spent most of his time in the movement libelling everybody. Now I can have nothing to do with him. I have made it a rule all through my active years not to mix in group squabbles of our comrades. Sasha and I were free lances, we did our work and went our way without participating in the wretched, petty personal grievances of our comrades. We could not have done the tremendous propaganda through Mother Earth, my extensive tours and Sasha's organisational part if we had permitted ourselves to be dragged into the mire of group squabbles. And that is all which is the matter in Glasgow. I simply will have nothing to do with it. Believe me there are few things I would not do for the CNT-FAI. But the A. and company quarrel is not important enough to waste time. Especially as I know that the so-called unity with A. would be even less binding than the unity at your end. I had a letter from the fool. It is filled with his woe over an accident he had. I am sorry for that naturally. But I cannot bear the sickening sentimentality of the man. Anyhow the Anarchists in Glasgow must settle their differences themselves. I have no taste or time for such things.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005057

[Letter, 19]37 April 3 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19976

The most amusing side of the Guy Aldred, A.P.C.F. is Ethel Mc Donald. She reminds me of what Lincoln Steffens a very witty publicist said about Louise Bryant who was Hook Reeds wife. He said "I cannot understand why everybody condemn Louise ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ She is not a Communist. She only slept with one". I rather think that is the matter with Ethel. She ~~xxxx~~ is the reflex of the man she cares about. Alas, that is the case of many women in the different movements. That is of course Ethels affair. But it is more than stupid if she makes the CNT-FAI work in this country suffer for it because I am at its head. Another four weeks have past without my receiving a single copy of the English Bulletin. Not that it matters. The English your editor ~~xxx~~ uses in that unfortunate Bulletin is such that I can well forgo it. Besides, the English Bulletin is after all a rehash of the Spanish, the German and the French. And as I am beginning to understand the largest part of the Spanish papers and Bulletins I do not miss the English. But it is outrageous that Ethel should permit her amour for Guy Aldred to interfere in the work she is doing in Spain. Less you think this is the only thing Ethel is ~~xxxx~~ neglecting you are mistaken. The other night I got Barcelona. Ethel was speaking. Her voice carries admirably. At the end of her speech she announced Freedom group and gave the address. The address of Guys paper, naturally. The address even of the A.P.C.F. The only address she did not give and name she did not mention was mine and the Bureau of the CNT-FAI. Believe me I give a damn for myself. But it ~~xxx~~ goes to prove how small and vindictive G.A. is and how small he makes his women and people who work with him. No, I cannot have anything more to do with it. And I must beg you to do nothing about it. There will be time when I return to Spain. For I certainly mean to acquaint the CNT-FAI the sabotage one has to meet here from all sides.

Apropos of my return to Spain. Is it impossible to let me know if the International Anarchist Conference is really going to take place May First. Or has it been postponed? I have written you about it before I think. I have written Martin. And this week I also wrote to the Commission in charge of the Conference in Barcelona and Perpignan. I must know soon because I must arrange my affairs here. I hope the Conference will be postponed I could use the month of May advantageously for the Provinces. Another reason is that I would like to go to Barcelona the end of May so as to be able to remain over for the first Anniversary of July 19th. If it is not postpone I will have to come back because the Anarchist Federation in A. some groups in Canada and here want me to

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005057

[Letter, 19]37 April 3 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

199761

represent them. You see it is important you should let me know what is being done about the Conference.

I have no idea who the comrades are from America or England whom I am supposed to have sent to you. I wonder why Galvez has not written me and sent their names. I am quite certain that I gave no such reference to English comrades. I wrote to some in America months ago whether they could come to do English work in Barcelona. But I have never heard from them and I do not know who those are in Paris. I will write Galvez Monday. I have no time left to say. When I will learn the names of the men I will know what to do.

I will be glad to see the Spanish comrades who as you tell me are coming over in re fruit deals. What an idea of yours to speak of Left business men. There are no such creatures in existence. But I will see the English comrade whom I recommended to Santillan. He has great financial experience and he offered to establish trade relation in England. He even offered to go over to Spain at his own expense to consult with Santillan and others in re his proposition. Santillan waited six weeks then wrote me there is someone here, a Spanish firm and that he gave Darling credentials to deal with them. When I talked to Darling on the phone he informed me that the Spanish Company was not reliable and that Santillan had sent another representative a man by the name of Lane. I got in touch with this man. He came to see me. A young chap who probably knows damn little about business. He has been here two weeks already waiting for instructions from Santillan. He too said that the Spanish Comp will not permit him or anyone else to pry into their affairs. In other words it is confusion all along the line. Every paper, every Bulletin in Spain shrieks for unified control. Yet not one syndicate or organisation knows what the other is doing. I am positive that a trade bureau can be organised here that would be of value, and do business for the CNT-FAI. But it will have to be done systematically and with competent people. And it will need some means. If the comrades want me to do anything about it they must let me know and assure me there will be no interference from a dozen other organisations in Valencia or Barcelona. Take that up with them. Meanwhile I will do what I can when the comrades come.

I think I have answered all your questions. I must stop now to get ready for my trip to Bristol. Greet all the comrades for me. You never say if my dear Toto is still your messenger boy. Give him my love. And take some for yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001266

[Letter] 1937 April 4, Vence [France-to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence April 4th 1937

Dearest Emma,

This is Sunday and the first time I have had a second to write a line. Today I have been wondering how you were and hoping I shall soon have news of you. The trip out was ideal, weather perfect and the six days I spent on the boat acted like a charm. Except for writing a few letters I did nothing at all, fortunately the woman with whom I shared a cabin was Finnish and spoke no other language than her own. She was soon to have a child and reflected a gentle glow of something, I suppose motherhood developing and about to blossom, that was most soothing. The only rift in the lute of perfect tranquility was I lost two pound notes. I had them safely in my passport - all the money I possessed - and when I had to deposit it with the purser, I must have put the mums loosely in my bag, amongst other papers, et voila, I was left without a sou. The loss of the precious money was a nasty jar, but two ladies who heard of my loss offered to lend me what I needed which I thought extremely nice of them. I was so damned weak when I emerged after a couple of days in my bunk, I could hardly drag myself up to the deck, but in the glorious sunshine I seemed to regain new life. Everything was prepared for me when I arrived, the only trouble I have no one yet to help me, but as I have been asked out to every meal, the domestic calls are not very strenuous. But I must get my shop open, the place is crowded with people. Peggy Lennox has sold 1500frs of things to friends and people who came to see me. You can imagine what a Godsend the money is going to be for me. I found Dr D'Eon much better, it seems since he wrote me that depressing letter his health has improved in every way, he is free from pain and really looks wonderfully well. He is coming tomorrow to give me a good overhauling. I still feel awfully wretched and want to lie down all the time, but that will pass. The weather is glorious. I am all anxiety to hear what has happened about the theatre scheme, perhaps tomorrow there will be a letter from you. Passing along the coast of Spain, and at Gibraltar the little clump of trees that mark the frontier fascinated me beyond words. I did not feel well enough to go ashore. Some Spaniards came aboard, one charming man and his wife and child had just come from Barcelona; they told me things were in a terrible state of chaos there and although they were fervently anti fascist they said whatever happened the future for their country looked black. The stories they told me upset me a great deal. Here I find the fascist element making desperate efforts to make a stand against the "reds" and public feeling is running high in both quarters. I have been warned by several friends to keep strictly neutral, that my name is already tarnished and "we who are so fond of you must be careful of you" they say. It is all very amusing, at least one side of it is, but at the other I see stark tragedy. The stories the Spaniards told me on the ship shocked me.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001266

[Letter] 1937 April 4, Venice [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

1937

the internal mess is getting more serious and murder and persecution running amok - it would seem, if only a part of what these splendid young people told me was true, that those in power lived in a state of terror and everyone had lost their heads. I am wondering if you have decided to go there at the end of the month, you will know much more about the risks you are running than I can tell you, but I can't help hoping something will keep you in England. But what is the use of surmising? Who knows what tomorrow will bring?

Have you seen my Doeruss since I left? They way he and Barnett took me to Tilbury and saw that I had every comfort I shall never forget.

I have written this in the interlude between going out to lunch and now I am going to tea and dinner. Really I should be cleaning up my shop but I find it is useless trying to do anything until I have been fêted by my old, and several new friends. Tomorrow I must start in earnest.

My love to you dear Emma. I do hope you are able to ease off a little, just to get your second wind before you throw yourself into another fight.

Remember me to Winnie - Castletown Rd seems all so far away here, the world can change its whole aspect in a few hours. I want to get in touch with Nellie as soon as I can. Florence Parsons told me she had heard from Samy and that she suggested she should be invited to stay with them again but Florence said her ménage could not stand the strain again. Have you heard from her? Nothing has arrived here yet.

Once again my love. I never quite know what to say to you, to counsel you to go slowly or take care is like telling the wind not to blow, so all I can say is I hope things are shaping for you and being made less difficult. Write soon dear.

Affectionately

Chapman

Two letters from you this morning. The man white demanding £18 was a bit of a surprise I did not think he would have finished the bottom flat so soon. I am wondering what kind of a job he has made of it. I am enclosing a cheque for £10 to pay him, will you put the rest from the rent. I will write the agents to ask if they have let it and all is in order. It would be a nice business if, after everything has been done, the people do not take it. I expected to hear from the agents by this. Send the enclosed letter round to them, it is in the next street, near the church. Winnie will take it. I have not time to answer all your letters contains. They seem to want to be a violent competition with you. Darling news does not surprise me. I felt he was getting his nose in at the exhibition. I suppose they thought if Paul Robeson was one of their sponsors they could count on him for the concert. I do hope and pray all goes well for your show, Barrett sounds hopeful and his attitude

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001266

[Letter] 1937 April 4, Venice [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

as you relate it in no way avaricious or grasping. I feel I ought to be there to help you through with it but certainly I was all in, you must have seen that, I cannot stand a continued strain. People have flocked round me this morning (Monday) and I have done some good business, it was only be "a flash in the pan" as the Hindu once remarked to me, but it has bucked me up, that and all the friendliness and niceness of the people who have welcomed me back. Sir Hugo was my first customer to bring me luck - and you ly he did. Also I have made 400 francs for Nellie, sold some of her books. It seems yesterday she came up to Venice on some errand and heard I was back and waited about doors to see me, but, being Sunday I was asked to breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner and got home dead tired at 11 p.m. I am writing her now. What you say about the apartment should suit her, but I am afraid she is too hard up to pay the rent, just the 25 shilling a week. I am certain of this. But we shall see. About the people to approach. I don't know of anyone who has not been asked already - do you? Dr Laura Hutton and her friend might take a ticket, her address is 38 Queen Court, Queen Sq N.C. 1. Terminus 6071. Lady Gater 76 Elm Park Road S.W. 3. Flaxman 3562. Mrs Davison 117 Highland Heath, Putney common. Putney 752. The other people I know will I am sure be approached by Stella Churchill. Don't forget that Betty a number 18, is Western 5312. she will help all she can I know. I must close now there is so much to do and I am forced to death. I hope you are looking after yourself and getting proper food. Today is the first meal I have had since at my place and it has been a battle one way and another. No news of May.

Cheerio, the best of luck, keep smiling. Tomorrow they are having an another performance here. I have been bushed into it and sold 200 lbs of tickets. I expect it will be a success. I wish you were here in the glorious sunshine. When I opened my trap this morning I found someone had chalked all over the door "Viva Italy". They have got to get all right.

Lumps of love, as ever

Emma

I am returning you the money you sent me 25 16/- I thought that would save a lot of trouble. Will you see how the work has been done and pay over the whole amount. Just to save the time and trouble for me. or ask our friend Mary to do it for you.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 5^o de Abril de 1937.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Comité Nacional,
CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO,
Calle Landerer, 1,
VALENCIA, España.

Queridos camaradas; Salud.

El 11 de Marzo ppdo. os escribí, pero como el camarada Vidal, portador de mi carta, ha tenido que quedarse unos días en Paris, temo que no haya llegado aún a vuestras manos y os acompaño copia.

Hace unas semanas que recibí una carta de Galvez, en la que me notificaba vuestro deseo de que yo atendiese la conferencia de la Segunda Internacional celebrada en Londres recientemente. Me sorprendió mucho que vosotros hubieseis podido a llegar a creer que los miembros de la S.I. fueran a permitir a una persona como yo (anarquista y representante de la CNT-FAI) tomar parte en sus reuniones secretas o en sus manifestaciones públicas. Cuando llegó la carta de Galvez me encontraba mala en cama; pero aun habiendo estado bien, no me habría sido posible obtener nada de una organización que durante toda su vida ha distinguido por su antagonismo a los anarquistas, a quienes ha atacado ferozmente desde los días en que Marx y Engles empezaron su campaña contra Bakunin. Además, hombres como Citrine y Bevin, de la "British Labour Party" (Partido Laborista Inglés) siguen hoy siéndonos tan hostiles como siempre. Y lo peor es que los delegados españoles se comportan de la misma manera. Si bien en España lo disimulan, fuera de ella, al parecer, no se recatan: El camarada que edita nuestra publicación "SPAIN AND THE WORLD" se encontraba en la librería socialista de Londres cuando la visitaron varios de los delegados españoles, a quienes fué presentado. Así y todo, después de saber perfectamente que era anarquista y que trabajaba con fe por la Revolución española y la lucha contra el fascismo, le dijeron que la CNT-FAI no había jugado parte importante en los hechos del 19 de Julio; que estaba perdiendo adeptos; que sabotaba a Madrid y que fusilaban a los campesinos que rehusaban colectivizarse. Si aquellos hombres fueron capaces de decir tales cosas a uno de nuestros camaradas ¿qué no contarían en la Conferencia? Igualmente los jefes del laborismo en Inglaterra y de las "Trade Unions" y los comunistas, todos trabajan para desvirtuar vuestra causa y heroica lucha. Los comunistas han

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

dado vuestro a la noticia de que vosotros saboteáis la paz de Madrid. Anoche mismo se lanzaron esta pregunta en un mitin público, y en muchos sitios se me hace la misma pregunta por personas de todas las clases sociales. Si al menos tuviera acceso a la llamada prensa de "izquierdas", escribiría, haciendo constar la falsedad que encierran tales manifestaciones; pero ninguna de las cartas de protesta enviadas por mí han sido publicadas, manteniéndose un silencio absoluto en todo lo tocante a la CNT-FAI. Esto os ilustrará las dificultades con que tengo que luchar para desarrollar mi campaña en pro de vosotros. No creáis, sin embargo, que ello me descora zona. No en vano he dedicado 40 años de mi vida a nuestra causa para que dificultades como las apuntadas me desanimen. Sigo, pues, adelante en mis propósitos, celebrando mitines, la publicación de un manifiesto dirigido a las masas populares de Inglaterra, la celebración de una función teatral para allegar fondos destinados al socorro de los refugiados y muchas otras actividades. Por supuesto que, comparado con vuestros trabajos gigantescos, esta labor mía casi no merece ser mencionada y solo la apunto para demostraros que mi fe sigue inquebrantable. Mientras continúe vuestra valerosa lucha seguiré batallando, encaminando todos mis esfuerzos a que la causa que defendéis y vuestros sacrificios sean conocidos en este país.

Con vuestra primera y única carta hasta ahora recibida, venía un cuestionario contestado por vosotros a la delegación inglesa que os había visitado. He hecho traducir dicho cuestionario, aun que me dicen los camaradas de aquí que no surtiría efecto alguno mandándolo desde Londres a las diferentes asociaciones obreras, pues no llegaría a conocimiento de las masas. Me indicaron que me procurarían una lista de las organizaciones locales, y que el cuestionario, junto con una carta invitando a misiones obreras a que visiten España, fuese enviado desde Valencia. Tan pronto como me sea facilitada dicha lista os la mandaré; y también el texto en inglés de la carta de invitación.

Al expresar a los compañeros del Comité Regional mis deseos de venir a Inglaterra representando a la CNT-FAI, no tenía la menor idea de lo mucho que hacer que por aquí había, y así que mencioné dos meses como máximo de mi permanencia en Inglaterra, encontrándome ahora con que todavía queda mucha labor por delante. No obstante, antes desearía hacer viaje a España a fin de daros un informe verbal de todo lo hecho y por hacer. Muchas cosas han salido a relucir que han dado lugar a confusiones. Diferentes personas han venido de España con credenciales de Santillan, las cuales me han parecido poco competentes, mientras que asuntos que debieron ser cursados por mediación de esta oficina de la CNT-FAI no lo fueron. Por todos conceptos me parece necesario y de importancia el que vaya por ahí, os de un informe completo y os someta un plan para una intensiva y sistemática propaganda de la CNT-FAI. Otro motivo por el cual quiero ir a España es la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista, a la que no quiero dejar de asistir, máxime teniendo en cuenta que me ha sido solicitado por la Federación Anarquista de América y varios grupos en el Canadá, que acuda en representación de ellos.

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509026

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

Asimismo, estimo de importancia para mi futuro trabajo el recoger nuevas impresiones de la situación en España; de la magnífica y gloriosa defensa de Madrid y otros lugares y de la labor constructiva que realiza la CNT-FAI.

He escrito al Comité encargado de la organización de la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista, preguntándoles si sería factible aplazarla para más adelante. El impuesto control hace que sea muy ~~sin~~ difícil poder entrar ahora en España por Francia. Tengo entendido que los gendarmes franceses que guardan la frontera se comportan como los antiguos cosacos de los Zares. A mí me gustaría ir a España en el mes de Mayo. Así me sería posible quedarme para el primer aniversario de vuestra gloriosa victoria del 19 de Julio de 1936. Durante los meses de Junio y Julio no hay mucho que hacer en Inglaterra. Espero, por tanto, vuestro parecer acerca de mi propuesto viaje.

Recibí una carta de Souchy, informándome que había sido autorizado por vosotros para decirme que podía hacer uso del dinero recaudado en las colectas hechas por mí hasta ahora. Voy a preparar un estado detallado de los recaudado y de los gastos habidos, que enviaré a Souchy, con un duplicado para vosotros.

Podéis escribirme en español, y en espera de vuestras prontas noticias os envía un fraternal y revolucionario saludo

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London... 5th (Fifth) April,
1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Mr. Harry Kelly,
25, Prospect Street,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Harry,

I was very glad to get your letter from Florida. It was a relief to know that you are there and not in the rigid winter in New York. I hope your visit has done you much good and that you have returned to New York if not a wiser, at least a healthier man.

I myself was getting along famously, physically speaking. I boasted of having escaped the 'flu but the beastly thing would not escape me. I was laid up for a week and though I felt very much better I still grow frightfully tired before the day is over. But then I live about a month every day and put in work for a dozen people. If it would only lead to something substantial - but outside of several large meetings I have accomplished nothing to boast about. Bless our naive Spanish comrades. They write me all kinds of appreciative letters, but these only make me suffer the more because of the little one achieves here.

You will see by my letter to Powys the experience I went through in regard to the theatre venture and that is only one of the many.

You have lived in England, so you know the difficulties. What makes the present situation worse is the appalling sabotage on the part of everybody. Whether it is the British Labour Party, the Trade Unions or the Communists, they are all deadly opposed to the CNT-FAI and there is nothing too reprehensible that they will not do to interfere whenever anything is announced for Catalonia. The most damnable thing is that the Communists are spreading the rumour that Catalonia has and is doing nothing in support of Madrid. I never knew a more heinous libel. Catalonia, who has been the first to drive Fascism out of more than half of Spain! Catalonia that has undertaken a gigantic socialization scheme; that has sent arms, foodstuffs and manpower to defend Madrid; Catalonia that has sacrificed Durrutti so that Madrid can be defended! I tell you that it makes me see

--1--

red.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519582

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 5th April, 1937.

-Continued-
-Page 2-

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Mr. Harry Kelly.

Such things come to my ears! Last week at the meeting in Mile End I was again confronted with that dastardly lie that is being foisted day in day out, by the parrots who follow the Communist lead, repeating it until it is actually being believed. How can one attempt to stem the tide of such filthy waters? There is no paper published in this country that is willing to talk anything about the CNT-FAI. If ever these papers print anything, it is a villification, and we ourselves have only "Spain & the World", which reaches a small number.

Worse luck, the slime does not only emanate from England, it emanates from Spain as well. A couple of weeks ago, the 2nd International met in this city. There were Spanish delegates, members of the G.U.T. What they reported at that session there is no way of knowing but I have it on very good authority that they denounced the C.N.T.-F.A.I., when they proclaimed that our people had no part whatever in the events of July 19th, '36. That the C.N.T., is losing numbers; that it does not support Madrid; that it has begun to shoot peasants because they will not be collectivized - a network of lies from beginning to end. Yet our poor comrades have been trying (even before July 19th) to induce the G.U.T., to join an alliance with them, to represent two powerful Revolutionary Trade Union organizations. They have reiterated this offer in every one of their dailies, weeklies and bulletins. So far nothing has come of it. On the contrary, the Caballero comrades in the G.U.T., are throwing mud on the CNT., and when they come out of Spain they villify them to the extent which I have already explained.

It is tragic if it were not such a comedy that our people still continue to have faith in the G.U.T. Would you believe it, they sent me an express letter, that I should attend the session of the Second International and take part in the demonstration held in Kingsway Hall after the private session of the delegates had been closed! It happens that the letter came too late and I was laid up with 'flu, but even if that had not been the drawback I should never have attempted such a grotesque measure as to be the Second International, represented at this end by Sir

PTO.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 23 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Continued.

-Page 3-

Citrin Bevin and the rest of the gentry, who accept me as the delegate of the CNT-FAI. But our people are simply incurable children when it comes to the European Socialist Movement. I am enclosing copies of letters recently written to Rooker and to Bell which will show you what inner struggle I am going through. I have to admit, unfortunately, that many steps taken by our comrades are contrary to everything they have stood for in the past, and certainly everything you and I have expounded. My grief is great because I know that these compromises will avail them not. On the contrary, they may be their undoing.

The most dreadful thing is their consent to cease all Soviet criticism. By this they have gone back on our comrades in Russia and they had to submit to militarization and a lot of other things fought by every one of us during a lifetime. Until recently I did not realise the price the dreadful Torquemado of Russia has exacted from our comrades in return for the few arms sent - sent after 3½ months' waiting. Even that is stopped now, since England and France began with the non-intervention. But our people are bound hand and foot. Madrid is already entirely in the hands of the Communists. They still play no great part in Catalonia but it does not require much imagination to foretell what is going to happen when Fascism will be conquered. However, that is not yet. Though the Revolutionary forces have made gigantic strides the last 2 to 10 days, marvellous victory after victory. Franco and Mussolini are not yet subdued. The stakes are too great for Mussolini to stop now. Already the defeat of his troops is beginning to shake his throne. He could not stop now, he will continue to send his victims to support Franco. So the so-called 'Unity' front in Spain must be kept up but it is a delusion and a snare. I tremble what the ultimate outcome will be for the CNT-FAI. For that and many other reasons I want to go back to Spain, to see what changes have taken place. I want to attend the International Anarchist Conference and if possible to stay on for the 1st Anniversary of July 19th.

I still have dates to fill here and the venture of April 25th to go through with and don't know if I will get through in time to be in Barcelona the 1st May. I am hoping the Conference will be postponed. The Jewish Anarchist Federation has asked me to represent them and other groups may want the same. We know that such Conferences don't go very far. Its moral importance is that it will take in Barcelona and it is the last time that Anarchism represents

P.t.o.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 5, London [to] Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 23 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 5th April., 1937.

-Page 4-

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6819

Mr. Harry Kelly.

a great force - at least in Catalonia, Aragon and The Levante.

Keep writing me to my present address here. Should I have to rush off, my mails will be forwarded to me.

I was terribly sorry to hear that Anuta is feeling so miserable. I hope her stay in Florida has done her good. It was kind of Rachelle to write such an enthusiastic letter about my doings; but, believe me, my dear, it is nothing to boast about. Remember me kindly to Leah; my love to Elsie, Mina, and fraternal greetings to all our comrades. With a hug for you, dear old Scout.

As ever, Affectionately,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726063

[Letter] 1937 April 5, Birmingham [England to] Emma Goldman, London / Barry Jackson. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE BIRMINGHAM REPERTORY THEATRE LTD.

GOVERNING DIRECTOR

SIR BARRY JACKSON, M.A.

Manager . CYRIL L. PHILLIPS

Business Manager . WILLIAM HAYWARD

Secretary . WALTER HUGHES

Librarian . EDNA G. HUGHES

Stage Manager . JOHN H. TURNER



STATION STREET,
BIRMINGHAM, 5.

Telephone .
OFFICE MIDLAND 201
BOX OFFICE MIDLAND 201

Telegram .
"BIRMINGHAM."

5th April, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I am afraid that you over-estimate my social list and its finances. Although I have from time to time met people of outstanding names, they can hardly be called friends and can easily be found by running one's eye down the list of the unchangeable few who are called upon to subscribe to everything. My real friends have enough worry to look after themselves, without going further afield.

Do you know who it is who works these absurd cinema premieres? The individuals responsible seem to know where money is to be found. It must be possible to get at them.

Sincerely yours,

Barry Jackson

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
London, W.14.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005136

[Letter] 1937 April 5, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[homas] H. Bell. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

LETTER

20136

on MY OWN AFFAIRS

213 N. Mathews St., Los Angeles.
Apr 5, 1937

Dear Emma:

You know already about my book in regard to WILDE, HARRIS DOUGLAS and myself. I have had very high praise given me by such people as Paul Jordan Smith, Becker, Gisanet, Yanovsky, etc etc. But I found a lot of trouble about getting a publisher. They objected to my propaganda. I have several "Appendix" chapters: The Question of Homosexuality, Wilde's Individualism Today, Wilde's Individualism Tomorrow which they will not pass. The story was all right, yes; but the propaganda would not do.

I refused to let them out these chapters which to me were of such importance. After all they were really connected with Wilde in the aspect in which I presented him.

I had it at the Vanguard Press, under their consideration, when a hard blow fell upon me. Another book suddenly appeared on BERNARD SHAW, WILDE and HARRIS, just my title and subject. It goes over the same ground pretty much — and damn it all, the author has a lot of my stuff!

He got some of it, of course, from my Bookman articles, some from what I gave Gertz; and some evidently from the letters I had sent to Douglas. Yes it is plain that Douglas had shown him my letters, if not my manuscript.

The book is in reality a very poor affair; the man is an ass. But it hits me very hard, for it takes away from my book, if published now, that element of the strutting which was a great part of its value.

Publishers say now, naturally, that the ground has been covered.

It hits me very hard, for I am now too old to write anything else without that little success and that little money which would provide typing and such things — if not too asthmatic for anything even with them.

Moreover, the author — Sherard — has the audacity, the damned insolence, without notification given to me, without asking for explanation, to denounce me — an entire stranger to him — as a fake because I tell about taking money to Oscar from Harris. The damned fool has such a hatred of Harris that he cannot believe in Harris ever doing anything good or decent.

Douglas has written him a preface. I take it that Douglas was not aware of the attack upon me. The preface helps greatly to sell the book.

It hits me hard that after spending so much time and so much of my very scanty supply of energy to clear Douglas he should write a preface for a book in which I am denounced as a fake.

I can prove easily enough that I went to Paris and came back saying that I had given Wilde the money. But that will not help unless I cannot get the book published. I write to clear Douglas and go down in history as a fake. It is tough, Emma.

Yes, I have a clear case against the publishers for libel. But the publishers on this side, The Graystone Press, are not worth powder and shot financially. And though Werner Laurie, the British publishers, are more responsible they are too far away for me to start a suit against them. I shall submit the matter to Foss, your lawyer to see if he thinks he can get his expenses out of the American firm but, of course, I have no money to put into any suit.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005136

[Letter] 1937 April 5, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / T[homas] H. Bell. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

20137

In desperation, I come now to you about it. You, yes, you alone can save me in this matter.

I know that it is outrageous to ask it of such a busy woman, busy in a matter of such importance as that which occupies you, but I am done otherwise.

I want you to go to Bernard Shaw. You were introduced to him by Harris. It is about Harris you care. He is one of the two or three friends who stood by Harris to the last. He has seen Sherard's book. Even if a great deal of its attacks upon Harris are true, its general attitude does him gross injustice, while its ineptitude does not help Wilde. My book does demolish Harris, yes, in regard to many things. But I do full justice to Harris in what Harris himself would have thought most important and in what Shaw will think of the highest importance, I do full justice to his splendid literary ability.

Then ask Shaw for a little letter, such as he gave to O'Sullivan, for O'Sullivan's recent book on Wilde, (a good enough little book but it deals only with minor aspects).

With a letter from Shaw my book would be published.

At the back of this I attach copy of a letter I sent in reply to an inquiry from Upton Sinclair. That will save my writing much more, I am already all in.

I will mail my book to you tomorrow. More detail, perhaps later, mentioning the pages that Shaw has looked at.

T H Bell

my book resurrects Wilde & it saves Harris in that wherein he was worth saving.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005135

[Letter] 1937 April 5, Los Angeles [to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [Thomas H. Bell].— 1 p.; 28 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

216 N Mathews St., Los Angeles.
April 5, 1937

20134

Dear Emma:

Your letter to me of thirteenth March has been read and reread to quite a number of people and groups. It has been heard always with the keenest interest and regarded as of great importance. I am not alone in imparting value to your mature judgment. It has been discussed again and again.

My asthma is which has kept me from replying to it before and which keeps me from replying to it adequately still. I have a very long letter in my mind, discussing the matter, which I have been meaning to write, which indeed I am desperate to get written. But I am almost helpless in the meantime. I may improve a little perhaps and get it off yet. I had in mind to make it suitable for the press as well as for you in person, suitable, for instance, for the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

No, you are not yet going gaga. I was wrong, of course, when I said we had often "quarreled": I meant merely that we had often disagreed strongly. Surely, we would be likely to do that again on some things about Spain. Two individuals of strong character dealing with a matter very complex and difficult and very dear to the hearts of both of them can hardly avoid disagreeing on some things anyhow. (Do not read this as disagreeing strongly with your attitude in the letter. The fears expressed therein seem to me, alas, only too serious.)

Yippee and I whenever we get your letter talked of sending off to you in London some of that pamphlet of mine on Edward Carpenter. We have rather let the opportunity slip of sending you that contribution. To send any number they would have to go by freight and take too long. But we will send off a hundred anyhow. Herewith two pages from it in which I put forth his attitude and mine. It is closely akin, you see, to your own. Your arguments, Emma, are not always incontrovertible, but your instincts are always sound: as you put it, you may be a bad Revolutionist but you could not be a Judge or an Executioner Nor I.

Yes, we keep at the job of enlightening the public on Spain not without some success but without anything like the success we might have had some of us the old-time energy. Focker's meetings came off very well; he was much encouraged by his success in speaking in English. He realizes better what he right do. Yanovsky was here last week. I myself have a weak spot for Yanovsky; I met him first in 1888, the second Anarchist I ever met, and I thought him then just the most wonderful young man I had ever met. Putnow! Well, Emma, it distresses me to see him so "disillusioned" and pessimistic. Age has got him. I am seventy myself in two months and my memory for names is strangely deficient, not at all a good sign. Yet I am not completely gone, I hope, for I am still very determined in discussion and I use the most violent expressions in regard to all authoritarians, including those in our own movement, "sons of bitches" being one of my mildest. The boys delight to assure me that I am all right yet, that my language is still very far from being in accord with my theories.

Did I tell you that Clarence Sartz died last December? You remember he edited Tucker's "Liberty" once upon a time. His "What is 'utualism?" published by the Vanguard was excellently done. Poor Hans Posener too, who once edited "The Alarm" is quite at the end of his tether. A very silent man, unknown, but very able.

I sigh sometimes over what I think I might do in Spain, but in reality I am a helpless old wreck. Let me explain here before

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005137

[Letter, 1937 April 5, Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
[Thomas H. Bell].— 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C O P Y

216 N Mathews St., Los Angeles.
Feb 4, 1937

20138

Dear Upton Sinclair:

Many thanks for your kind letter telling me about Sherard's book. Yes, I know all about it. Frank Scully lent me his copy.

"Who is Sherard?" Lord Alfred Douglas was once asked that question in court by the judge. "Who is Sherard? Oh, he is a journalist who lives by writing lives of Oscar Wilde. That is his only source of livelihood, I believe. I have for him the greatest possible son'empt."

Lord Alfred was a bit too rough on him then; the man was decent enough, I believe, but an ass, that was all. Douglas was nearer it when he spoke of him as one of "Wilde's fathead friends". In Sherard's first book on Wilde (this is the fourth) he wants to present Wilde as a poor suffering innocent - who has taken upon himself the guilt of another, whom he could not betray. His subsequent books are merely fresh coats of whitewash.

Lord Alfred has accepted him now because of what they have in common - bitterness intense against Frank Harris, the willingness to believe anything on earth against him.

Sherard does dispose of Frankie pretty completely. But it is too complete. He is grossly unjust. He does not allow Harris one trait of humanity and hardly any acquaintance with Wilde. Nonsense. Harris knew Wilde well and helped him well too several times. He saw Wilde only as a literary man; Sherard sees him as a good husband and father. Very well. But neither of them sees him as I do - as a thinker and a prophet. And Sherard sees Harris only as a swindler and a faker. "Only", ah, no, no. Shaw might be out a bit in regard to his character but not in regard to his abilities.

"What has Sherard got against me?" What he has against anyone who dares to hint that Wilde was not a plaster saint or that Harris was not always a friend of hell. I had said that Wilde was drinking heavily and that he had sold the scenario to half a dozen different people - hardly in accordance with common honesty.

Of course, he was drinking. He got drunk every night; I saw him drunk myself. Of course, he sold the scenario several times; I myself saw the letters come in from Fyfe Diller and the others, and I went with Harris to see Griffiths.

Sherard ascends and uses all my story, you noticed my tale of the play and all that, till I touch his plaster saint and till I say that Harris sent him money. Then I become a fake.

It is true that I recall very little of the architecture of the hotel. There was no side door, he says. Very well; I should have said then that when I went in I turned to the staircase (that I did not go into the cafe). I did not mention the ante-room. Well, well. Tut, tut! But all of them have forgotten things just as I did, contradicting each other flatly - and themselves too. Thirty-six years is a lifetime.

The ugly thing is that he puts words into my mouth I did not say. I have looked up The Bookman article to make sure that I did not write them in my sleep. No, I did not say them. He speaks

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005137

[Letter, 1937 April 5, Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
[Thomas H. Bell].— 3 p.; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20139

2
of "a large sum of money". I did not say that. He says: No train, etcetera. Nonsense. Several trains, of course, as anyone would know who had traveled from London to Paris.

Has he been as careless in those Harris Quotations on which he seeks to convict Harris? I am quite sure that in a great many of the points he brings up Harris, though he may have been speaking loosely about the details, gives quite a fair picture. Sherard rejects at once anything Harris says as a fabrication - though he sometimes tells something of the same sort himself. He scoffs at the notion that Harris could get any Scotland yard information about Wilde, though Harris at that time was thought of as the next editor of The Times and was looked upon as one of the writing powers. Yet in one of his own books (Twenty Years in Paris, if I remember right) he tells how when he got to know the police headquarters people he asked to see his own dossier and found that they had him down for shaking hands with Louise Michel. And soon.

Naturally, taking his Quotations of what I had said to be correct Feggie Turner declared those statements to be false. But, as you saw, he apologised to me when I wrote to him disclaiming them.

Can I prove my story? Not perhaps in every detail. My wife, whom as you saw, he brings in, can testify that I went off just as I said and that I came back with the tale of Wilde dead. But she cannot say that I paid the money. Harry Kelly who was in London then can testify that I told that tale on my return from Paris. And others I thought Pavray and Dupoirier might remember me. I may ask Pavray. But Dupoirier tells such an absurd tale in his account of the Wilde death that it is evident he has forgotten the circumstances and made up something quite imaginary.

Documentary evidence? Well, Ross must have made out a statement to the estate. The money from Harris will be the first item. I must try to get at the surviving son, in the hope that the papers have been preserved.

Sherard scoffs at my story of the white-coiffed nun. That should be easy for me. It should not be difficult to get at the records, say, those of the undertaker, Gisle, I think his name was or something like that. If they deny the nuns and I tell of them and prove it by the records, my case is won.

What became of the money? Well, Douglas in a letter to me once suggested in plain language that Ross put it in his pocket!

No, no. I rejected the idea myself at once. The simple explanation is that it is Sherard and not Bell who speaks of "a large sum of money". Though I do not remember how much it was I take it that Harris, still rather hard-up and still determined to pay off Wilde's scenario obligations (for which he had made himself responsible) before he gave Wilde his share in cash, sent by me merely enough to relieve an immediate emergency. It may have been merely a ten pound note. Naturally that counted for nothing at all in the face of the sum of Wilde's debts and the expenses of his funeral.

This is not the first time that Sherard has said something though not in so much detail. But I thought him not worth powder and shot.

I am afraid that his American publishers, The Graystone Press are not worth it either. While the British firm, though they appear more solid, are too far away for a lawsuit with them. I shall put the matter before Ross, Emma Goldman's lawyer, who acted for her in the affair of her book.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005137

[Letter, 1937 April 5, Los Angeles to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Thomas H. Bell]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3
20140
The book seems to me really a bore some one. Too much detail in petty incidents. One continuous denunciation. No light or shade.

However did it get published? I think I know how.

The mother of Lord Alfred Douglas died some time ago. He inherited her money, I suppose. Now, here is a book that will demolish Harris completely. It is true that Bell has a book which Douglas has declared "intensely interesting" "all of intense interest" But Bell is awfully slow, in bad health, scoffs at religion, etc. May die any day, before he gets it ~~finished~~ published. Why not guarantee this one of Sherard's to his publishers?

That is my guess. But I put a good deal of faith in it.

Naturally I am hot. If I had been asked to explain and had failed to do so, it would have been excusable. But no such opportunity was offered me.

It is significant that the man who shouts fake in everything that Harris says and who shouts it in regard to me, a man he does not know, whenever he disagrees with me, stoops himself upon occasion. Look up, for instance, page 164 in regard to Hector MacDonald. If that tale of Sherard being struck by the strange look of that man he did not know, in the rue de Rivoli, is not plain fake I never saw one.

Yes, I am hot. But it is possible that the debate may make my book all the more important. Shaw would not endorse my book when he considered it an attack upon Harris. He could not in decency turn upon Harris after he was dead; it would have looked like irritation at the last book of Harris. But he might possibly endorse my book when he has to take it as a defence of Harris. You know he thinks Harris one of the immortals when it comes to English literature. I may get my friend Emma Goldman to tackle him.

Again, thanks.

T. H. BELL

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005113

[Letter] 1937 April 6, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Federación Anarquista Ibérica. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20087

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Durruti, 30, 6.º, 32 y 34, 4.º
Teléfono 14578

Barcelona, 6 de Abril de 1937

PROGRAM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

- 1.) Report of the Peninsular Committee of the FAI
- 2.) Experiences, resulting from the application of new tactics by which circumstances determined the struggle in Spain.
- 3.) Reports of the delegations.
- 4.) Declaration of principles.
- 5.) Fighting-tactics.
 - a.) Political action.
 - b.) Syndical intervention
 - c.) Revolutionary preparations.
 - d.) Social reconstruction.
 - e.) Agricultural question.
 - f.) The social and revolutionary part of cooperatism.
- 6.) Attitude of Anarchism towards a world-conflagration.
- 7.) Creation of an anarchist International.
 - a.) secretariat
 - b.0 Latin-american secretariat.



Secretaría de Relaciones
Exteriores

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001073

[Letter] 1937 April 6, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19519

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR
Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Durruti, 30, 6.º, 32 y 34, 4.º
Teléfono 14578

Barcelona, 6 de Abril de 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
LONDON W 1.

Liebe Emma,

Gestern erhielt ich einen Brief vom 3. April und heute
Deinen spanischen und englischen vom 29. März ueber den Kongress.
Wir senden Dir einliegens ein Rundschreiben, aus welchem Du ersiehst,
dass der Kongress auf den 11-17 Juli verlegt worden ist. Es wurde
also Deinen und auch den Menschen anderer entsprochen.

Wir moechten Dich bitten einen Bericht vorzubereiten ueber
die Moeglichkeit einer Anarchistischen Bewegung in England. Es waere
gut, wenn Du und vielleicht noch ein englischer Genosse (Barr)
von London kommen koennten und die Vertretung der englischen Gruppen
haetted.

Wir schreiben ausserden noch an die Juedische Anarchistische
Federation nach New York und bitten sie ausser Dir noch einen direk-
ten Delegierten zu schicken, der dann nach Amerika zurueckfaehrt und
dort berichten kann was er hier gesehen und gehoert hat. Dieser direk-
te Delegierte erscheint uns unerlaesslich. Wir werden wahrscheinlich
Sammlungen innerhalb der FAI veranstalten um den Delegierten aus weit
entfernten Laendern Reisezuschuss geben zu koennen.

Deinen Bericht ueber die Lage in England in welchem Du
auch auf die Aetigkeit fuer Spanien Bezug nehmen kannst, benoetigen
wir spaetestens am 25 April. Er kann in Englisch oder irgend einer Sp
Sprache geschrieben sein. Es wurde beschlossen auch alle Gruppen ein-
zuladen. So wird man um eine Einladung an Guy Aldred nicht herum
kommen. Was haelst Du davon?

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726336

[Letter] 1937 April 6, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh]. — 1 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24029

6 April 1937
419 East 5th St
New York

Dear E G:

I am hastening this letter in an attempt to make the GM which I believe, sails tomorrow. Bluestein left New York last Friday (Apr. 1st) and he will probably have contacted you ere this reaches you.

In your last letter you said you had been waiting for a reply to your cablegram. I did reply to that by letter the day after I received it since I immediately saw Sprintzer and had a long talk with her and was able to tell you that she would not undertake the venture..She was most reasonable about it- though bitterly disappointed.

I don't know whether Prager has written you or not. Though I see him at least once each, every time I meet him we have so much to discuss, I have so far forgotten to ask him.

I cannot at this moment write you at length, Emma, but I want to amplify what I have written Souchy..... The truth is that I am head ~~(n heels over)~~ debt and I have a specific sum of four hundred dollars that I simply must clear up before I undertake going to Spain....I know I could never hope to be able to raise such an amount there and I cannot let down the one who ^{was} good enough to see me through when I needed it as I never needed money before.... That is the only thing that is stopping me... I know full well that I must burn all my bridges after me when I take this step...I am sure I shall never see Sadie nor my children nor hers again- nor, indeed, shall I ever again set foot on American soil....I have long communed with myself anent this separation and I have not taken it at all lightly. There has never been but two women in my life and Sadie is the second and my life with her has alternated between the depths and the heights- though I suppose no more so than the couple's life of the average two mortals- Nevertheless, it has been a revelation to me and 90% of all our troubles have honestly been my fault. Sadie has a most remarkable character-her integrity and honesty are unimpeachable. I have never been able to leave her, Emma, no matter what happened and I am sure nothing in the world could ever induce me to leave her save this thing that is going on now in Spain. And then I do hope- and this hope will be the one last thing to give me an excuse for going on and wanting to live- I hope that she will too, soon join me, in the event that I go. Her children are approaching 23 and 19. The boy will graduate next year from Cooper Union as a mechanical engineer. The girl has another year in Hunter. Of course either or both might change all plans ~~ere~~ their school work is finished, but they have been quite dependable and constant up till now. Then, perhaps, Sadie would change her mind and go abroad. I am just hoping that something can persuade her to do that.... All this, of course, is contingent upon my going at all! That is all I have in the world EG with the exception of one of my own daughters who is already married and has a three or four year old boy. I see her quite frequently but she is most definitely out of my life- and that is all, just Sadie, and that is all I ever want to have and it will mean more than anyone will ever imagine what it means to me to leave her, perhaps forever- I will write some more on this when Souchy replies- Meanwhile keep up your good work in England and drop me a line whenever it is possible.

Sincerely

van

Wan

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005284

[Letter, 1937] April 7, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20277

London April 7.

Dear Fenner. I received your letter of the second a few days ago. I have been so crowded with work I could not answer it. Nor can I now. I am only writing to tell you that comrade Barr who dealt with Gant and when he went away with the comrade he left in charge has been trying to get hold of Gant to straighten out the matter of the door takings. Naturally I thought this was included in the statement. It seems that I.L.P. chaps were in charge of the sales at the door. Barr will find out whether the money turned over to him for the sales at the book shop and the additional pound and some shillings included the door takings. Just as soon as that is done I will send you a check. I am sorry the whole business is so ~~delayed~~ delayed. It was certainly not done on purpose.

It is no use arguing as to how much your branches have done. It is certain that it was no much. Nor was anything done at your office with the half crown tickets. Actually the whole block of 57 seats were empty. But it is over and done with.

About the exhibition, I am sorry if I gave you the impression that I failed to appreciate the work Roland Pen rose had done. How could I when I have told everybody how fine he had been and how large to the recognition of the CNT-FAI. And when I also made it known how much material he had gathered. I did not have him in view nor any of the I.L.P. in connection with the exhibition. I had the others, the C.P. The S.L. the Spanish Aid women who merely travel under that name but in reality are of the C.P. kind to whom Communism is a lark and nothing else. However that too is over and done with.

Now to something that is only in the process of being done. It is the theatre project I have worked on for 2 months only to be forced to postpone it from the 11th to the 18th owing to all kinds of difficulties. Well, it is finally on the way. Posters, streamers, 15,000 handbills and a nice folder will be off the press tomorrow and we are working like Trojans to get them in circulation. Of course I could never have gone on if I did not have my old friend Paul Robeson's consent to put him on the programme. In addition I have a galaxy of first rate

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005284

[Letter, 1937] April 7, London [to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20278

artists to fill the evening and make it a rare treat for those who will attend. I had hoped to have it both music and dramatic art. But the L.C.C. has spoiled that for me. The Sunday restrictions are unbelievable. It is impossible to give anything in costumes with settings or any play of any sort. Flora Robson was willing to participate with a playlet of forty minutes. That couldn't be done. I wonder what the Labor Party men do on the L.C.C. if they cannot effect these ante deluvina Sunday blue laws? Well I hope the music will make up I am sure Paul Robeson will, and the others who have so willingly consented to give their services free.

You know without my telling you the poisonous antagonism of the C.P. to me. Their hatred of me has been deeper than their interest in the suffering of the Spanish people. Besides, they have been taught for twenty years that compassion and sympathy are but "bourgeois superstitions. Anyhow, they have either boycotted everything I have undertaken for the CNT-FAI, or still worse they have sabotaged it in every way. I am pointing this out ~~xxx~~ because I want you to know that those who help me with the affair the 25th will have to increase their efforts if the Victoria Palace is to be filled. I have a few wonderful associates in the new venture as you will see by the list of sponsors. Unfortunately Rebecca West had to go away and will not be back until May. Havelock Ellis, and John Gower Powys are both in frail health and can also not do anything more than give their blessing. Some of the others have ordered guinea seats. The most helpful are Ethel and Stella Churchill. They have sent me select lists to whom a letter and folder will go.

I know how hard worked you are dear Fenner. But you could compose a select list and let your secretary typed them.

Could you not? You must know people in your own party and in other ranks who would be likely to attend the affair and who are in a position to buy the more expensive tickets. Please let me have such a list and let me know if I may use your name. Please do it as soon as possible as all the letters and folders must go out Saturday or the latest Monday.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005309

[Letter] 1937 April 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
1 p. ; 13 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

11
Ethel Mannin

20281

Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
Wimbledon Common, S.W.19

April 7th 1937

Dear Emma, I enclose 30 cards on which I have written U Come! They should be attached to leaflets about the concert sent to people on my Spanish Exlib. list- the ones I indicated should be circularised (there were some I thought shouldn't be, and marked accordingly) The cards written on have names on the back (Dr. Norman Macaire, G. Bel, Ego, etc.) These are for people who might take boxes; their addresses will also be found on my list; except Anthony Thorne; his address is indicated on the envelope. I don't know if I am sending enough cards, but they are all I have at the moment. You will have to let me know if you need more. I have ordered some more.

I think it would be a good thing if you let me have say a dozen folders when they are ready, to send out as people occur to me. I can apply to you for more if I find I can usefully use them.

I had to get Reg to ring you as my throat was so bad my voice had almost disappeared, and very painful to speak with, up. I am nursing it for all I am worth for a broadcast (my first) on Sat!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

75

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005309

[Letter] 1937 April 7 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 1 p.; 13 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mustnt stop for more now. Do hope you are not too harassed. All the best. P. V. M.

I hope you had a good Bristol meeting ?

You didn't send the Waters sisters note; I should have been interested to see it, as they didn't even answer me about it when I wrote ! (And I know them personally) Costume wouldn't have been needed for them, so it is a great pity. Perhaps we shall be able to get some musicians and singers ? Perhaps Paul would know some who might oblige ?

I found out that Southend couldn't be blamed for taking their expenses, out of their collection for Spain, as they are a very poor branch, and had to pay for the hall. I don't think working-class organisations can be blamed for taking their expenses, really.

The Conference was very exhausting, and from our point of view bitterly disappointing. We had hoped to see the farcical Unity Campaign smashed. We are both very sick about it and have no longer any heart for party work. It is quite impossible to work with the Communists, and why should we when they are behaving so filthily to our crowd in Spain ? But I mustn't start on all that. Its too bitter.

I had a letter from Auntie, who seems much more rested. I also had an invitation to attend a Committee meeting of the Spanish Exhib. Cttee but didn't go; I don't suppose you did, either, did you ? The whole thing makes me so sick, and I am not going to the opening of the Whitechapel

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005287

[Letter, 19]37 April 8 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 8th 37.

Dear Ethel. Thank the saints if ever there were any that I do not have to hide and sneak with you. I am positively ill from having to do so with people I am trying to rouse for our purpose. I cannot not begin to tell you how rotten I feel over it. I am sure I would not have begun the theatre undertaking had I know what it involves. But now I must go through with it in spite of the disgust I feel with the sluggishness of most people in this country.

Thanks for your letter and the cards. I have counted 54 names marked with red. You sent me only 33 cards. But it is alright. I will write a short letter to the remaining 21 because it will be a delay to order your visiting card. Everything here moves with exasperating slowness. True we again lost a week in getting the damned artists together. ~~Still they~~ The posters made for us had to be printed anew because the affair had to be turned into a concert instead of a theatre evening. Still they were ordered Tuesday morning, yet will not be done until next Tuesday only ten days before the 25th. The one consolation is that the streamers are going up to day. We are getting all this publicity for nothing so we cannot very well complain of the slowness. But it is nervewracking I can tell you.

The folder will be ready this evening. Of course I will mail them to you at once. I wish I could have featured PAUL ROBESON SINGS FOR SPAIN. But that is just the misery. I have to keep the affair non political, as if anything to day can be non political. I hope you will like to folder. I did not know how much you were willing to spend so I had it made as simply as possible, only in two colors. Three colors cost so much more. After all we are not the exhibition committee to waste money on affairs and send not a sou to Spain. Anyhow the set up of the folder is alright. I have not yet seen what color of paper the friend who is attending to the printing has selected.

To come back to your letter. You do have a number of names without marks. Does that mean they should get no folder or letter? If so what is the reason if I may ask? I think we ought to circularise all names we can get. Do you not think so? You say Strauss contributed \$25 of the hundred you collected. On your list you credit Laurence Housman with \$25. Is that another sum? Let me know as I want to send out the folder to all the marked people on your list tomorrow if possible, or the latest Saturday

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005287

[Letter, 1937 April 8 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20284

Indeed I will not go to any more openings of the exhibit ion. I have had enough of it. My dear how well I understand your bitterness against the rotten Jesuites. You will feel more bitter and furious when you will read the statement of how Malaga was betrayed by Caballero and the Communists. I got it from Barcelona yesterday and it is being translated. Say what you will, if the I L.P goes with the Communist gang here it is breaking faith with the POUM. I don't believe Fenner will dare print the charge in re Malaga. But it will appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD. The miserable cowardly lot has to be exposed.

I hope your voice will be in good condition by Saturday. What time do you broadcast? Let me know. And what about? Dear Ethel outside of you there is only Stella Churchill who is helping in every way. She sent me her secretary and is paying her for the work in connection with our affair. And she has ordered ten Guinea seats. ~~xxx~~ She also sent me a list of names. Of course I have my comrades. But they are not much good for a theatre undertaking or with expensive seats. They will sell the 2/6. Last night we have given out some. But we must concentrate on the guinea seats or boxes. I am working on that.

I hope to see you next week to talk over several things connected with the 25th. And I want to see you for your own sweet sake. Oh, yes the ladies of the Spanish medical aid have arranged an affair in Albert Hall for the 27th. Some sabotage eh? They went after Paul Robeson which makes it only more obvious, sabotage. Well, I told Paul that while I do not wish to curtail his participation for Spain I could not go on with our affair if he will also sing the 27th. The damned Communist gang has all facilities to sell tickets and pack Albert Hall which we have not. Blessé Paul who has been a friend of mine since 25. stuck by his first promise. He is going to sing for us. He is actually leaving the 26th. Please my dear keep this to yourself, at least until our affair is over. The Communists, and all the efforts for Spain by whatever names carried on are Communists will stoop to the lowest methods to injure the CNT FAI and now the POUM.

Please let me know about the name not marked. I mean if it is alright to send them folders. Remember me to Regie

With love.

I will be in tomorrow until 4.P.M in case you want to give me a verbal message through Reg.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001267

[Letter, 19]37 April 8 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 8th 37.

✓ Dearest Auntie, thank you for your long and newsy letter. I am glad you are in the swing again. No humans are queer ducks. You could not stand my pace in the work for Spain. And I am sure I never could stand your pace in social functions. For a lady was sick and still weak on arrival ~~thunder~~ luncheons, teas, dinners with crowds at the Place thrown in would certainly be more than I could stand for long. Well, I am delighted you can do it. May it go on and bring you the fun you missed with me.

Need I assure you ~~and~~ I am overjoyed to hear that business promises to be good? You surely need a change from the awful two years. Alright about the flat down stairs. I am to see it tomorrow. White evidently took the key with him because he left his brushes and other things in the place. Yes, it is let. ~~White~~ assured me of that. I will pay White when he comes and I have gone over his job. Alright about the check you returned. I gave him a check for £2-10. I will see what the balance is and what ever will be over above the rent the last £5 ~~function~~ on my debt and the check you returned I will bank for you.

I think you told me that the £3-26 I gave you on the check included everything you owed to the wine place. ~~He~~ I received a bill for 3-1. Does that mean this was not paid ~~due~~ to your illness or what. Please let me know.

About the 25th. We are working furiously. Unfortunately entirely new printing had to be done, ~~what~~ with the delay in getting all the musicians together the new posters will only be done next Tuesday, and probably not be up before Wed. Just 10 days before the affair. I don't see how people will learn where to get tickets. It is ~~unpleasant~~ ~~unpleasant~~. But it cannot be helped. In James Harrison is still getting the whole thing for nothing. One relief is that the streamers are up on the buses. To night our folder is to be done. They will be sent out with individual letters on Saturday. That ought to help some. Then I had a thousand handbills printed as per enclosed. That is for general distribution. The folders are a separate matter. Ethel volunteered to pay for that.

Stella is proving very helpful. She sent me her secretary and she is paying her. What a worker that woman is. I

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001267

[Letter, 19]37 April 8 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19860

I mean the secretary. I wish you had told me when I first began the work for Spain. Yes, I know you told it to me when I already had that derelict and was pledged to keep her until the 1st of April. I could have saved time and money not to speak of the misery of working with a nervous wreck. Anyhow, Stellas Seet does more in an hour than Dugdale used to in a day. She is not only intelligent as a Seet but she has some political grasp. My lingua is therefore not Greek to her as it was to that half wit. I am so relieved. Of course I am going to work with the new lady until I have to go to Spain. I have no idea when that will be. Lucky I did not decide to let the Flat go. I would be in a nice fix now, wouldn't I? Of course, Stellas Seet will be paid separately directly the theatre business is over. I can hardly wait until it is. It was a mad job to tackle.

Ethel is also very helpful bless her. She sent me a fine list and her visiting card with a personal word on every one. She had caught a bad cold on her way and from Glasgow. But she is better now. She is broadcasting Saturday.

I wrote Dr Russell yesterday. I also wrote Lady Playfair. I heard from her that she will be back tomorrow and will let me have a list. I will write the other names you give. Yes, dear Jessie was up to see me Tuesday evening. We had a drink together and she promised to help all she can.

Darling Auntie, "violent anti fascists" do not necessarily mean people who understand the struggle of the masses or care much about them. That's why your ship acquaintance told you all the disturbing stories. I am not doubting their sincerity. I am only doubting their understanding. The understanding that the masses in Spain are not fighting only for so called political liberty, which really means nothing without economic liberty. This the main urge for the people of the rank and file. Not for the politicians to be sure.

I rather think your friends are right in trying to "protect" you. For unless one is dedicated to an idea the price one has to pay is too great and too devastating to use your expression. Especially in a well place like Vence where tourists are invariably reactionary and worlds removed from the life and struggle of the masses. I realize there are exceptions. Of course But the majority who by their wares from you would probably not do it if they knew what your sympathies for Spain are. After all Vence means your living. Perhaps you should think it over before you do anything about the exhibition or even about expressing your views too openly. Friendships usually end when one is too put ~~spoken~~ spoken. It is different in my case. I never cared for friendships that attempted to proscribe my views or actions. But then a my life belongs to the social struggle. I want for no other life. I only wish I could do more and that the results were not so small.

Goodby dearest Auntie. Whatever our differences
I love you my honey.

Devotedly

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005276

[Letter] 1937 April 8, Sneek [The Netherlands to Emma] Goldman, [London] / P. Fijlstra. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20263

Sneek, the 8th of April
(Holland). 1937

Dear Comrade Goldman,

I have translated your very interesting book "Living my life" into Dutch. When I began I could hardly stop reading. I decided to translate it for my own satisfaction. It was my intention to make four copies: one for the Domela Nieuwenhuis Museum, one for my friend Albert de Jong, one for circulating among our comrades and one for my own library. But now the Anarchistic Publishing Co. will be glad to publish your book in a Holland language. This Co. consist of about 800 members, who pay twelve cents each week; therefore they get four books a year. Your book will be issued in three volumes next year.

Have you any objections against publishing your book in the Dutch language? Of course not. But I am sorry to say that you can't count on any royalties. The price of the book is very low (1.50 a volume). All the work is done without pay.

I hope you have no objections against publishing on these conditions and I'll be glad to get your answer.

With the kindest regards

Yours

Wassenaarstraat 25

P. Fijlstra

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918189

[Letter] 1937 April 8, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

BUREAU DE PRESSE ET D'INFORMATION

30, Rue Saint-Augustin, 30

PARIS-11^e

Téléphone : OPéra 57-69

12398

Paris, le 8 de Abril 1937.

Companera Emma Goldman.
18, Castletown Road.
LONDON W - 14.

Estimada companera, Salud.

Recibi tu última, que fué contestada en su día.

Hoy recibo del Comité Nacional la adjunta carta, para que te la haga seguir, lo cual hago con sumo gusto.

Recibo tambien otra de Barcelona, enviada por las Oficinas de Propaganda de la CNT-FAI. También la inoluyo con la presente.

Necesito darte una explicacion con respecto a la carta que te envia el Comité Nacional. El escrito que yo te dirigí sobre la Conferencia Antifascista celebrada en Londres, te lo remiti cuatro dias antes de que la conferencia tuviera lugar, creyendo yo que seria factible para ti el poder asistir a la misma. Es por estas razones por las que el Comité te dice que yo les comuniqué que te habia avisado con tiempo.

Nada más. Espero tus nuevas y siempre gratas noticias. Te saluda anárquicamente tu amigo y companero,

Nemesio Galve



The Emma Goldman Papers

880726314

[Letter] 1937 April 10, Mundesley [England to] E[mma] Goldman, [London] / S[idney] V[ere] Pearson. — 1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MILBURN,

MUNDESLEY,

NORFOLK.

10th April 1937.

Mrs. E. G. Colton,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter received this morning. I am glad you have got this arranged. I wish you hearty success. The card of announcement gives an attractive fare. Could you send me a few more - say half a dozen of these - and I will post them occasionally to suitable people in my letters.

I very much regret that my wife and I will not be able to be present on the 25th. I had already arranged (as I think I told you) to be in Manchester then. I am taking part in a great Pacifist Convention there. I hope to speak on an amendment for an out and out ~~repetition~~ ^{repetition} for the peoples' right to the ~~sources~~ ^{natural resources} of their own domains. There will be a good many Georgists there I hope, who will support me. The amendment is to a motion, however, by Dr. Alfred Salter who is an opponent of Georgism strange to say - ~~at least~~ ^{or rather} I understand why he is really.

I am enclosing a cheque for £1. 0. 0. towards your expenses and the fund. I am making it out according to your request to Dr. Stella Churchill. It will help towards paying for some of those stamps at least.

I know ~~Dr. Paul Salter~~ ^{Mr. Salter Hall}. I had the pleasure of meeting him once at a Conference in Copenhagen some years ago.

I am enclosing a list with a few more names to be circularised.

Yours sincerely,

S. V. P.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918190

[Letter] 1937 April 10, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London [fragment] /
Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.— 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional

12399



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono 10168

Valencia 10 de abril de 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldman
13 Castletown Road
West Kensington
London, W14

Querida compañera:

Tu grata, fecha 5 cte. es en nuestro poder, sorprendiéndonos un poco que en la misma nada nos digas si has recibido o no una que a finales del ppdo. te escribimos, en la que te hablábamos de la campaña difamatoria que determinados elementos sedicentes del obrerismo llevan a cabo contra nuestra organización Confederal y anarquista en algunos países europeos y americanos.

Urge, camarada Goldman, que todos los compañeros que en el extranjero tienen representación de este Comité Nacional se apresen a rechazar tales embustes, calumnias y demás, con la energía y la rapidez necesarias y características en nosotros.

También creemos que es de suma necesidad que estés en contacto estrecho con nosotros y nos informes de todo aquello que reputes de algún interés para conocimiento de este Comité Nacional.

No ignoramos que tropiezas con innumerables dificultades para desarrollar tu labor en esa; pero ello, lejos de desanimarte, ha de servirte de acicate para continuar luchando como lo has hecho a través de los cuarenta años de militancia que llevas en el movimiento anarquista.

Apesar de que hasta ahora las relaciones entre nosotros no han sido lo suficiente constantes que debieran, hemos de decirte que estamos ampliamente satisfechos de tu labor, por ser tesonera, sin descanso, por virtud de lo cual, nuestras ideas, nuestra lucha, la gesta magnífica que en la actualidad está escribiendo el proletariado de Iberia, puede ser conocida por una gran multitud de trabajadores ingleses hasta ayer alejados e indiferentes de y con las corrientes revolucionarias que en todos los tiempos han surcado el suelo fecundo de España.

Además de someter a este Comité Nacional una relación de tus actividades, así como de lo que los marxistas digan de nosotros y de nuestra postura ante el movimiento que vivimos en esta, nos indicarás el resultado de las colectas y donativos que en Inglaterra se hagan con destino a las dos organizaciones revolucionarias españolas C.N.T.-F.A.I. No obstante, quedas autorizada para que puedas hacer uso de aquél dinero que te haga falta para la buena marcha de tus actividades, el resto lo enviarás a este Comité.

Pensamos que por el momento no es necesario que vengas a España, ya que, como tu misma señalas, en Londres hay mucho que

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509027

[Letter] 1937 April 10 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

10168

10 de Abril de 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
London, W14

Querida compañera:

Tu grata, fecha 5 cte. es en nuestro poder, sorprendiéndonos un poco que en la misma nada nos digas si has recibido o no una que a finales del ppdo. te escribimos, en la que te hablábamos de la campaña difamatoria que determinados elementos sedicentes del obrerismo llevan a cabo contra nuestra organización Confederal y anarquista en algunos países europeos y americanos.

Urge, camarada Goldman, que todos los compañeros que en el extranjero tienen representación de este Comité Nacional se apresen a rechazar tales embustes, calumnias y demás con la energía y la rapidez necesarias y características en nosotros.

También creemos que es de suma necesidad que estés en contacto estrecho con nosotros y nos informes de todo aquello que reputes de algún interés para conocimiento de este Comité Nacional.

No ignoramos que tropiezas con innumerables dificultades para desarrollar tu labor en esa; pero ello, lejos de desanimarte, ha de servirte de acicate para continuar luchando como lo has hecho a través de los cuarenta años de militancia que llevas en el movimiento anarquista.

Apesar de que hasta ahora las relaciones entre nosotros no han sido lo suficiente constantes que debieran, hemos de decirte que estamos ampliamente satisfechos de tu labor, por se tesonera, sin descanso, por virtud de lo cual, nuestras ideas, nuestra lucha, la gesta magnífica que en la actualidad está escribiendo el proletariado de Iberia, puede ser conocida por una gran multitud de trabajadores ingleses hasta ayer alejados e indiferentes de y con las corrientes revolucionarias que en todos los tiempos han surcado el suelo fecundo de España.

Además de someter a este Comité Nacional una relación de tus actividades, así como de lo que los marxistas digan de nosotros y de nuestra postura ante el movimiento que vivimos en esta, nos indicarás el resultado de las colectas y donativos que en Inglaterra se hagan con destino a las dos organizaciones revolucionarias españolas C.N.T.-F.A.I. No obstante, quedas autorizada para que puedas hacer uso de aquél dinero que te haga falta para la buena marcha de tus actividades, el resto lo enviarás a este Comité.

Pensamos que por el momento no es necesario que vengas a España, ya que, como tu misma señalas, en Londres hay mucho que

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509027

[Letter] 1937 April 10 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

-2-

hacer. Desde luego, creemos que convendría aumentar el número de representantes de este Comité Nacional en esa, de esta manera nuestra propaganda sería más extensa e intensa y los resultados más alagüeños, más positivos.

De todo lo que en la presente sometemos a tu consideración, esperamos nos informes en la próxima.

Hay algo en tu carta que no nos extraña nada. Trátase de la labor derrotista que los delegados socialistas, que han acudido a la Conferencia de la 2ª Internacional celebrada en Londres el día 10 del ppdo. contra la organización obrera española, a la cual representamos y el movimiento específico.

Es una ofensiva general que han emprendido contra el avance progresivo y revolucionario del pueblo español, que, pese a to, no permitirá que las cosas en nuestra tierra, sigan los mismos rumbos que han seguido hasta el 19 de julio.

La revolución, nuestra revolución, que ha de tener aparejadas infinitas transformaciones en nuestro suelo, con relación a los pasados sistemas político, social y económico, nadie, empeñese quién se empeñe, no podrá ser desviada de los cauces por los cuales en pueblo en armas la encauzó el día de la gran victoria, que comenzó para nosotros en el momento preciso en que en las calles de las más importantes poblaciones españolas caían los primeros defensores de la libertad luchando contra la bestia fascista.

Sobre esto, podríamos tocar infinitos extremos, querida amiga. no lo hacemos por no molestar demasiado tu atención y por que a la vez sabemos que te has percatado a tiempo de todos estos detalles y que como nosotros, tienes confianza en nuestro próximo venturoso triunfo y en un pueblo que por la libertad de todos los parias de la tierra, lucha en la hora presente.

Sin otro motivo, quedamos fraternalmente tuyos y de Acracia

Por el Comité Nacional

Oficina de Información y Propaganda

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921028

[Letter, 1937 April 10, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12511

Your letter of the 5th inst is to hand, and we are a little surprised that you do not mention if you received one which we wrote to you at the end of last month, in which we spoke to you of the defamatory campaign carried against ourselves by certain elements among the workers in some countries of Europe and America.

It is urgent, Comrade Goldman, that all the comrades abroad representing the Comité Nacional, should take it upon themselves to refute such calumnies with the necessary energy and speed, characteristic in ourselves.

We are also of the opinion that it is of the utmost necessity that you be in continuous contact with us, keeping us informed of everything of interest for this Comité Nacional.

We do not fail to understand that there are innumerable obstacles in the way of your work, but this fact, instead of disheartening we know will spur you to continue your struggle the same you have been doing up to now during your 40 years of activities in the anarchist movement.

Although up to now our mutual relations have not been as sufficiently frequent as desired, we wish to state that we are exceedingly pleased with your work. We know that you display a great deal of activity, thanks to which our ideals, our struggle and the magnificent gesture that at the present moment is being written by the proletariat of Iberia can be brought to the knowledge of a great majority of British workers, up to now removed and indifferent to the revolutionary currents which at all time have run upon the fertile soil of Spain.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921028

[Letter, 1937 April 10, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12512

2.

Besides sending to this Comité Nacional an account of your activities and also details of what the Marxists say about us, please let us know the amounts of money collected and contributed in England towards the two Spanish revolutionary organisations CNT-FAI. On the other hand, you are hereby authorised to make use of that money which you may need in order to attend to the expenses in connection with your activities, remitting the rest to this Committee.

We think that at present there is no need for you to come to Spain, since, as you say, there is a lot to be done in London. We are also of the opinion that it would be convenient to increase the number of Representatives in the London Office. Thus our propaganda would be more intensive with better and more positive results. On this and the other questions raised in this letter we await your opinion.

The Revolution - our Revolution - which will bring all sort of transformations in the life of our country, in relation to the past political, social and economic systems, nobody whosoever they may be, can deviate from the channels through which it was directed by the people in arms the day of the great victory, begun, for us the very day when in the streets of the principal Spanish towns the first defenders of liberty fell fighting against the fascist beast.

On this we could extend ourselves indefinitely, dear comrade, but we do not want to take much of your valuable time. Besides, we know too well that you noticed all this in due course, and that, the same as ourselves, you are confident of our near and

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April 10, Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Fraternally Yours.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 11 [London to] Maurice Brown, [London] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Hurian Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Van Valkenburgh-Browne Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

Sponsors—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6829

April 11th., 1937.

Maurice Brown, Esq.,
10, Golden Square, W.1.

Dear Maurice Brown,

My family members and many of my American friends used to comfort me by saying, "Emma is like a cat, drop her from the highest elevation, and she will drop on her paws". Believe it or not, my dear, the plunge when I finally had to give up the Theatre venture for the 11th of April was a very painful one, indeed. It didn't seem as if I could pick myself up and start from the beginning again.

You will see by the enclosed Folder that the Theatre venture was turned into a Concert. Nothing else could be done with both Wall and Clovelly having failed utterly to secure a single artist of the Stage. Of course, there is Paul Robeson. It was no great virtue to pull myself together having him as a drawing card; I couldn't possibly have done it without. Although the other people on the bill are also musicians of a high order.

Mr. Oscar Barrett turned out to be a blessing in disguise; he certainly is an efficient man. Moreover, he seems to have hypnotic powers over Mr. Killick. Not only did he get the Palace for the 25th, but Mr. Killick seems to have been as smooth as velvet since Mr. Barrett took charge of the organising of the affair.

So you see, that there is a silver lining to every cloud. I only hope that there will be more silver as a result of the affair than lining.

I know I worried you a great deal. May I do it once more? Could you let me have a selected list of names to whom I might send the Folder? People who may want to hear Paul Robeson sing, even if they are not particularly interested in the homeless Spanish women and children.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840222024

[Letter] 1937 April 11 [London to] Maurice Brown, [London] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher
Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Van Valkenburgh-Browne Papers, Department of
Rare Books and Special Collections.

2.
Dear Maurice,
As you see, we only have two more weeks to try and fill
the Victoria Palace. Will you therefore send me a list of
names, if possible. Of course, I hope to see you on the 25th.

Cordially,

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022139

[Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My dear daughter for Emma Goldman
do not send the date
C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London April 12th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrades.

Save the first
last letter
Your letter of [] reached me only Friday. I cannot understand why my letters have not reached you. I wrote you Feb 24th in answer to your first letter to me with mandat inclosed. I wrote you again March 12th - 29th, April 1st and April 12th. In all five letters. I sent them all by air mail, except the one of April 12th I gave this letter to comrade Vidal. ~~xxxxxx~~ Since letters from here do not seem to reach you I am going to send this letter and copies of those I have written you in a sealed envelope to comrade ~~xxx~~ Galvez. ~~xxx~~ I will mark it urgent and ask him to see that you get the envelope without delay. I don't know what else to do.

Dear comrades Comrade Gavez did send me a letter in regard to the Conference of the 11 International and the Amsterdam International four days before the Conference. But neither he or you can imagine what difficulties I have met here since I began the work for the CNT-FAI. To have any success of reaching the labor leaders in London I would have needed two weeks. And then it would have been doubtful whether the miserable men at the head of the British Labor and Trade Union parties would have considered my taking part in the Conference or at their meeting. For myself I can only try to impress on your mind dear comrade that the CNT has nothing to expect from the labor bodies in this country, either from the Right or the Left. On the contrary there is a decided open and underhand agitation against the CNT. Thus the Daily Herald, the sensational labor daily is keeping up a systematic campaign ~~xxxx~~ of lies against the CNT. While the Daily Chronicle and the Daily Worker keep up a conspiracy of silence. It is impossible to get a line in any paper in this country with perhaps the exception of the Manchester Guardian. And even here I am not quite sure. I am going to test the M Guardian this week with a letter protesting against the charge made by the editor ten days ago against the CNT and Catalonia in general to the effect that Catalonia is doing nothing for Madrid. Of course this dastardly lie has been spread in England and I suppose other countries by the Communists. Anyhow the work here meets with sabotage and misrepresentation on every step.

Dear comrades, please do not get the idea that I mind any difficulty. It is nothing new in my public activities for our ideas during forty eight years. ~~xxxx~~ If I emphasize the obstacles in the way against the work for the CNT it is only because you do not seem

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

to realise the power of the Labor parties and the Communists represent in England and the fortunes they spend on their propaganda. We cannot possibly hope to compete with them. To give you only one or two examples. The Communists work in England under all sorts of covers. The two important ones are the LEFT BOOK CLUB, and the "NATIONAL SPANISH AID SOCIETIES". The BOOK CLUB has thirty thousand members. Every book on Spain is either openly or insidiously anti CNT propaganda. The last book I just read is by Geoffrey Cox, obviously a Communist, correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. According to him the Communists and Russia have and are saving Madrid and Spain. The CNT-FAI have of course had no share in it whatever. This about Russia is a sad affair. This is perhaps not the time to express my attitude towards the concessions you dear comrades have and are making to Russia. For it must be apparent already that you are paying dearly for your overtures and high praise of Stalins regime for the arms he sent. As it is only too apparent that what he actually did was to arm his own ~~ra~~ satraps and prepare them for the day when he will be able to do with the comrades of the CNT-FAI as he has in Russia, put them at the wall or send them to concentration camps. Our comrades in Russia who have remained alive can tell you all about Stalins comradeship.

However, this is not the point I want to stress now. What I want you to know is that the Communists spend fortunes on their propaganda and publicity in daily papers, books, manifestos and other methods of publicity which we here have neither the money or the numerical strength to follow. I said the Communists work under different covers. One is the Spanish Medical Aid and kindred organisations. They sabotage everything we undertake. The latest is the Concert we have ~~arr~~ arranged as per inclosed handbill. It took ten weeks to get this organised because of the opposition I met everywhere even in the ranks of the theatre artists. But just as soon as the Medical Aid group found out about our affair they proceeded to organise one of their own in the largest Hall in London. They even tried to persuade Paul Robeson a very great Negro singer to sing for them and got for us. You will therefore see what terrific obstacles the work for the CNT-FAI meets on every step.

You might ask why not combine with the others? For the simple reason that it is impossible even if I would consent to compromise my ideas to work with the most bitter enemies of Anarcho Syndicalism and Anarchism. But I did try to work with the members of the Spanish exhibition Committee. I have regretted it ever since. I lost two months in weekly wrangles with the dreadful people to protect the rights of the CNT-FAI in the exhibition and in the end we gained nothing ~~for~~ from it. The Committee is still raising money for their deficit. So you see dear comrades whatever work I do for you must remain on independent lines as it has been so far.

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022139

[Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

achterzijde negfilmen

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Considering that we have no movement in England, that we do not even have many individual comrades to work with and very little money at our disposal I think we have not done so badly. We have held several large meetings in London and the Provinces, we have raised some money as you will see by the figures in one of my letters. We are publishing 25,000 copies of our Manifesto calling on the British workers to come to the aid of the anti Fascist struggle and the Revolution by direct action against the NONE INTERVENTION swindle. xxx We are preparing a First of May demonstration. And we are working very hard to make the Concert a great success for the women and children of Spain. We could have done very much more had we a large fund and an organised movement. Even in this direction we have made a beginning. We have organised the first Anarcho Syndicalist Union which held its public meeting last Weds. I hope this will indeed be a beginning to a real Anarchist-Syndicalist movement in Great Britain, the first of its kind.

You say that in Paris the voice of the CNT was heard at the Conference of the two Internationals. I believe that. But Paris and France are not England and London. There the CGT, reformist though it is has been active for Spain and not so bitterly antagonistic as the Labor gang here. There we have an Anarcho Syndicalist paper and movement. There Spain is close by, people coming and going always maintaining a live interest. Nothing of this do we have here. That makes a very considerable difference.

Yes, I know the CNT has tried so incessantly to get the UGT to combine with you. Alas it seems that our side does all the love making to the UGT. I hope you will succeed in winning the old enemy of the CNT whose function before July 19th seems to have been to act as strike breakers and scabs. Unfortunately the leopard only sheds his skin not his nature. It would be a miracle if the UGT would do more. But then you have performed the miracle. You alone, the Spanish workers and peasants of the CNT-FAI have driven back the black scourge of Fascism. And if you will also clean all of Spain from that frightful pest it will be due entirely to your courage, your fortitude and your revolutionary and Anarchist traditions. That's what I have been crying from the house tops and what I will go on doing as long as one Fascist is left. I feel greatly relieved that you dear comrades are finally realising the nature of the Marxist beasts. They have been they are and they will be our most relentless enemies. And there is no hope that if they are forced to work with us they will not at the same time undermine our position and kill the Revolution. They have proven it in Spain already. The question is how long are we to keep the masses ignorant of all the sabotage carried

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

on against the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI? I really must know it as soon as possible. You understand dear comrades I do not want to hurt your struggle in the least. Yet I feel we should begin to take off the ~~lyin~~ mags from the lying face of all Marxists whatever their particular slogans. I have received a copy of an article Souchy has written about the Miaga betrayal by Caballero and his vasals. I suppose it has or will appear in Spain. I want it published here. I must know therefore by return mail or a telegram whether you agree to that. Please do so at once.

I receive everything sent me from Spain. ~~and~~ My only regret so far has been that I do not receive enough. I will therefore be very happy if you will send me everything you ~~are~~ have, posters photographs or anything you have got. We want especially new posters for our First of May demonstration. Please rush them.

Dear comrades it is very important for the future of the CNT Bureau here that I return to Spain for a few weeks to give you a full report and to tell you what really can be done here. I did not know much about it when I came here last Dec. I know ~~now~~ ~~that~~ now the possibilities for a wide and extensive campaign in England. But it is impossible to submit this in writing. So I SIMPLY MUST COME BACK TO SPAIN AND TO ~~YANK~~ Valencia. I had hoped to combine my return with the International Anarchist Conference. I have written everybody connected with the organisation to tell me if the Conference is taking place the first week in May or if it can be postponed. No one has replied. I have also written them asking what the possibility of return to Spain are now. You are probaboy aware of the fact that the British Home Office now insists on stamping every Passport "NOT GOOD FOR SPAIN". I therefore do not want to go by the so called official route. Is there any other? I wish you would write me about it Please. If the Conference is postponed I should prefer to come the first week in June ~~and~~ and remain until the first Anniversary of your glorious Revolution. I think it would be more appropriate for the Anarchist Conference to take part at that time. Anyhow write me soon.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918193

[Letter, 19]37 April 12 [London to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12404

April 12th 37.

Dear Comrades,

Your letter of reached me only Friday. I cannot understand why my letters have not reached you. I wrote you Feb 24th in answer to your first letter to me with ~~hand~~at inclosed. I wrote you again March 12th 29th, April 1st and April 12th. In all five letters. I sent them all by Air Mail except the one of April 12th I gave this letter to comrade Vidal. ~~That xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Since letters from here do not seem to reach you I am going to send this letter and copies of those I have written you in a sealed envelope to comrade Felix Gálvez. ~~xxx~~ I will mark it urgent and ask him to see that you get the envelope without delay. I don't know what else to do.

Dear comrades Comrade Gálvez did send me a letter in regard to the Conference of the II International and the Amsterdam International four days before the Conference. But neither he or you can imagine what difficulties I have met here since I began the work for the CNT-PAI. To have any success of reaching the labor leaders in London I would have needed two weeks. And then it would have been doubtful whether the miserable men at the head of the British Labor and Trade Union parties would have considered my taking part in the Conference or at their meeting. For myself I can only try to impress on your mind dear comrade that the CNT has nothing to expect from the labor bodies in this country, either from the Right or the Left. On the contrary there is a decided open and underhand agitation against the CNT. Thus the Daily Herald, the sensational Labor Daily is keeping up a systematic campaign ~~xxxx~~ of lies against the CNT. While the Daily Chronicle and the Daily Worker keep up a conspiracy of silence. It is impossible to get a line in in any paper in this country with perhaps the exception of the Manchester Guardian. And even here I am not quite sure. I am going to test the the M Guardian this week with a letter protesting against the charge made by the editor ten days ago against the CNT and Catalonia in general to the effect that Catalonia is doing nothing for Madrid. Of course this dastardly lie has been spread in England and I suppose other countries by the Communists. Anyhow the work here meets with sabotage and misrepresentation on every step.

Dear comrades, please do not get the idea that I mind any
~~xxxx~~ It is nothing new in my public activities for our id

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918193

[Letter, 19]37 April 12 [London to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12405

difficulties. I am too deeply interested in your struggle to consider myself. Besides difficulties are nothing new in my life of 48 years activities for our ideas. If I emphasize the obstacles here it is only because you do not seem

to realize the power of the Labor parties and the Communists represented in England and the fortunes they spend on their propaganda. We cannot possibly hope to compete with them. To give you only one or two examples. The Communists work in England under all sorts of covers. The two important ones are the LEFT BOOK CLUB, and the NATIONAL SPANISH AID SOCIETIES. The BOOK CLUB has thirty thousand members. Every book on Spain is either openly or insidiously anti CNT. propaganda. The last book I just read is by Geoffrey Cox, obviously a Communist, correspondent of the Manchester Guardian. According to him the Communists and Russia have and are saving Madrid and Spain. The CNT-FAI have of course had no share in it whatever. This about Russia is a sad affair. This is perhaps not the time to express my attitude towards the concessions you dear comrades have and are making to Russia. For it must be apparent already that you are paying dearly for your overtures and high praise of Stalin's regime for the arms he sent. As it is only too apparent that what he actually did was to arm his own ~~extremes~~ satraps and prepare them for the day when he will be able to do with the comrades of the CNT-FAI as he has in Russia, put them at the wall or send them to concentration camps. Our comrades in Russia who have remained alive can tell you all about Stalin's comradeship.

However, this is not the point I want to stress now. What I want you to know is that the Communists spend fortunes on their propaganda and publicity in daily papers, books, manifestos and other methods of publicity which we here have neither the money or the numerical strength to follow. I still the Communists work under different covers. One is the Spanish Medical Aid and kindred organizations. They sabotage everything we undertake. The latest is the Concert we have ~~arranged~~ arranged as per inclosed handbill. It took ten weeks to get this organized because of the opposition I met everywhere even in the ranks of the theatre artists. But just as soon as the Medical Aid group found out about our affair they proceeded to organize one of their own in the largest hall in London. They even tried to persuade Paul Robeson a very great Negro singer to sing for them and for us. You will therefore see what terrific obstacles the work for the CNT-FAI meets on every step.

You might ask why not combine with the others? For the simple reason that it is impossible even if I would consent to compromise my ideas to work with the most bitter enemies of Anarcho Syndicalism and anarchism. But I did try to work with the members of the Spanish exhibition Committee. I have regretted it ever since. I lost two months in weekly wrangles with the dreadful people to protect the rights of the CNT-FAI in the exhibition and in the end we gained nothing far from it. The Committee is still raising money for their deficit. So you see dear comrades whatever work I do for you must remain on independent lines as it has been so far.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 12 [London to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12406

Considering that we have no movement in England, that we do not even have many individual comrades to work with and very little money at our disposal I think we have not done so badly. We have held several large meetings in London and the Provinces, we have raised some money as you will see by the figures in one of my letters. We are publishing 25,000 copies of our Manifesto calling on the British workers to come to the aid of the anti Fascist struggle and the Revolution by direct action against the NONE INTERVENTION swindle. xxx We are preparing a First of May demonstration, and we are working very hard to make the Concert a great success for the women and children of Spain. We could have done very much more had we a large fund and an organised movement. Even in this direction we have made a beginning. We have organised the first Anarcho Syndicalist Union which held its public meeting last Weds. I hope this will indeed be a beginning to a real Anarchist-Syndicalist movement in Great Britain, the first of its kind.

You say that in Paris the voice of the CNT was heard at the Conference of the two Internationals. I believe that. But Paris and France are not England and London. There the CGT, reformist though it is has been active for Spain and not so bitterly antagonistic as the Labor gang here. There we have an Anarcho Syndicalist paper and movement. There Spain is close by, people coming and going always maintaining a live interest. Nothing of this do we have here. That makes a very considerable difference.

Yes, I know the CNT has tried so incessantly to get the UGT to combine with you. Alas it seems that our side does all the love making to the UGT. I hope you will succeed in winning the old enemy of the CNT whose function before July 19th seems to have been to act as strike breakers and scabs. Unfortunately the leopard only shows his skin not his nature. It would be a miracle if the UGT would do more. But then you have performed the miracle. You alone, the Spanish workers and peasants of the CNT-PAI have driven back the black scourge of Fascism. And if you will also clean all of Spain from that frightful pest it will be due entirely to your courage, your fortitude and your revolutionary and Anarchist traditions. That's what I have been crying from the house tops and what I will go on doing as long as one Fascist is left. I feel greatly relieved that you dear comrades xxx are finally realising the nature of the Marxist beasts. They have been they are and they will be our most relentless enemies and there is no hope that if they are forced to work with us they will not at the same time undermine our position and kill the Revolution. They have proven it in Spain already. The question is how long are we to keep the masses ignorant of all the sabotage carried

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918193

[Letter, 19]37 April 12 [London to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12407

2

on against the Spanish revolution and the CNT-FAI? I really must know it as soon as possible. You understand dear comrades I do not want to hurt your struggle in the least. Yet I feel we should begin to take off the ~~hix~~ rags from the lying face of all Marxists whatever their particular slogans. I have received a copy of an article Soucy has written about the May 1937 betrayal by Caballero and his vagals.

I suppose it has or will appear in Spain. I want it published here. I must know therefore by return mail or a telegram whether you agree to that. Please do so at once.

I receive everything sent me from Spain. ~~xxxx~~ My only regret so far has been that I do not receive enough. I will therefore be very happy if you will send me everything you ~~are~~ have, posters, photographs or anything you have got. We want especially new posters for our First of May demonstration. Please rush them.

Dear comrades it is very important for the future of the CNT Bureau here that I return to Spain for a few weeks to give you a full report and to tell you what really can be done here. I did not know much about it when I came here last Dec. I know ~~now~~ ~~that~~ now the possibilities for a wide and extensive campaign in England. But it is impossible to submit this in writing. So I SIMPLY MUST COME BACK TO SPAIN AND TO ~~xxxx~~ Valencia. I had hoped to combine my return with the International Anarchist Conference. I have written every body connected with the organization to tell me if the Conference is taking place the first week in May or if it can be postponed. No one has replied. I have also written them asking what the possibility of return to Spain are now. You are probably aware of the fact that the British Home Office now insists on stamping every Passport "NOT GOOD FOR SPAIN". I therefore do not want to go by the so called official route. Is there any other? I wish you would write me about it. Please. If the Conference is postponed I should prefer to come the first week in June ~~xx~~ and remain until the first anniversary of your glorious revolution. I think it would be more appropriate for the Anarchist Conference to take part at that time. Anyhow write me soon.

Salud.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

99

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918194

[Letter, 19]37 April 12, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12408

London April 12th 37.

Dear comrade Galvez. Thank you for your letter and the letter from the comrades in Valencia. I cannot understand why the comrades there failed to receive my letters. I sent them four by Air Mail and one with comrade Vidal. Since they have not reached the CNT-Fai in Valencia I have decided to send everything in the way of my replies and other matters through you. But I must ask you dear comrade to see that they are taken by a reliable courier and that they get to Valencia as quickly as possible. I know I can depend on you to do so as it is most important that I should reach the Secretariat of the CNT in Valencia.

Of course dear comrade you sent me the request to see the people of the 11 International and the Amsterdam gang four days in advance. But to have achieved anything two weeks were needed. You have no idea what a deadly machine the Labor, trade ~~union~~ and Communist parties are here. And what it means to penetrate their walls. So four days are nothing at all. I could not make even the slightest inroad in ~~sex~~ four days. But really nothing was lost because the Larxists outfit would not have permitted my taking part in their conference or their ~~sex~~ demonstration.

Dear comrade I have written everybody in Barcelona I can think of about the International Anarchist Conference whether it is taking place in May, or whether it has been postponed. I can get no reply. Do you know anything about it? Another thing, if and when I return to Spain I will not want to go legally because I am certain the British Home Office will stamp my British passport "NOT GOOD FOR SPAIN". Is there any other way for me to get back. An English comrade and his wife want to go with me, in fact take me in their car which would save considerable expenses. Will you let me know how we can get back? Do so soon please.

Once more I beg you to see that the inclosed envelope gets to the comrades in Valencia without delay.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001274

[Letter] 1937 April 12, Venice [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 27 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Venice

19865

April 12th 1937

Dearest Emma,

I am glad you include yourself amongst the ~~queer ducks~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ because you distinctly ~~glowed~~ instead of quacking when I read your letter. The sick lady still weak on arrival was given luncheons teas and dinners by people who wanted, because of my being so seedy, to save me the trouble of preparing food for myself and I went to their homes where I was fed, rested and cared for, also the ~~crowds~~ on the place were represented by friends stopping to give me a word of welcome. Even your frail social body could have withstood that methinks. Emma dear, I missed no fun with you but I often thought we could have instilled a little more joy and hope in the work that was being done, it is that grim pessimism that is so devitalising. I daresay you will think this is a very discordant note on which to start a letter but it is really the answering chord to the prelude of your effort and it had to be properly treated.

Thanks for what you have done about the flat downstairs, I am relieved to hear it has been made clean and habitable. Let me know exactly what you pay on my behalf and we will deduct it from the rent etc.

The £8/16/6 cheque I returned to you was the one you gave me for food, Winnie, laundry gas etc, including ~~xxx/5/6x~~ £1/6/6 for soda water ~~and~~ beer + salad oil from Feb. 19th to my leaving on March 26th. The 3/1. for soda was got, I presume whilst I was ill.

I mentioned this to you.

Now about the 25th. you seem to have have got things going in a businesslike way, I can see no reason why it should not be a great success. The little folders are alright, personally I would have liked the heading a little less flamboyant, but that is nothing. You remember ~~xxx~~ mentioned Stella's Secretary, but I always thought you wanted a full time assistant, to work and be shared with the office in Victoria street. I knew Stella secretary was no use for that.

For the moment it is no use my thinking about an exhibition of photographs in Venice, it would cause I am sure too much contention as things are here. Politically the town is quite in a turmoil and the anti Blum - ites very virulent..

upset

There has been a bit of ~~an upset~~ about those curtains I took to London. Also, before I go further I must tell you that evidently ~~my~~ sent the money straight away to Venice and my not being here, it was returned by the postoffice and resent to me by Betty and only reached me on Friday. In the meantime ~~my~~ had written and asked (or it was in the same letter) I should send on the curtains to Paris to Madame, - that Spanish lady

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001274

[Letter] 1937 April 12, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 3 p.; 27 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(2)

19866

whose name starts with C. she wanted to make a present of them to her. Not receiving ~~the reply~~ she got rather anxious and wrote me another to say she had sold them to Madame C., then of course I explained I had taken them to London and they were being used in the flat. This morning I received the enclosed card. She is obviously angry. She is quite right in saying I should have told her before I left, but the idea came to me suddenly and in the turmoil I forgot it, I know when I saw Mary just before leaving she was in such a state of hysteria about Dr Cohn, everything else had no significance. Perhaps when you write to her you will explain that you have the curtains and make some arrangement.

Which brings me to Nellie, she came up and had lunch with me yesterday and stayed until the late 'bus. Poor soul she has been really seriously ill. How she stood it all alone I don't know. She had shingles that spread over half her face, neck and shoulders and she suffered agonies of pain. She looked quite thin and worn poor dear. I wished I could have fixed her up here, had there been the slightest possibility I would have done so, but as she says she has so much baggage and here there would be no place to park them. But she is going to London, she has an idea she might do something there, she also thinks that Shaw will help her so I understand she will leave here before the end of the month. Perhaps she will be with you for the 25th...

On Friday I had a charming letter from Norman Douglas, he had heard from Archie I had been ill, and I wrote him from the boat, he says he is going to try and come here himself to see how things are so I am expecting him at any time. You can guess how delighted I am about that, but he is not in very good health himself I am afraid. I am meeting quite a number of people en passant, so I have known from years ago, who are on their way to London. I have told them all about the show on the 25th and several have promised to write to the non-treasurer for tickets, what about Covelly? You will need some more talent ~~for the show~~ and no he should be able to help you. Is he still as busy as ever? I like Covelly very much and were he not so rushed I am certain he would do much more for you.

I am still feeling pretty cheap and tomorrow I am to have a special consultation with D'Eck I know what he will do, put me on a severe regime. ~~Tant pis~~ Tant pis, it is all in the game. I hope you are still as lusty as ever and not wilting under the strain of all the hard work. I can guess the hours you puffa eachway. Give the enclosed to David. I miss him here.

You say in the last par. of your letter "Friendships usually ends when one is too outspoken" and then "it is different in my case" so I know the foreboding will

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001274

[Letter] 1937 April 12, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 3 p. ; 27 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

cause no misgiving in your big understanding and as
always I send you my love and still say be kind to
yourself.

19867

I want to get this off because I feel rather
conscience stricken ~~by~~ poor Amy, but her letter being
sent twice across the continent was the cause of the
delay.

Give my love to everyone

affectionately,

Auntie.

Anna has left Cohns and I believe they are about to return
to U.S.A. Nellie has not met them at all.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509022

[Letter] 1937 April 13, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 13 de Abril de 1937.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Queridos camaradas. Salud:

Vuestra carta del 30 de Marzo fue recibida el viernes y no puedo comprender como es que no habeis recibido mis comunicaciones. Os escribi el 24 de Febrero en contestación a vuestra primera carta, incluyendo el mandato. Os volvi a escribir el 12 y 29 de Marzo y 1º de Abril, en junto cuatro cartas. Excepto la última carta que fue llevada a mano por el camarada Vidal que se encontraba accidentalmente en Londres, el resto las mandé por correo aéreo. Como quiera que no habeis recibido mis citadas cartas, la presente, juntamente con copias de las anteriores, os la enviaré bajo sobre lacrado, a traves del camarada Galvez. La marcaré "urgente" y le pediré que la reexpida a vosotros enseguida.

Es verdad que el camarada Galvez me envió una carta con respecto a la Conferencia de la Segunda Internacional cuatro días antes de que ésta fuese celebrada; pero no podréis imaginaros las dificultades encontradas aquí desde que llegué y empecé a trabajar por la CNT-FAI. Para que me hubiese sido factible llegar hasta los dirigentes de los obreros en Londres habrían sido precisas los menos dos semanas, y así y todo hubiera sido muy difícil que los actuales dirigentes de las organizaciones obreras inglesas consintieran mi participación en la Asamblea. Por mi parte, puedo aseguraros que la CNT-FAI no debe esperar nada de dichos organismos en este país, tanto de la derecha como de la izquierda. El Daily Herald, órgano del partido laborista mantiene una campaña sistemática de mentiras en contra de la CNT-FAI, mientras que el News Chronicle y el Daily Worker observan una conspiración de silencio y nunca mencionan nuestra Sindical. No es posible poder conseguir que se publique una línea en ningún diario, con la rara excepción del Manchester Guardian, a quien voy a poner a prueba esta semana con una carta de protesta en contra lo publicado en un editorial de hace diez días, en el que se criticaba a la CNT y a Cataluña en general, diciendo que ésta nada hacía por Madrid. Por supuesto que ello ha sido propagado en Inglaterra, y me imagino en otros países, por los comunistas.

No os creáis, sin embargo, queridos camaradas, que a mi me asustan todas estas dificultades. No es nada nuevo en mis actividades públicas, en pro de nuestras ideas de mas de 48 años. Si os hecho ver los obstáculos opuestos al trabajo por la CNT-FAI, ha sido para que

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509022

[Letter] 1937 April 13, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

Los comunistas en Inglaterra. No es posible competir con ellos, pues se gastan una fortuna en propaganda. Para daros tan solo un ejemplo, los comunistas trabajan bajo varios disfraces. Los dos mas importantes son el LEFT BOOK CLUB y la NATIONAL SPANISH AID SOCIETIES. El BOOK CLUB cuenta con 30.000 suscriptores y todos los libros que publica sobre España, de una manera velada o abierta son anti-CNT propaganda. El último libro que he leído está escrito por Geoffrey Cox, un comunista sin duda, corresponsal del Manchester Guardian. De acuerdo con él, los comunistas y Rusia son los que salvan a Madrid y a España. Esto acerca de Rusia es una cosa que apena. Seguramente no es esta ocasión de expresar mi actitud ante las concesiones que vosotros habéis hecho y estáis haciendo a Rusia. Es aparente ya que estáis pagando caro vuestras muestras de simpatía por el regimen de Stalin. Es la forma en que demostrasteis vuestra gratitud por el armamento enviado; pero lo que él ha realizado es armar a sus satrapas y prepararlos para el día cuando pueda hacer con los compañeros de la CNT-FAI lo que ha hecho en Rusia: ponerlos en contra de la pared o enviarlos a campos de concentración.

Pero lo que ahora deseo demostraros es que los comunistas gastan grandes cantidades en propaganda por medio de diarios, obras, manifiestos y otros métodos de publicidad, que nosotros ~~no~~ aquí no tenemos ni el dinero ni la fuerza numérica suficiente para poder contrarrestar. Como os decía antes, aquí trabajan los comunistas bajo diferentes mantos; uno de ellos la Spanish Medical Aid y similares organizaciones, saboteando todo lo que nosotros intentamos, como últimamente ha ocurrido con el concierto que pensamos dar, según programa que acompaño a la presente. Me costó organizarlo mas de diez semanas debido a la oposición encontrada en todas partes; y entre los mismos artistas. En cuanto el grupo que integra la Medical Aid se enteró empezaron ellos a organizar otro en contraposición al nuestro, y aun llegaron a pedir a Paul Robson, el gran artista negro, que cantara por ellos y no por nosotros.

Me diréis que por qué no procuro cooperar con ellos y he de contestaros que por la sencilla razón de que es imposible, aun cuando consintiera postergar mis ideas. Traté de trabajar con los miembros de la Exposición Española y me está pesando desde entonces. Perdi mas de dos meses en discusiones a fin de proteger los derechos de la CNT-FAI en la Exposición y al final de cuentas no se ganó nada. Así pues, cualquier trabajo que realice en nombre de vosotros tendrá que ser hechos en líneas independientes, como hasta ahora.

Si se tiene en cuenta que apenas si existe movimiento en Inglaterra; que tampoco contamos con muchos camaradas con quienes laborar y que los fondos a nuestra disposición son escasos, los resultados obtenidos son satisfactorios. Se han celebrado varios mítines en Londres y Provincias; se ha colectado algun dinero, como veréis en una de mis cartas; se van a tirar 25.000 copias de nuestro manifiesto llamando a los trabajadores ingleses a que acudan en ayuda de la lucha antifascista y de la Revolución, ejerciendo acción directa en contra de la farsa de la NO INTERVENCIÓN; se prepara una manifestación

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 13, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

para el 1º de Mayo y se trabaja activamente para que el Concierto a favor de las mujeres y niños españoles sea un éxito. De haber dispuesto de fondos suficientes y de un movimiento organizado tal vez se habría podido hacer mas, si bien en este sentido tambien se ha avanzado algo, habiendo quedado constituida la primera organización Anarco Sindicalista el miércoles pasado, cuando se celebró la primera reunión. Confío que esto sea el principio de un verdadero Anarco-Sindicalista movimiento en Inglaterra.

Me contáis que en París fué oída la voz de la CNT en la Conferencia de las dos Internacionales. Lo creo, pero es que París y el resto de Francia no son Londres ni Inglaterra. Allí, la CGT, si bien reformista, ha estado activa en la causa de España y no se ha mostrado tan antagonista como la pandilla obrerista de aquí. Allí contamos con un diario y un movimiento Anarco-Sindicalista. España está cerca; gente va y viene y el interés se mantiene siempre vivo. No contamos aquí con nada de esto, lo que hace una diferencia considerable.

Ha sido para mí motivo de gran satisfacción el ver que os vais dando cuenta de la verdadera naturaleza de los marxistas. Han sido siempre, son y serán nuestros mayores enemigos, y no hay manera de poder creer que aun cuando estén obligados a trabajar con nosotros, dejen de sabotearnos y traten de extrangular la Revolución. La cuestión es cuanto tiempo vamos nosotros a mantener a las masas ignorantes de tales maniobras contra la Revolución y la CNT-FAI. Deseo saberlo cuanto antes. Mi que decir tiene que no deseo dañar vuestra lucha. Sin embargo me parece que deberíamos empezar a desenmascarar a estos marxistas. He recibido copia del artículo escrito por Souchy sobre la traición de Málaga. Supongo que ha sido o será publicado en España, y yo desearía publicarlo aquí. Así, pues, debo saber a correo vuelta o por telegrama si estáis conforme.

Todo lo que se me manda de España lo recibo, y hasta ahora la única queja es que no me mandan suficiente material, por lo que os agradecería que me enviaseis todo cuanto tengáis: Carteles, fotografías, etc., etc. Nos hacen falta carteles para la manifestación del 1º de Mayo.

Estimo que es de suma importancia para el futuro desarrollo del trabajo de la oficina de la CNT aquí que yo vaya a España por unas cuantas semanas a daros un informe completo, así como también para poneros en antecedentes de los que realmente aquí se podría hacer. Esto no lo sabía cuando vine en Diciembre pasado; pero ahora estoy enterada de las posibilidades que existen para una amplia y e intensiva campaña en Inglaterra, lo cual no es posible someterlo por escrito. Por tanto, me parece que debo marchar a Valencia. Pensaba combinar mi retorno con la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista, y aun cuando he escrito a mucha gente preguntando si se ha de celebrar en la primera semana de Mayo o va a ser aplazada, hasta ahora nadie me ha contestado. También he preguntado cuáles son la posibilidades de poder entrar en España ahora. Habis de saber que estas autoridades marcan todos los pasaportes: NO ES VALIDO PARA ESPANA,

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509022

[Letter] 1937 April 13, London [to Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

... para oficial (No hay otro medio
... hasta ahí? Os ruego me escribais ilustrándome sobre
punto. Si la Conferencia es aplazada me gustaría ir para la primera
semana de Junio y quedarme hasta el primer aniversario de vuestra
gloriosa Revolución. Estimo que sería mas apropiado que la Conferen-
cia Anarquista fuese celebrada entonces.

Un cariñoso y fraternal saludo de,

Emma Goldman

On ma ditait
toute suite que
mon lettre de
le 12. Mars
Jidal vaquis
a envoie.
CJ CJ

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918195

[Letter] 1937 April 13 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12409

13 de Abril de 1937.

Querido camarada Galvez. Salud.

Muchas gracias por tu carta y la que me incluyes de los compañeros en Valencia; pero lo que no comprendo es porque no han recibido ellos mismas cartas. Cuatro por correo aéreo y una a manos del camarada Vidal. Como quiera que no han llegado a su destino en Valencia, he decidido enviar todas mis comunicaciones por tu conducto, y lo que te ruego es que procures hacerlas seguir a manos de los interesados por mensajero seguro y de forma que lleguen a Valencia con la mayor rapidez posible. Se que puedo depender en ti en este favor que te pido, pues es importante que yo esté en contacto con el Secretariado de la CNT en Valencia.

Tal como tu dices, es cierto que recibí tu carta para que me entrevistase con la gente de la Segunda Internacional, con cuatro días de antelación; pero de forma que se pudiese hacer algo, se habrían precisado unas cuatro semanas. No te puedes formar idea de la lucha que aquí hay que sostener con los partidos laboristas y los comunistas, así es que cuatro días no hubiesen bastado para vencer todas las dificultades. De todas maneras, nada se perdió, pues los marxistas no hubiesen permitido que yo tomase parte en la Conferencia.

He escrito a casi todo el mundo en Barcelona con respecto a la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista, preguntando si es que se celebrará en Mayo o ha sido aplazada para más tarde, y hasta la fecha sigo sin saber nada ¿Sabes tu algo sobre esto?

Otra cosa que me preocupa es que estas autoridades no me concederán permiso para entrar en España, si les digo que voy allí, pues me marcarán el pasaporte con la indicación de que no es válido para dicho país. Como quiero evitar esto, te agradecería me indicase si existe alguna manera de poder entrar en España venciendo tales dificultades. Un camarada inglés y su compañera quieren hacer el viaje conmigo, llevandome en su coche, lo que me ahorraría gastos. Dime si tal cosa podría realizarse y la forma de hacerlo tan pronto como puedas.

Suplicandote nuevamente el favor de hacer seguir el pliego adjunto a Valencia con toda rapidez, te saluda fraternalmente,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005050

[Letter] 1937 April 13, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

Sección Internacional
(SECRETARÍA)

Via Dorset, 30, 6.º, 32 y 34, 4.º
Teléfono 14578

Barcelona, 13 de Abril de 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
LONDON W14

Liebe Emma,

Wir erhielten einen Brief des UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT in welchem sie mitteilen, dass sie bereit sind einen Delegierten zum Anarchisten Kongress zu senden. - Wir müssen die Sache in England regeln. Natürlich kann die Glasgow Gruppe einen Delegierten schicken. Besser wäre es natürlich, wenn man sich vorher einigen könnte einen oder einige delegierte zu schicken, nicht als Vertreter einzelner Gruppen, sondern als delegierte einer nationalen Bewegung.

Man kann den Freunden von Guy Aldred nicht verbieten auf dem Kongress zu erscheinen. Ich hätte aber gerne Deine und die Meinung der Freedom Gruppe darüber gehört.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen

Augustin Souchy



Secretaría de Relaciones
Exteriores

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 13 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Flora Robson. —
1 p. ; 15 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17472

27. DOWNSHIRE HILL,
HAMPSTEAD, N.W.3.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
W.14.

Thirteenth
April
1937.

Dear Miss Goldman,

I am so sorry I shall not
be able to do anything on the 25th.
I am very tired from the rehearsals
of "Anna Christie" and have to start
rehearsing for a broadcast next week
and I also have to prepare a film part
all of which take up my time considerably.

I am so sorry the play project
is not feasible, but with such great
concert artistes you should have a
wonderful success.

Very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Flora Robson

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005140

[Letter] 1937 April 14, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25 Prospect St.,
New Rochelle, N.Y., U.S.A.,
April 14, 1937.

20145

Dear E.G.:

Your letter of April 5th to hand an hour or so ago and as I have had it on my conscience for several weeks now about writing you I am answering at once.

I arrived home on Saturday the 10th or lacking one day of two months from the time I left for Florida and bringing Anuta with me. I am not sure I returned a wiser or even a healthier man than I was but I brought back a very, very sick woman with me. I am not sure that Rachelle or her family know what is wrong with Anuta but I was told before leaving it was cancer so you will not mention it to them for they might easily make a mistake and let it out in their letters and I am pretty sure Anuta does not know it.

Anuta as you know was always a follower of Dr. Tilden the dietician of Denver and at her request I wrote the latter a letter asking for treatment. He sent a questionnaire and I filled it out for her with the answers given me and it was evident she did not know she had - if she has cancer. I never mentioned the subject to her but feel sure if she had any idea she had cancer she would have told Tilden for she is to intelligent a woman to expect a man to treat her unless she told him what was the matter with her. She had two operations two years ago and almost died then and as the operations were performed by a son of the Dr. Ginsberg you know and who is now considered one of the most brilliant surgeons in New York and as I understand it he told Walter - Anuta's son what the ~~tr~~ trouble was. She came to Florida a week after me and improved the first three weeks gaining 4 lbs but then had a relapse and for the four weeks following she grew weaker until I was afraid she would die on my hands before getting her back home. However, she did get back with me although she was so weak she had to be taken in a wheel chair to a taxi and I fear she has not much longer to stay with us. I did my best for her while in Florida but need not tell you I am not a nurse and all I could do was run errands and get her a cup of tea or hot water when she woke or asked for it. Nevertheless, it was a strain and I returned home tired out. She weighed 80 lbs when she went to Florida and ~~probabix~~ probably 2 or 3 lbs less after seven weeks there so you can guess the rest.

Anuta had a couple of letters from Rachelle telling her about your work and that you had the Flu and I should have written you earlier but it was a bit of a strain with Anuta so ill so I hope you will overlook it.

Needless to say I have read not only your letter to me but the copies of the others you enclose and whatever differences of opinion there may be with others on the subject of Spain I can see none between us. It goes without saying that all of us hate compromise with all our souls and beings but I have seen, read and grieved over the dissension of the workers and libertarians so much in recent years that I am willing to work with any group or party as far as I can always provided they stand for liberalism or a libertarian society. The single exception are these who stand frankly and unashamed for a totalitarian state, fascist or communist for those I cannot work with. Judging from your answer to Tom Bell's

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005140

[Letter] 1937 April 14, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

20146

letter it would seem he is a trifle doctrinaire. I say this after knowing Tom for forty years.

Mano
The three of us have spent forty odd years each in working with people, trying to organize them, reasoning and living with them and the result of this in my case is the following: When whole nations are gagged and have no opportunity or next to none to learn what is actually going on in the world it seems folly to talk of individual liberty and write in terms of individuals when millions are regimented like slaves. I have often thought suppose Malatesta had accepted the offer of the unions that asked him to lead the revolution in Italy back in 1919 or 1920 and make himself dictator like Lenin; would it not have been better for the mass of Italians than the present? True he would have sacrificed his own integrity and gone back on the principles of a lifetime but in view of what has happened would it not have been better even for a Malatesta to have been sacrificed than the millions who have been enslaved because he refused and paved the way for Mussolini? After all even though we are individualists we know there are times when the individual must be sacrificed or sacrifice himself. Trying to look at things realistically it seems to me beyond question if the anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists continued to stand outside the pale no matter what their motives would have weakened the forces fighting the Fascists and it seems to me to make inevitable the triumph of Franco and his supporters. Such tactics in Italy and Germany led to the triumph of Mussolini and Hitler and it would do the same in Spain ~~as it seems criminal folly~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to use those outworn tactics.

There was a time when I could work for anarchism purely as an ~~xxx~~ ideal irrespective of whether it came in my time or ten centuries later but I can no longer do that. Think of how long it will take to overcome Hitlerism and Mussolinism and bring back the people even to the point where they were before the advent of such plagues. Millions of people have been debauched and degraded beyond recovery deferring the coming of that free society we have advocated so long so I say again if I were in Spain I would urge in season and out of season unity between the various parties until fascism is crushed. It is heartbreaking to think that men will do the things you claim are being done by communists and other parties but in a sense this is what is advocated by those who have on the fact that the ~~Spain~~ Spanish comrades are compromising. The Communists are believers in totalitarianism of a slightly different kind to the fascists and the lesson of Germany and of Italy seems lost on them. It is true of course that we want what we call freedom but if that desire is to mean weakening the struggle against the enemy actually within the gates we are defeating the very thing we claim we want. But hell you know all the answers so what is the use. I not only admire the heroism and idealism of the Spanish people as a whole but I hope and believe I would not allow any holier than thou attitude to prevent ~~me~~ from making my efforts against Fascism ~~to be~~ nullified in the slightest degree.

down
I see by your letters that Rose Pesotta and Abe Bluestein are likely to be delegates to the conference in Barcelona. Young Bluestein is one of the ablest of the younger comrades and while I am not entirely sure that his environment and background of a Jewish labor movement does not make him more a syndicalist than anarchist he is an able boy and should make a good delegate. As to Rose she is a veteran and should make a good delegate also. I wish I could go myself but that is out of the question for financial reasons.

As you say having lived in England I know the difficulties and opposition you are up against and marvel you have succeeded as well as you have. The point I was trying to make earlier in this letter about compro-

112

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005140

[Letter] 1937 April 14, New Rochelle, N.Y. [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / Harry [Kelly]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

size can be seen in another form here. The fight for Socialism both in²⁰¹⁴⁷ Germany and England has gone on so long it has become emasculated and its advocates moribund until the original ideal has been forgotten and the men and women impotent. A movement starts from suffering and idealism and when it is protracted over a long period the leaders who once were idealists become fat and lazy or tired and just want to hold their jobs and the mass grow tired of waiting and follow another and even false leader as in Italy and Germany. The moral of all this to me is a movement to live must accomplish something otherwise it will decay ~~xxx~~ in spirit as it has in England until ~~it~~ it is flabby and lifeless. As to Shaw! I discovered he had clay feet as long ago as the Boer War in 1899 and have never ~~re~~ believed in him since.

The Bulletins from Barcelona have been coming regular but Leah did not send them on to Florida and I have not go~~t~~ to them since my return but I expect too today or tomorrow.

As to you coming here to work for Spain from all accounts Congress will remain in session until the Supreme Court question is settled and that may not be until July according to the Washington Correspondents. However, here is hoping.

It looks as if my proposed cooperative project in Florida will not go over. It looked good to me but it just has not gone over.

Leah, Elsie, Nat, Jessica and Wally in Washington are all well and I am pretty good. Wally was here last week-end and looks pretty good. I also saw Minna last Saturday and she is well although not working at the moment.

Write when you have time and so will I. Meanwhile we all send our love and give my love to Rachelle, Sonia and Harry and all other comrades and friends you meet who may remember me.

Affectionately,

Harry

The Emma Goldman Papers

881027069

[Letter] 1937 April 14 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Gertrude Willoughby. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

UNION OF GIRLS' SCHOOLS

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE
(INCORPORATED)

Warden:
GERTRUDE WILLOUGHBY,
M.A., D. Univ. Paris.

STAFFORD STREET SETTLEMENT,
PECKHAM, S.E. 15

April 14th 1937.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Do send me a notice of the concert at the Victoria Palace; I will certainly put it up.

Is there any possibility of your coming to speak to our Luncheon Club on Wednesday 28th or on May 5th? We were so sorry that you were not able to come. No one did appear from the Committee but luckily we had a man in the club who was present and who could speak on the new Constitution in India.

Yours sincerely,

Gertrude Willoughby

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029296

[Letter] 1937 April 15, St. Tropez [to] E[mma] G[oldman], Paris / F. Pélet. —
1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

AGENCE F. PÉLET

OPÉRATIONS

Immobilières & Commerciales

1, RUE ALLARD
SAINT-TROPEZ (Var)

TELEPHONE 7

Adresse Télég. : Pélet-Saint-Tropez

relancer plélet
Saint-Tropez, le 15 Avril 37, 1937

Madame E. G. COLTON,
Chez Madame MOLLIE-ALPERINE,
23. Rue des Volontaires,
Paris. XV^e.

Madame,

Comme suite aux instructions que vous m'aviez laissées en partant de St-Tropez, j'ai fait visiter votre Propriété "Bon Esprit" à un de mes Clients, dont je vous donne le nom ci-après: Monsieur le Docteur DESCAMPS à Eugies, dans le Hainaut (Belgique).

J'ai vu Monsieur SANDSTROM qui m'a fait part de votre dernière lettre où vous indiquez un minimum de 80 mille francs. Lui et moi, ne pensons pas que vous puissiez jamais retirer ce prix pour les raisons que mon Client m'a exposées et que je vous transmet:

Accès impossible en voiture, nécessité de faire un Garage dans le bas, insuffisance du nombre de Pièces pour une famille, réfections à faire en général, etc....Au total, avec les droits d'enregistrement, de Notaire, etc....cela met la propriété à un gros prix, pour son importance.

Tout de même, avec beaucoup de patience, j'ai pu obtenir de Monsieur DESCAMPS une offre ferme de Soixante Mille fr comptant. Et je m'empresse de vous la transmettre, car en toute franchise c'est un prix acceptable, vu ce qu'il faut encore dépenser ensuite.

Je vous serai obligé de me répondre car j'ai promis à mon Client de le fixer sous quelques jours. Je ne voudrai pas vous le comproenez qu'il aille ailleurs.

Pensant donc vous lire favorablement, je vous prie d'agréer MADAME, l'assurance de ma parfaite considération,

Votre Notice que je viens de relire ne fait pas mention de la Commission d'usage de CINQ pour Cent sur la somme obtenue par vous. Je me permets donc de vous rappeler que "légalement" cette commission vous incombe, à moins d'entente spéciale avec l'acheteur.

Membre de la Chambre Syndicale des Agents Immobiliers de France

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726080

[Letter, 19]37 April 15 [London to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Arthur Hanson. — 1 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28464

TELEGRAMS: 000000000 1001
TELEPHONE: 000000000 1001

CONNAUGHT CLUB,
75, SEYMOUR STREET,
MARBLE ARCH, W.2

Apr 15/37

Emma Goldman

Thanks for your
intimation in regard to Apr. 25.th
I hope the money side of
the concert will be as of high
value as I'm sure the musical
side will be. Anyhow I'm
getting a ticket - from Gallets -
though presumably I'm an ignoramus
in regard to music, not being a
man of note! With best wishes
to the cause.

Sincerely yours

Arthur Hanson

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April 16 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19964

April 16th 37.

Dear Augustine. This will have to be a very short letter. I still have an awful lot of work to do for the concert I have arranged. It is a large and expensive undertaking and as we have no more than a baker's dozen to help I am forced to work 16 hours a day to reach people. You will appreciate the task when I tell you that five hundred letters had to be written personally to each person. That does not include addresses and special kinds of letters besides answering hundreds of telephone calls.

I received your letters of ~~March 22~~ April 6th and 13th. They came together yesterday. I suppose the one of the 6th was laying around in somebody's pocket. Well, I feel very much relieved to know the definite day of the Conference. I am delighted to know it has been postponed not only because I can use May advantageously in England. But also because I really consider it a more psychological time than May. ~~It~~ July is the month of the Revolution. It will I am sure be impressively celebrated and will make a profound impression on all the delegates. I understand Fedrika insisted on having the conference postponed so the "Anarchist comrades" will stay away from Spain. If the Conference takes place in Madrid she is supposed to have said. Well, I am absolutely opposed to the idea that the conference should take place in Madrid. Not because I think any of our comrades are "cowards" but because Barcelona is the seat of the Revolution and the traditions of the Anarchist movement and activities. I hope you will insist on this Augustine. It is of very profound historic importance.

Of course the comrades in New York have sent a delegate. He is already here, in fact he is in my flat just now with his friend. They have not only come of delegates of three English groups. Abe Bluestein hopes to be able to remain in Spain to help with all English publications. He is an able boy and you will find him most sincere I am sure. Our comrades are leaving for Paris next week. Then find a way of getting to Barcelona. If you know the best way write them c/o Mollie Alperine. Abe Bluestein and Selma Bluestein. So you need have no anxiety about the representation of the Anarchist groups in New York. Abe tells me two other comrades from the VANGUARD GROUP are also coming.

Now as to England. If Barr is to go his fare will have to be guaranteed from here to Barcelona and back. You do not seem to realise two things, first that there is no Anarchist movement in England

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 16 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19968
Not even as much as in America and heaven knows we have never had much of a movement there since Sasha and I had been kicked out of the country. Still we do have a few groups of young people in a few cities in the States. But we have nothing in London or the provincial cities. Since my return here in Dec. we have the London C.N.T. M.I. committee, nearly the same comrades that used to be in Freedom group. That group has been pretty much of a dead letter for years. In addition to the C.N.T.-M.I. Com. we have organized a group of youngsters into what they insist on calling themselves the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. Its only now begun its halting steps and there is no saying how long it will live. The moving spirit in that group is a young chap whom I met in an out of the way village in Catalonia Dreescher is his name. He is still tainted with his former Communist ideas but he is good material. The other one is the daughter of one of the most able American Anarchists, dead for years, and herself an anarchist. Her name is Sonia Clemens. She is solid and knows our ideas. She may get sent to the Conference by her groups I will see. Farr would of course love to go. But I am rather doubtful whether the Committee will select him. You know yourself the little and large jealousies that exist among our comrades. But in any event it is very essential you should know that there is no Anarchist movement in England or Scotland.

That brings me to Guy Aldred. The comrades of the former Freedom group meet next Tuesday I will read your letter to them and have them write you their answer to your request of an opinion. For myself I am quite indifferent. By all means invite him. But don't make the mistake that his "UNITED SOCIALIST UNION" amounts to a row of pins. Actually Aldred has not half a dozen people to back him. Still as an Anarchist he has the right to attend the Conference. If only he could be depended upon to get rid of his obsession to hang on to the coat tails of the movement and use it until all life is squeezed out of it. However, I believe each one must have his own experience. You and the comrades of the M.I. will not accept our experience. So do invite him by all means. But wait until you hear from the Freedom group.

It is absurd to suggest that Glasgow should send one delegate of the "National" movement. The Guy outfit and the A.P.C.F. are at each others throat for years. They are so far apart in every respect that even if they affiliate they will never be able to work together. And the whole so called movement of the UNITED SOCIALIST UNION and the A.P.C.F. are so small that it is preposterous to speak of them in terms of a NATIONAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. In any event if you invite the Aldred group you must invite the A.P.C.F. as well. I am quite certain that Aldred will use the Conference to wash his dirty linen with the A.P.C.F. I dare say other groups represented at the conference will do the same unless you prevail upon the M.I. to sternly stop all squabbling of the foreign groups. Let them wash their dirty linen at home. Not in bleeding and sacrificing Spain. I strongly advise that my dear or the conference will be a market place for fish mongers.

My dear, even if I did not have the Concert to keep me busy I could not possibly let you have a report for the 25th. Now I hardly have time to write you as I would like to. After the 25th I will prepare a report and have it put into Spanish at this end. I will also send you the English text for translations into other languages. But it will not be before May. Besides what is the hurry now that the

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 16 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19966

is postponed.

Tell Gallanes has returned the MSS. Not enough material who writes. Of course as I cannot read the text what it is. I have immediately gotten in touch with an one of the younger men in this country and very enterpri- sive. He promised to get the MSS read until I can read it and to let me know. In case he turns it down shall write or wire me.

Tell Ilse I was glad to get the Mercedes and her sister the Spanish woman. After the concert I will get busy with the some of the women here. I hope then to have a regular correspondence with Ilse and Mercedes. Meanwhile my love.

What's become of Martin. I have not heard from him in weeks. Sorry boy.

Please Augustine write by return mail what facilities for getting to Spain.

affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005234

[Letter] 1937 April 16, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / J[ohn]
C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 × 26 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4 The Post
Corwen
Merionethshire
N. Wales
April 16th 1937

Dear Emma Goldman
I do congratulate
you on having really
got this entertainment
fixed up for sure &
certain at last — thanks
to this noble Paul
Robeson — may all
the invisible Powers
reward him!

There are the occasions
when my deliberate
& almost malicious cutting
myself off from everybody
is a disadvantage for
I w^d have liked to

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005234

[Letter] 1937 April 16, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / J[ohn]
C[owper] Powys. — 2 p.; 20 x 26 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

have been able
to send you a
fine list of
people just adapted
to buy hats! but
I cannot; & there it is.
I can only repeat the
address of my niece's
husband
Herbert Markes Esq
"Hodder"
Oxted
Surrey.

for I know he will
know a number of
fairly rich people
in the way of his
business & if

You sent him a few 20300
(if you're any bit) of that
admirable announcement
he might distribute them.
Good luck!

Do please send me a
line when its over
letting me know if
you made anything
by it really worth
making for your
people over there.

Yr. as ever
J. C. Powys

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918196

[Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldma[n, London] / David Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono 10 168

Valencia 17 de Abril de 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldman.

Presente.

Querida compañera: Salud.

Hemos recibido tu última carta fechada en esa el 12 de Marzo último. En ella dices no haber recibido contestación a tu anterior, siendo así que nosotros tan pronto se recibe la correspondencia la contestamos. Por consiguiente o se ha perdido o se ha retrasado algunos días.

Sin que nosotros vayamos a entrar a discutir si debes o no tener relación con el camarada Souchi, si hemos de indicarte una vez más que todos aquellos problemas que se relacionen con tu labor en Inglaterra los trate solo y exclusivamente con este Comité Nacional. No olvides que la tónica que han de llevar nuestras campañas tanto en el interior de España como en el exterior, solo a la Organización confederal compete elaborarla.

En nuestras cartas anteriores ya te hemos apuntado que nos se nos oculta la campaña de difamaciones que contra la Confederación y la F. A. I. realizan en el exterior los elementos marxistas. Es el viejo pleito entre la concepción económico-autoritaria de la historia y la libertaria. Los comunistas son los que más se distinguen en la forja de esta tempestad ^{debutan} contra nosotros. Temen, no sin fundamento, que en España se imprima una tonalidad libertaria ~~en~~ al mundo que, indefectiblemente, habrá de ~~resurgir~~ de la España en ruinas. Y eso les hace perder el equilibrio. Lo que sucede en Inglaterra no es sino una parte de cuanto realizan fuera de nuestras fronteras. Por América se dedican a la misma labor; todos los días se reciben informes en esta Sección de Propaganda denunciando hechos de ese mismo carácter.

Su política carece, sin embargo, de ese sentido habilitado y constructivo que en ciertas épocas los marxistas han sabido imprimir a su obra. Creen hundirnos con ello y lo único que hasta ahora van logrando (por lo menos en lo que a España afecta) es que las masas se divorcien de ellos.

En el extranjero cabe realizar cuanto humanamente se pueda, para obligarles a arriar su bandera. Ciertamente ellos cuentan con más facilidades para su propaganda; no les faltan hombres ni dinero, pero esto no debe ser óbice para que por nuestra parte no hagamos cuanto requiere la hora histórica que vivimos y la salvaguardia de nuestros principios.

Una de las cosas que quizás hayan contribuido más a la decadencia de nuestras ideas en muchos países de Europa y América

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918196

[Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldma[n, London] / David Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Calle Landerers, 1 ☎ Teléfono

Valencia

es la lucha intestina entre l s propios compañeros. Según informes recibidos últimamente aquí, en Inglaterra no parece que las relaciones entre los componentes de los escasos grupos que existen sean muy cordiales. "esto no puede ni debe seguir, compañera Emma. Si somos anarquistas hay que probarlos con hechos. Con esto no queremos decir que tú estés mezclada en esta voragine de pasiones. Nada de esto. Nos consta que trabajas y que sientes como el que más las ideas y la hora dramática por que atravesamos los revolucionarios españoles. Pero es que al margen de esto hay en ese, como en otros países, quien llamándose anarquista olvida hacer uso de los atributos morales que deben acompañar la obra de quien así se califique.

En lo que hace referencia a la oficina de Propaganda que en Londres tiene la Generalidad de Barcelona nada creemos debemos indicarte. Si como tú apuntas en ella predomina el elemento comunista haces muy bien en no aparecer por allí. De todos modos queda a tú buen juicio el proceder como creas puede rendir mayor beneficio a nuestra causa, en este caso.

El organizar Exposiciones, mitines, veladas, y todo aquello que reputes de algún interés es algo que entra dentro de las funciones que te tenemos conferidas. Lo interesante sería poderte remitir toda clase de propaganda, pero es lo cierto que con motivo del control todos son dificultades para el paso de las fronteras. Hace bastante tiempo que tenemos en Barcelona numerosos carteles con destino a Europa y América sin que todavía hayamos hallado el medio de poderlo enviar.

Nos hablas de un cuestionario que según tú has recibido de parte nuestra. En esto debe haber un error, pues el Comité Nacional no te ha enviado nada de esto; posiblemente el envío proceda o bien de las oficinas de Propaganda de Barcelona o bien del Comité Regional de Cataluña. Claro que esto no impide el que si tú lo juzgas de interés hagas uso del mismo.

Te repetimos que para tu labor en esa utilices aquellos fondos económicos que hasta ahora has colectado con destino a la Organización Confederal. No edatines nada en este sentido, pues a veces la carencia de propaganda obedece a la falta de medios económicos.

Descandote acierto en tus trabajos quedan tuyos y de la anarquía



Por el Comité Nacional

Sección Información y Propaganda.

David Antona.

123

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918197

[Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. - 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Translation of letter from
COMITE NACIONAL, Valencia.

17th April, 1937.

12412

We have received your last letter of the 12th March. You state that you have not received an answer to your previous letter, but we must say that all correspondence that reach us is answered immediately. We can only conclude that the letter mentioned by you has gone astray.

Without entering into any discussion whether you should or should not hold any correspondence with comrade Souchy, we wish to point out once again that all those problems relating to your work in England should be treated exclusively between you and this Comité. It must not be forgotten that the tone of our campaigns in Spain as well as abroad, must be inspired by the Confederal organisation.

In our previous letters we have mentioned already that we are well aware of the difamatory campaigns which are undertaken abroad against the CNT-FAI by communist elements. It is the old quarrel between the economic-authoritarian conception and the libertarian. The communists are the more distinguished in this temptest of propaganda against us. They fear, not without foundation, that we in Spain will insert the libertarian feeling to the world, and which, will undoubtedly ~~xxx~~ arise from the Spain in ruins. What is happening in England is only a reflection of what is happening in other countries. In America they do the same. Every day we receive informations denouncing these activities. Their procedure, however, ~~xxx~~ lacks that sense of constructive ability that in certain times was noted in their work. They believe that with their policy they will cause our downfall and the only thing they have succeeded in doing up to now - at ~~least~~ least in Spain - is to alienate the masses. Abroad it is necessary to do all humanly possible in order to compel them to bring down their flag. It is true that they count with more facilities for their ~~xxx~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918197

[Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

propaganda; they lack neither men nor money, but this should not be an obstacle in our way to do everything in our power in this historic hour to safeguard our own principals. 12413

One thing that perhaps has contributed to the decadence of our ideas in many countries in Europe and America is the internal quarrels among our comrades. We have heard recently that there in England the relations between the components of the few groups that still exist are none too cordial, and this should not be allowed to go on, comrade Emma. If we are anarchists we have to prove ^{it} by deeds. In mentioning this we do not want to imply that you are mixed up in this unfortunate state of affairs. Nothing of the kind. We are fully aware that you work and that you feel as the best one among us the dramatic times through which we are passing in Spain. But outside all this there are in England, as in other countries, certain elements who though ~~they~~ calling themselves anarchists forget to make use of the moral attributes that should be reflected in the work undertaken by them.

As regards your remarks concerning the Office in London of the Generalidad we cannot say anything. If as you state the communist ^{right} elements predominate there, we think you are ~~wrong~~ in ~~not~~ refusing to put an appearance. In any case, we live it to your good judgement to proceed in the way you think best for the benefit of our cause.

The organisation of Exhibitions, meetings, lectures and all that which you consider interesting is part of the functions ~~entrusted~~ entrusted to you. We should like to be able to send you all kind of propaganda, but due to the control all are difficulties to pass the frontier. For a long time we have had stored in Barcelona numerous posters which we wish to send to all parts in Europe and America, but so far we have not found the way to do it.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918197

[Letter] 1937 April 17, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1241

You mention a questionnaire received from us, but we do not appear to have sent it to you. Possibly it was sent by the Propaganda Office in Barcelona or by the Regional Committee.

We reiterate that you can make use of the funds collected on behalf of the Confederal Organisation.

Wishing you good luck in all your activities, we
remain, etc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870216069

[Letter 1937 April 17] Chicago [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / B[oris] Yelensky. —
1 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FREE SOCIETY GROUP

COMMITTEE TO HELP

The SPANISH WORKERS and THEIR CAUSE

Chicago, Illinois

NO PASARAN!

(THEY SHALL NOT PASS)

CREDENTIALS

This is to certify, that comrade Emma Goldman is authorized
to represent the Free Society Group of Chicago, at the
International Congress to be held in Barcelona.

Fraternally,

Free Society Group.

B. Yelensky Secy



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

127

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726320

[Letter, 19]37 April 18, London [to Louis] Golding, [London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24011

London April 18th 37.

Dear Mr Golding.

You may not know my name. But I know yours through your work. I was moved by your letter in the NEW STATEMAN to write you. Feeling as deeply as you do for the Jews as a persecuted people I thought you would be interested in the Spanish victims of Fascism. It seems to me that no other human being can appreciate the horrors of Fascism as those whom have suffered under it as the Jews. I am therefore taking the liberty to inclose a folder that will I hope move you to attend the concert April 28th for the homeless Spanish women and children.

You see I am of Jewish origine myself and while I cannot say that I have ever been persecuted for this "offense" I do know many Jews who have. And I know what it would mean for the Spanish people if they should fail to eliminate Fascism from their country. For this reason I appeal most strongly to members of my own race because I know what they have and are enduring in Germany and what would be their lot in England

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509015

[Letter] 1937 April 19, London [to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

London 19 de Abril de 1937.

Comité Nacional,
Sección de Información y Propaganda,
Calle Landerer, 1, VALENCIA, Spain.

Queridos camaradas: Salud.

Vuestra carta 10 del cte. se ha cruzado con la mía del día 12, que os envié por conducto de Gálvez. El motivo por el cual envío mis cartas a dicho compañero para que luego las haga seguir a vuestro poder, es porque en vuestra carta del 30 de Marzo me decíais no haber recibido mis comunicaciones. Por esto acompañé copias de mis cartas anteriores con mi citada del 12 de Abril para que vieseis no había dejado de escribiros.

Antes de entrar a contestar el contenido de vuestra mencionada carta, os he de manifestar que la misma llegó abierta por la censura y cortada en dos pedazos, razón por la cual me parece que sería mas conveniente que me escribieseis via Paris; y que yo también haga lo mismo. Verdaderamente, es incompresible que vuestras cartas sean censuradas por el Gobierno en Valencia ¿No podríais protestar contra esto? Parece que no pasa lo mismo con la correspondencia del Comité Regional ni con la de las demás secciones de propaganda. Recibo cartas de Souchy y de otros, las cuales no traen señales de haber sido censuradas ¿Por qué razón han de serlo las vuestras?

Por Souchy me entero que la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista ha sido aplazada hasta el 11 de Julio, de lo cual me alegro mucho; principalmente siendo así que Julio es el mes histórico de la Revolución y el comienzo de vuestra heroica lucha contra el fascismo. Al mismo tiempo me dará lugar a que termine el trabajo que tengo que hacer aquí, pues os he de decir que es imperativo el que me desplace a España para conferenciar con vosotros y tratar asuntos que es completamente imposible llevarlos por carta. Tengo muchas cosas que someter a vuestra consideración, las cuales no pueden ser comunicadas por correo. Además, tengo un plan para desarrollar una campaña mas intensiva de la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra, cuyo plan tampoco puede ser sometido por medio de correspondencia. Así, pues, confío veréis la necesidad de que vaya a España a hablar con vosotros y demás camaradas, personalmente. Otro motivo de mi viaje es que la Federación Anarquista de los Estados Unidos, varios grupos del Canada e Inglaterra, me han delegado para que asista a la Conferencia Anarquista en representación de ellos, lo que podré hacer ahora que la misma ha sido aplazada para mas adelante, y después de haber terminado mi trabajo aquí, pues en los meses de Junio y Julio no habrá mucho que hacer, si bien, por supuesto, dejaré a un camarada de responsabilidad al cuidado de la Oficina de la CNT-FAI hasta mi regreso.

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509015

[Letter] 1937 April 19, London [to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

- 2 -

Por lo que respecta a la reorganización de la Oficina nuestra en Londres y aumento de personal para atender al trabajo de la misma, no sé si habéis entendido que yo pensaba en camaradas que vendrían de ahí. Ello sería imposible. En primer lugar, dado las restricciones actualmente vigentes, no se les permitiría venir aquí a trabajar, y en segundo lugar su labor, en vista del desconocimiento del idioma, no representaría gran ayuda. Yo me refería a compañeros en Londres, fervientes devotos de la CNT-FAI y de la Revolución Española, quienes ya son de gran ayuda, pero que por ahora no pueden dedicar todo su tiempo a nuestra causa. Una camarada que hace mucho tiempo que milita en el movimiento es Doris Zhook, conocedora de seis idiomas y que podría prestarnos valiosos servicios. Luego está el camarada Barr, que ha trabajado arduamente y seguirá haciéndolo siempre; pero estos compañeros no pueden dedicar todo su tiempo a nuestras actividades, ya que tienen que trabajar para vivir, y el costo de la vida aquí es mucho más alto que en España. Existen, sin embargo, otros factores relacionados con mi idea de una Oficina permanente de la CNT-FAI en Londres y de la campaña a desarrollar, todo lo cual madurará con todo cuidado y someteré a vuestro estudio cuando os visite.

Hasta Junio no será posible hacer cambios de ninguna clase. Me quedan varias fechas que llenar en Provincias después del concierto que tengo organizado, proposición esta algo difícil, pero que confío me saldrá bien. Na vayais a creeros, queridos camaradas, que a mí me arredran dificultades. Ninguna empresa que tuviese que llevar a cabo por la Revolución Española sería demasiado para mí en este mundo. Nunca he conocido otra cosa sino dificultades que vencer en mi larga lucha. Esto me recuerda que en el próximo mes de Agosto hará 48 años de mi alistamiento en las filas anarquistas, y no 40 como creis vosotros. Nunca me he parado ante obstáculo alguno y siempre he mantenido que si algún día el Anarquismo se desenvuelve fácilmente, sin lucha ni tropiezos, será hora de que yo deje el movimiento. Porque ello probará que los anarquistas han cambiado su tesonera y ardiente sangre revolucionaria por la más tibia de todos los reformistas. No, queridos camaradas, no me asustan dificultades. Si las he mencionado ha sido para que comprendais que existe en Inglaterra una oposición enorme a la CNT-FAI y hacia mí en virtud de la actitud mantenida por mí ante el régimen establecido por Stalin, aun que debéis tener en cuenta que he procurado evitar, como representante vuestro, el desenmascarar a la cobarde pandilla marxista, tanto aquí como en otras partes, si bien pienso, y ahora más que nunca, si no ha llegado la hora de poner en evidencia a los traidores.

Me interesais en vuestra carta que os tenga al corriente de los que los marxistas dicen; pero aquí resta la dificultad. No se atreven a decirlo en público, sino que trabajan en la sombra. Por ejemplo, el rumor de que la CNT-FAI sabotea a Madrid no lo han reproducido en su Prensa ni tampoco ha sido lanzado desde sus plataformas, pero la verdad es que a todos los sitios donde voy me encuentro con la insistente falsedad, no sólo entre los trabajadores y algunos de los intelectuales, sino

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509015

[Letter] 1937 April 19, London [to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

- 3 -

igualmente entre periodistas. Así, el editor del "Manchester Guardian", que por otra parte es el periódico que mas simpatía demuestra en Inglaterra, publicó un artículo diciendo que Cataluña no hacía nada por Madrid. Voy a contestar a dicho artículo y os enviaré una copia de mi respuesta. Estoy casi segura que los secuaces de Stalin se esconden detrás de tales manifestaciones.

Y mientras que la reformista "Labour Party" y las Trade Union tal vez no se dedican con tanto empeño a este insidioso trabajo contra la CNT-FAI, no por ello dejan de ser muy antagonistas. Nunca mencionan la labor que realiza vuestra Sindical y camaradas españoles, hablando exclusivamente del "Gobierno legítimo", callando por completo toda alusión a la Revolución. La única que lo hace es la Independent Labour Party, pero ahora que han entrado a formar parte del frente popular juntamente con los comunistas, tendrán variar de conducta seguramente.

Con todo, hemos podido conseguir que la CNT-FAI y sus aspiraciones hayan llegado a conocimiento de los trabajadores de este país, y más adelante espero poder hacer mas aún. La semana próxima os enviaré copias de un manifiesto del que hemos tirado 25.000 ejemplares para su distribución aquí. Nuestro siguiente acto de propaganda consistirá en nuestra manifestación el 1º de Mayo en Hyde Park (famoso lugar al aire libre en Inglaterra donde tienen lugar todos estos actos). Pensamos tener nuestra propia plataforma, decorada con nuestros colores y carteles, desde donde se venderá nuestra literatura, incluyendo el folleto de Durruti, y conmigo harán uso de la palabra varios camaradas.

Estoy algo desorientada con respecto al dinero que he recaudado en las colectas, etc. Recibí una carta del camarada Souchy en la que me decía que vosotros le habíais autorizado para que me indicase que me quedase con el dinero por de pronto, mandándole a él un detalle más tarde. Ahora vosotros me pedís que después de deducidos los gastos os envíe el resto, y yo tenía entendido que no debía enviarse dinero a España sino a Ganin en París. Aclárenme este extremo y díganme si he de llevar el saldo resultante conmigo cuando vaya ahí. Desde que os mandé el detalle de todo el dinero recogido, he recibido otras 15 libras, pero después de celebrado el concierto prepararé un estado de cuentas, detallando todo lo recaudado y gastado. Naturalmente, espero que vosotros pagaréis los gastos, ingresando en el fondo para socorrer a las mujeres y niños desamparados el dinero recaudado, pues en todas mis peticiones y colectas he explicado que éste sería el destino que se daría a todas las contribuciones.

Ni que decir tiene que estoy completamente segura de vuestro triunfo, pues de no estarlo no seguiría adelante con mi trabajo. Unicamente que considero penoso que la CNT-FAI, tan poderosa, tan encendida por nuestro ideal y tan completamente dada a la Revolución, haya tenido que hacer concesiones a los marxistas, que si uno les proporciona la oportunidad se lo tragan vivo. Sin embargo, tengo fe en vuestro celo, coraje y entereza, y os seguire hasta el fin, sea este el triunfo o la muerte.

Fraternales saludos de,

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918199

[Letter] 1937 April 19 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12410

19 de Abril de 1937.
Comité Nacional,
Sección de Información y Propaganda,
Calle Landerer, 1, CHL 31A, Spain.

Queridos camaradas: Salud.

Vuestra carta 10 del cte. se ha cruzado con la mía del día 12, que os envié por conducto de Gálvez. El motivo por el cual envío mis cartas a dicho compañero para que luego las haga seguir a vuestro poder, es porque en vuestra carta del 30 de Marzo me decíais no haber recibido mis comunicaciones. Por esto acompaño copias de mis cartas anteriores con mi citada del 12 de Abril para que vieseis no había dejado de escribiros.

Antes de entrar a contestar el contenido de vuestra mencionada carta, os he de manifestar que la misma llegó abierta por la censura y cortada en dos pedazos, razón por la cual me parece que sería mas conveniente que se escribieseis vía París; y que yo también haga lo mismo. Verdaderamente, es incomprensible que vuestras cartas sean censuradas por el Gobierno en Valencia ¿no podríais protestar contra esto? Parece que no pasa lo mismo con la correspondencia del Comité Regional ni con la de las demás secciones de propaganda. Recibo cartas de Souchy y de otros, las cuales no tienen señales de haber sido censuradas ¿Por qué razón han de serlo las vuestras?

Por Souchy me entero que la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista ha sido aplazada hasta el 11 de Julio, de lo cual me alegro mucho; principalmente siendo así que Julio es el mes histórico de la Revolución y el comienzo de vuestra heroica lucha contra el fascismo. Al mismo tiempo me dará lugar a que termine el trabajo que tengo que hacer aquí, pues os he de decir que es imperativo el que me desplace a España para conferenciar con vosotros y tratar asuntos que es completamente imposible llevarlos por carta. Tengo muchas cosas que someter a vuestra consideración, las cuales no pueden ser comunicadas por correo. Además, tengo un plan para desarrollar una campaña mas intensiva de la CNT-FAI en Inglaterra, cuyo plan tampoco puede ser sometido por medio de correspondencia. Así, pues, confío veréis la necesidad de que vaya a España a hablar con vosotros y demás camaradas, personalmente. Otro motivo de mi viaje es que la Federación Anarquista de los Estados Unidos, varios grupos del Canadá e Inglaterra, me han delegado para que asista a la Conferencia Anarquista en representación de ellos, lo que podré hacer ahora que la misma ha sido aplazada para mas adelante, y después de haber terminado mi trabajo aquí, pues en los meses de Junio y Julio no habrá mucho que hacer, si bien, por supuesto, dejaré a un camarada de responsabilidad al cuidado de la Oficina de la CNT-FAI hasta mi regreso.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

132

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 19 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

12419

Por lo que respecta a la reorganización de la Oficina nuestra en Londres y aumento de personal para atender al trabajo de la misma, no sé si habéis entendido que yo pensaba en camaradas que vendrían de ahí. Ello sería imposible. En primer lugar, dado las restricciones actualmente vigentes, no se les permitiría venir aquí a trabajar, y en segundo lugar su labor, en vista del desconocimiento del idioma, no representaría gran ayuda. Yo me refería a compañeros en Londres, fervientes devotos de la CNT-FAI y de la Revolución Española, quienes ya son de gran ayuda, pero que por ahora no pueden dedicar todo su tiempo a nuestra causa. Una camarada que hace mucho tiempo que milita en el movimiento es Boris Zhook, conocedora de seis idiomas y que podría prestarnos varios servicios. Luego está el camarada Sara, que ha trabajado brillantemente y seguirá haciéndolo siempre; pero estos compañeros no pueden dedicar todo su tiempo a nuestras actividades, ya que tienen que trabajar para vivir, y el costo de la vida aquí es mucho más alto que en España. Existen, sin embargo, otros factores relacionados con mi idea de una oficina permanente de la CNT-FAI en Londres y de la campaña a desarrollar, todo lo cual madurará con todo cuidado y someteré a vuestro estudio cuando os visite.

Hasta junio no será posible hacer cambios de ninguna clase. Me quedan varias fechas que llenar en provincias después del concierto que tengo organizado, proposición esta algo difícil, pero que confío me saldrá bien. Me voy a acrieros, queridos camaradas, que a mí me arrastran dificultades. Ninguna empresa que tuviese que llevar a cabo por la Revolución Española sería demasiado para mí en este mundo. Nunca he conocido una cosa sin dificultades que vencer en mi larga lucha. Me acuerdo que en el próximo mes de Agosto hará 40 años de mi alistamiento en las filas anarquistas, y no sé como creis vosotros. Nunca he tenido ante mí ningún obstáculo alguno y siempre he sentido que el mundo sin el anarquismo se des-envuelve fácilmente, sin lucha ni tropiezos, está hora de que yo deje el movimiento. Porque ello probará que los anarquistas han cambiado su tesonera y brillante lucha revolucionaria por la más tibia de todos los reformistas. No, queridos camaradas, no me asustan dificultades. Si las he mencionado ha sido por que comprendis que existe en Inglaterra una oposición enorme a la CNT-FAI y hacia mí en virtud de la actitud mantenida por mí ante el régimen establecido por Stalin, tan que debo tener en cuenta que he procurado evitar, como representante vuestro, el denominarse a la corriente principal marxista, tanto aquí como en otras partes, si bien pienso, y ahora más que nunca, si no he llegado la hora de poner en evidencia a los traidores.

Me interesáis en vuestra carta que os tenga al corriente de los que los marxistas dicen; pero aquí resta la dificultad. No se atreven a decirlo en público, sino que trabajan en la sombra. Por ejemplo, el rumor de que la CNT-FAI sabotea a Madrid no lo han reproducido en su prensa ni tampoco ha sido lanzado desde sus plataformas, pero la verdad es que a todos los sitios donde voy me encuentro con la insidiosa falsedad, no sólo entre los trabajadores y algunos de los intelectuales, sino

./...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918199

[Letter] 1937 April 19 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia, Spain / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 3 -

2420

igualmente entre periodistas. Así, el editor del "Manchester Guardian", que por otra parte es el periódico que mas simpatía demuestra en Inglaterra, publicó un artículo diciendo que Cataluña no hacía nada por Madrid. Voy a contestar a dicho artículo y os enviaré una copia de mi respuesta. Estoy casi segura que los secuaces de Stalin se esconden detrás de tales manifestaciones.

Mientras que la reformista "Labour Party" y las Trade Unions tal vez no se dedican con tanto empeño a este insidioso trabajo contra la CNT-FAI, no por ello dejan de ser muy antagonistas. Nunca mencionan la labor que realizan va. Los sindicatos y camaradas españoles, hablando exclusivamente del "Gobierno legítimo", callando por completo toda alusión a la Revolución. La única que lo hace es la Independent Labour Party, pero ahora que han entrado a formar parte del frente popular juntamente con los comunistas, tendrán variar de conducta seguramente.

Con todo, hemos podido conseguir que la CNT-FAI y sus aspiraciones hayan llegado a conocimiento de los trabajadores de este país, y más adelante espero poder hacer mas aún. La semana próxima os enviaré copias de un manifiesto del que hemos tirado 25.000 ejemplares para su distribución aquí. Nuestro siguiente acto de propaganda consistirá en nuestra manifestación el 1º de Mayo en Hyde Park (famoso lugar al aire libre en Inglaterra donde tienen lugar todos estos actos). Pensamos tener nuestra propia plataforma, decorada con nuestros colores y carteles, desde donde se venderá nuestra literatura, incluyendo el folleto de Marruti, y conmigo harán uso de la palabra varios camaradas.

Estoy algo desorientada con respecto al dinero que he recaudado en las colectas, etc. Recibí una carta del camarada Bouck, en la que me decía que vosotros le habíais autorizado para que me indicase que me pudiese con el dinero por de pronto, mandándole a él un detalle más tarde. Ahora vosotros me pedís que desmes de deducir los gastos os envíe el resto, y yo tengo este dilema que no debía enviarse dinero a España sino a Lenin en París. Acéptenme este extremo y diganme si he de llevar el saldo resultante conmigo cuando vaya allí. Desde que os mandé el detalle de todo el dinero recaudado, he recibido otras 15 libras, pero desmes de celebrando el concierto prepararé un estado de cuentas, detallando todo lo recaudado y gastado. Naturalmente, espero que vosotros pagaréis los gastos, incluyendo en el fondo para socorrer a los hijos y niños desamparados el dinero recaudado, pues en todas mis peticiones y colectas he explicado que éste sería el destino que se daría a todas las contribuciones.

Al que decir tiene que estoy completamente segura de vuestro triunfo, pues de no estarlo no seguiría adelante con el trabajo. Unicamente que considero penoso que la CNT-FAI, tan poderosa, tan encendida por nuestro ideal y tan completamente dada a la Revolución, haya tenido que hacer concesiones a los marxistas, que si uno les proporciona la oportunidad se lo tragan vivo. Sin embargo, tengo fe en vuestro celo, coraje y entereza, y os seguire hasta el fin, sea este el triunfo o la muerte.

Fraternales saludos de,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005164

[Letter, 19]37 April 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20194

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII^e
TÉL. : ÉTOILE 33-77

19-4-37

Liebste Emma,

was ist mit Ihnen? Man hört ja gar nichts mehr von Ihnen. Sie haben allerdings geschrieben, dass Sie nicht ganz wohl waren, aber wir hielten das für eine der üblichen englischen Erkältungen und nahmen an, dass Sie sie bald überwinden haben würden. Es ist doch hoffentlich nichts Ernstliches? Wir können uns das allerdings nicht denken, denn dann hätten wir es sicher von Flechines gehört, mit denen wir ziemlich oft zusammen sind.

Im übrigen hoffen wir, Sie hier demnächst zu sehen, da Sie ja wieder nach Spanien wollen. Wir beneiden Sie glühend darum, unsere Mittel gestatten uns leider jedoch nicht, wieder hinzufahren, ganz abgesehen von den Schwierigkeiten der Einreiseerlaubnis. Unsere Pässe sind mitt-

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005164

[Letter, 19]37 April 19 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20195

lerweile abgelaufen, und die berühmten neu-Fremdenpässe haben wir noch nicht.

Unser Buch ist immer noch im Druck und wird ebenso langsam fertig wie die Weltausstellung. Sein endgültiger Titel lautet: Ceux de Barcelone. Die Hoffnung, dass es noch in einer andern Sprache erscheint, müssen wir wohl leider aufgeben.

Haben wir Ihnen eigentlich schon geschrieben, dass wir an einer Biographie von Bakunin arbeiten? Der Verlag interessiert sich dafür, da es auf französisch nichts derartiges gibt. Wir haben darüber mit Müller-Lehning korrespondiert, der uns in sehr liebenswürdiger Weise Angaben über die einschlägige Literatur geschrieben hat.

Also melden Sie sich recht bald und
wollen Sie herzlichst begrüsst

von Ihren

Anita
Hanns

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726319

[Letter] 1937 April 1[9, London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Louis Golding. —
1 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24010

FROM LOUIS GOLDING, 18, HAMILTON TERRACE, N.W.8

CUNNINGHAM 1984

April 12th, 1937.

Mrs. Emma Goldman.
Committee to Aid Homeless
Spanish Women and Children.
18. Castletown Road, W.11.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Please don't suggest
that I don't know your name. Indeed I
do, and it's very thrilling for me to
receive a letter from you.

I am afraid I leave
for Paris in a week or so, but if I
have not gone I will certainly go to
the concert.

Yours sincerely,

Lou Trescow

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005167

[Letter, 19]37 April 20, London [to] Morris, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 × 19 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

London 20th 37.

Dear Mr Morris.

I am so sorry about the mix up of the seats.
Charlotte spoke to me about it and told me to send the ten st
stall tickets to you which I am now doing.

Hoping to see you at the concert

Sincerely.

P.S. Kindly return the other seats.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

138

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001076

[Letter, 19]37 April 20 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

April 20th 37

Dear Augustino, I am again in a great hurry. I still have an awful lot to do for the concert. In fact I am so worried and uneasy about the outcome I cannot put my mind on anything else until the damned affair will be over. Still I must write you in regard to the documents you sent me.

Barker. The publisher of whom I have already written called me up yesterday to say he had read the MSS but he found that the material does not deal with up to date matter. Mind you he is interested and he would like to publish the stuff if he could get more recent data. Now Tellinock wrote Collinson that there is a lot more Berneri is doing. Can you rush it it and send it on as quickly as possible. I am quite certain that Barker would get out the whole thing if the balance of the document has more living appeal than the Barker you sent. It must have material up to day showing Mussolini's schemes and machinations. Otherwise the book would have no value. So get after Berneri and impress on his mind the work must not be delayed provided of course it is really vital and interesting stuff. Once I will have the whole material I think Barker will get out the book and it will have a sale.

I inclose a copy of my recent letter to the CNT in Valencia. I have to send it to Calvez because the letter I received from Valencia has evidently been opened and censored.

About your article on Mlaga are your charges based on accurate and authentic data. I wish you would write me this without delay. We want to bring it in SPAIN AND THE WORLD. In fact if your facts were based on real proof I might even get the Manchester Guardian to bring it. But they will not take mere statements nor can we have it in SPAIN AND THE WORLD unless substantiated by incontrovertible proof. So rush your reply to this.

I have just received a letter from Elsie with one for Frank inclosed. Tell her its alright to write him o/s my address. I will give him both letters when he comes. Tell her also she must be patient until the damned concert is over. I will have more time then.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918202

[Letter, 1937 April 20, London to Augustin Souchy, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12426

London April 19th 37.

Dear Comrade.

Your letter of April 10th crossed mine of the 12th which I sent you via ~~Sorax~~ Calvez in answer to yours of March 30. The ~~reason~~ reason I am now mailing my letters to Calvez to send to you by the quickest possible courier is that you wrote in your of March 30th you had not received my letters. I therefore inclose d copies of the March letters in the one I wrote you the 12th of this month to reassure you that I am in a habit of being prompt.

Before I go into yours of the 10th inst. I wish to let you know that it came in a censored envelope and that the second part of your letter was torn on top. More reason why you should write me via Paris and I will do the same. It is certainly terrible that your letters should be censored by the Government in Valencia. Can you not protest against it? It seems this does not happen with the mail of the Comité Regional or any of the propaganda section. I get mail from Souchy and others and to my knowledge the letter have not been censored. I wonder why yours should be.

I learned from a letter from Souchy that the International Anarchist Conference has been postponed until July 11th I am very glad of that for many reasons. The main being that July is the historic month of the Revolution and the beginning of your heroic struggle against fascism. Also it will give me more time to finish some of the work I have to do here. But I must state right here that it will be imperative for me to go to Spain for a conference with you and a report as it is utterly impossible to do so by letter. There are too many things for your consideration which I cannot communicate to you by mail. Besides, I have a plan for a more intensive campaign for the CNT-FAI in England which I cannot possibly submit to you in a letter. I hope you understand my decision to go back to Spain and talk to you and the other comrades personally. In addition is the fact that the Anarchist Federation in the United States and groups from Canada and England have authorized me to represent them at the Anarchist Conference. However now that the Conference has been postponed I will be able to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April 20, London to Augustin Souchy, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12427

finish the work here. There is not much to do during June and July and I will of course leave a responsible comrade to look after the CNT.-FAI Bureau until my return.

Speaking of the reorganisation of our Bureau and the larger staff of people to help in the work I hope you did not understand that I had in mind comrades of the CNT in Spain. They would not be permitted to work here in the first place. Nor could they do any good since they do not know English. I meant comrades in London who are good workers intensely devoted to the CNT-FAI and to the Spanish Revolution who have been of great help although they could not afford to give all their time to our cause. One comrade long in the movement Doris Zhok is her name knows six languages and could be of invaluable assistance. Then there is comrade Barr who has worked most ardently and will do so all the time. Of course these comrades are too poor to give all their time without a living wage which is of course very much higher than in Spain. You understand that dear comrade do you not? However, there are many other sides connected with my idea of a permanent CNT-FAI Bureau in London and the campaign I have in mind. I will work out all these items carefully and bring with me when I come for your approval or rejection.

Until June it will be impossible to make any kind of changes nor is it important for the next two months. I have several dates to fill in the Provinces in this country after the Concert I have organised will be over. It is a very difficult task I have undertaken but I hope it will be successful. Dear comrades do not ever think I mind the difficulties here. Nothing on earth would be too much for me to do for the Spanish Revolution and for your gallant fight. Besides I have never known anything but difficulties to overcome in my long struggle. This reminds me that next August will be 48 years since I joined the anarchist ranks, and not forty as you think. I have never stopped before any obstacle. I have always maintained that if ever the anarchist will have smooth sailing and no difficulties it will be time for me to leave our movement. For it will prove that the anarchists have exchanged their red revolutionary blood for the white and yellow of all reformers. No, dear comrades I do not mind difficulties. I have tried to tell you of them that you may understand that there is frightful opposition in England to the CNT-FAI and to me because of my stand on the deadly Stalin regime. Please bear in mind I have avoided as your representative to show up the cowardly Communist gang here and everywhere though I have been thinking and do more so now that the time has come to expose the traitors. But because I wrote and spoke against Stalin's regime before his satraps hate me naturally, and they hate you. Better make up your mind to this fact.

You write in yours of April tenth I should let you know what the Marxists are saying? That is just it dear comrades. They dare not say anything in public. Like some poisonous insect they do their devastating work underground. For instance; the rumor that the CNT-FAI is sabotaging Madrid. They have not said so in their press. But they

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918202

[Letter, 1937 April 20, London to Augustin Souchy, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12429

nor have they said so openly. But it is not a fact that whenever I go I am confronted with the same lie. This not only among the workers and some of the intellectuals but also among newspaper men. This the editor of the Manchester Guardian otherwise the fairest and most sympathetic paper in England had an editorial saying CATALONIA does nothing for Spain. I am answering this letter and I will send you a copy if it appears or my own typed copy. It is absolutely certain that the Stalin gangsters are back of it.

Now while the reformist Labor Party and the Trade Unionists are perhaps not doing such insidious work against the CNT, FAI they are most antagonistic. They never mention the work you and the Spanish comrades are doing. They speak exclusively of the "legitimate government. They never mention the Revolution. The only one who does that is the Independent Labor Party. They have been somewhat helpful. But now that they have gone in for a united front with the Communists they will also have to sing another tune very soon.

However we have succeeded in bringing the CNT-FAI and its aim before the workers of this country and we will be able to do more I hope later on. Next week I will send you copies of our manifesto 25,000 of which we have printed. Our next step of a propaganda nature is our demonstration on the first of May at Hyde Park the famous open air place in England. We hope to have our own cart draped with red and black, posters and all other things and we will have literature about Spain on sale including the Durruti pamphlet. A number of comrades will speak. And now that I will be in London I will of course be one of the speakers.

I am in confusion about the money I have collected. I had a letter from comrade Augustino Souchy saying he had heard from you and you had instructed him to ~~say~~ let me know that I am to keep the money for the present which I have collected, and later I should send a report to him, Souchy. Now you write I am to send the amount left after I have taken off all expenses to you. I thought no money is to be sent to Paris but to Ganin in Paris. What about this? Or shall I bring whatever balance I will have with me to you? As to the amount collected I gave you all the figures since then I collected perhaps another \$15. ~~xxxx~~ I cannot tell

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918202

[Letter, 1937 April 20, London to Augustin Souchy, Barcelona (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12431

you just exactly how much was spent out of it for the expenses here. Perhaps about \$150. That includes the preliminary expenses of the Concert which of course will go back to the Fund when it is over. Anyhow, after the Concert I will prepare a complete account and send it to you of the receipts and the expenses. Naturally I take it that you will make good the expenses and put the amount at your end to the Fund of the homeless and evacuated women and children for which all the money was raised and which I emphasised in every appeal.

Dear comrades of course I believe in your triumph. If I did not do that I could not go on with the work. I only consider it very tragic that the CNT-FAI so powerful so fired by our ideal so completely given over to the revolution should have needed to make concessions to the coat throat "arriists" who will swallow one up if you give them the least chance. Still I believe in your zeal, your courage your fortitude and I will go with you to the very end towards triumph, or death.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005166

[Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

21st April, 1937.

Dear Friends,

It is only that I had nothing cheering to write you that delayed me in doing so, but there is no use waiting any longer to keep the sad news from you that every publisher I have approached in this city with your manuscript has declined it, and the still sadder news that the same happened in America. I am enclosing the last letter I received from my friend, Arthur Leonard Ross, which explains itself. You see most of the stuff that appears on Spain is kept in a sensational, purely newspaper style. Besides that the changes are so frequent in Spain that one has to almost write a book every week. Yours is too thorough evidently and too favourable to the CNT/FAI. That may explain the indifference of the publishers. Whatever it is my friend in New York has failed and so have I. I cannot tell you how grieved I am about the results. I am sending back the copy of your MS under separate cover. If you would like me to I will write Ross to continue trying, but I hardly think it is worth while. If such up-to-date and radical publishers as Simon and Schuster, the Viking Press, and Alfred Knopf have declined it, it is very doubtful whether others would accept.

I haven't the time now to write you about myself. I am working 16 hours a day for an undertaking in behalf of the homeless and starving Spanish women and children which I never should have begun. To make a theatre event or a concert for such a purpose successful here one needs a whole machinery; I haven't got it. In addition, there is certainly a deliberate and organised boycott against everything I undertake. My name is anathema to the Communists. The moment they discover who is at the back of Mrs. E. G. Colton they leave nothing undone to destroy whatever I attempt. Of course that has been the case for 17 years; — From the moment I had appeared in print with my criticism of the Soviet regime. But I never minded it before because it only injured me; now it is a question of the CNT/FAI being maligned, misrepresented and lied about. I often wonder whether my comrades would not gain more if I were withdrawn from the work and someone else not so hated and opposed would take charge of the work in England. I confess I am at the end of my tether.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005166

[Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20199

2.

As regards the concert, everything humanly possible was done. Publicity of all sorts, hundreds of letters sent out. And the results are hardly worth the effort. Of course it may all turn out well at the end - I hope so. But I should be heart broken if all the labour of nearly three months in connection with the theatre venture were so much waste.

I wonder how you both have been. I should be so glad to hear from you. It is now definite that I am not going to Spain until June. The International Anarchist Congress has been postponed until July. That will give me a chance to rest up a bit after the concert and straighten out my affairs during the month of May.

With affectionate greetings,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

21st April, 1937.

Dear Harry,

Notter late than never. I was delighted to get your letter after such a long lapse of time. I was interested to read the account of your venture as producer; you certainly were ambitious to undertake the staging of Joanne d'Arc. I am glad that you have that outlet. It means more outside of oneself and that is the only way to face this best of our world.

The slavery for the concert goes on, so far with only meagre results. I have come to the conclusion that I am doing my friends in Spain an injustice by pleading their cause. You see my position is between the devil and the deep sea. I am hated like poison by the Communists and strongly disliked by the official labour party. The former have a deliberate organised campaign of boycotting everything I undertake. Believe me, I shouldn't mind if it concerned only myself, but I feel the wrong very keenly because I know it reacts very badly on the people who are making such a gallant fight. It has been sheer drudgery all along to organise the theatre affair. Nor will I have any peace until it is over. I have dreaded, too, for Paul's sake to have empty expensive seats. I know the cheaper seats will be sold out; but there is nothing to do but to go ahead until the end.

My dear, it is about the sixth time you asked me to talk to Paul about his coming to Jersey to sing. It would be much better if you were to get in touch with him direct. I doubt, however, whether he will have any time this spring. He is doing a film and he works from 9 in the morning until late at night. Just as soon as the picture is done he and Essie go to Russia. They have their little boy in school there. What a fantastic idea! But then Russia continues to be a myth. And it ~~is~~ has confused many great minds - why not that of Paul? I would suggest that you get

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005108

[Letter] 1937 April 21 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20077

2.

in touch with Paul's Impresario, Harold Holt of 3 Clifford Street, W.1. That would be the best. You see Paul cannot appear in a concert except under the auspices of his agent. In the case of my venture he can only give a group of songs. So, if you really want Paul to come in the autumn you had better deal with his representative.

It is now certain that I will not leave England until the end of May or the beginning of June. Of course I shall not go to the Coronation, not even for the sake of those I care about would I go to witness such a circus and such a criminal waste of money when thousands upon thousands of men, women and children are starving in this country.

Well, I would love to see you my dear. Cannot you manage to steal away from your family for an hour during your stay in London and see me for a quiet talk and a drink. I cannot bear the idea of your being in this city when I am here without getting together; so be a good boy and make an effort. You can get me by phone of course; or drop me a line in advance.

Helly Harris, Frank's widow, is coming to stay with me. I think you might like to meet her. Give my love to Brownie and your daughter, and remember me kindly to the Mater.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005001

[Letter, 19]37 April 21, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence

2/4/37

I cannot Emma,

I would have written to you before but I have really been ^{very} busy. My typewriter has given out - some small part broken - Emerson's friend has promised to lend me another.

There are several things I want to write about - one is that some days ago I received a letter - a wild undisciplined effusion, that took me hours to make head or tail of. From many reproaches are bitterly for making trouble by sending on that sort card to you about the curtains. You seemed to have misread it. Did it not convey to you that who ever pleased you should have them - or anything that might be of use to you? It certainly conveyed that to me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005001

[Letter, 19]37 April 21, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 4 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

19078

The phrasing, I'll admit was very involved - Emma's English always is but ~~I think~~ ^{never damaged} you know her style so well. ~~That you~~ ^{that you} should have read it in any other way than that it was meant. Her reproach to me personally I deserved because, I should have told her I had taken the curtains to London - they were left in my charge - not for her to think I would wilfully send anything that would give rise to this stupid necessity of having to justify myself to anyone, makes me disgusted & very angry. Read the Card of aim Emma dear & I am sure you will realize you have made a mistake then return it to me so I can do the same. I have replied to Emma's effusion & explained what I thought had happened. I hope that is the end of the matter.

I had a letter from Nellie today she can only get a boat I believe early in May - but I dare say she has written you. I am so sorry about her position - she seems lost to know

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005001

[Letter, 19]37 April 21, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 4 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19877

B.

about to do for the text. Will you address
be enclosed to Doc Russell? - I have lost
her address - sorry to worry you - I am sure
now you must be up to your eye in work -
I wonder how things - & the tickets - are going.
I wish you had sent me a few folders - so
many people pass through en route for
London & the Coronation - I tell them all
about the concert, but unless one gives
some written reminder I am afraid they
will forget. It is quite strange the
number of people who have revisited
my shop after a lapse of years - it shows
things are bucking up. Most of them
I am afraid I remember, if at all, only
very vaguely - but they are all so very
friendly & ^{hospitable} & my things smell like the old
times. D. D. Eck - he is coming to dinner
tonight - has put me on a course for
my heart & a nerve tonic. I am feeling
the benefit of it already thank God.

Now as to how we stand financially.

I believe you have paid some £15 - for
my behalf. Of that, I have sent you the
cheque for £8-16-0 - then there is the month's
rent due on the 7th April £5/8/4. 6/- exact
to the rest for the furniture - you say £5 - bill

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005001

[Letter, 19]37 April 21, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 4 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1937

that makes in all £19-6-6. I think that is correct - ? The £1-10-0 Emma returned home please deduct that from the rent.

I have made several attempts to write this & now I must go & close up - I have only a girl of 16 & she is amusing but quite savage - she has a bit of a witch - still I feel better & things are better - it is warm & sunny so - what more can one want?

I had a letter from Stella - she said she were well & full of pep.

Norman Douglas was in Rome last week - he has a bad thumb - something quite serious & is having it specially treated - he is coming here today. I have let David flat to my friend Colonel Hibbert who turned up with a letter from David the enclosed.

My love, dear Emma, keep smiling I shall be all eyes to hear about the concert. If there are any press notices send me some.

Must really fly.

There are people below

affectionally
Auntie S

a friend has just come round with a typewriter thank good.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 April 21 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. — 2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage,
Burghley Road,
Wimbledon Common S.W.19.

Wed

Dear Emma, you and Reg ought to go and cry on each other's shoulders, for you both seem to be in the same state. Reg has been working till midnight (literally) trying to get money for the Spanish ship and was nearly in tears last night, and utterly fed up and disgusted. I heartily sympathize with you both, but dear Emma I think perhaps you are worrying unnecessarily over Sun. because look how people flock to Spanish meetings and how little (really) we advertise them - do you mean to tell me they won't similarly flock to hear Paul R. ? I find it hard to believe ! I don't think there can be an E.G. boycott over this affair as her name doesn't come into it, but its bloody lousy of the New S. not to run my letter, and the News C. that's so pro-Spanish-Gov. But again they wouldn't know that you had anything to do with it, would they ?

Dear, you didn't send the two 4/6 tickets you said you were enclosing; but I don't want them sent to me any more, but to Mr. and Mrs. Eyles, Lairy Walk Cottage, Burghley Road, Wimbledon Common S.W.19. and will

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925345

[Letter, 1937 April 21 London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin. —
2 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

16976

one—
you please send two/guinea tickets to Conrad Ormond, Esq.,
c/o Pitman, 16, Cheyne Walk, S.W.3. marking envelope to await
arrival: cheque herewith, endorsed by me.

I hope you sent the Box ticket to Mrs. Bolton, and that the
five tickets I ordered from you y/day for some friends of mine
are in the post.

My dear, do we need to be along so early as quarter to 7 Sunday?
What will there ~~mix~~ befor us to do over an hour before the
opening?

I will arrange with Meg about organising collectors.

O God I wish we could all go away and rest in the sun with Auntie!
Its all so bloody discouraging this political work, in this country,
anyhow! But I am sure they will roll up in Sunday. Lammit they
do for meetings.

Where shall we find you at the Vic-Pal on Sunday? Suggest you put
a placard ou side (if they'll let you) **ETHEL MANNIN ISSUING PRO**
GRAMMES AND WILL AUTOGRAPH THEM FOR A SHILLING EXTER, or something.

See last page

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918203

[Letter] 1937 April 21, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

12433

Paris 21 de Abril de 1937.

Camarada Emma Goldman.
18, Castletown Road.
West Kensington.
LONDON-W-14.

Querida Golman,

Recibida la tuya fecha 13 de Abril, la que no he contestado tan pronto como tengo por costumbre hacerlo cuando se trata de correspondencia con los camaradas, por diversas razones que espero que la camarada Flechin te ha debido notificar. La más importante de todas ellas es, precisamente, la que a ti te interesa en alto grado. Yo le comuniqué verbalmente a ella las posibilidades que había para que tu pudieras trasladarte libremente a España, tal cual es tu deseo.

Respecto a este particular, como podrás comprender estas posibilidades no son muy buenas. No obstante ello, mi juicio personal, así como también el de todos los camaradas conocidos que se encuentran aquí y que me han hablado de ello, es el de que, si decides trasladarte a España, no debes indicar a esos señores que tu intención es la de ir a la Península, sino simplemente que vas a Francia. Una vez aquí en París, trataremos de arreglar tu asunto de la mejor manera posible para que sea factible tu viaje a España.

He procurado durante estos días hacer lo necesario para poderte dar una contestación definitiva. Nada me ha sido posible concretar. Si en lugar de tener tantos años (sin menosprecio para ti) fueras más joven, podríamos decirte: -Vente inmediatamente que tu llegarás a España-. Pero como no es así, no puedo afirmarte absolutamente nada, como ya te decía antes.

A pesar de todo lo dicho, el viaje de Londres a París no sería perdido para ti, porque podríamos aprovecharlo muchísimo para tratar de una diversidad de cosas y, sobretudo, para la más importante, cual es la de tener un cambio de impresiones conmigo y poder llegar a trazar un plan de trabajo en tanto que delegados

que somos los dos de la misma organización a las Oficinas de Prensa y Propaganda.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918203

[Letter] 1937 April 21, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(R. Golman)

-II-

.12434

Suite à notre lettre du 21 avril 1937.

Debo de notificarte que hace tiempo que tengo un máximo interés en ir a Londres, por diversas razones. El excesivo trabajo que pesa sobre mí y la sujeción de los asuntos que tengo que tratar, no me han permitido que hasta el momento presente lo haya realizado. No obstante, yo iré a Londres. No puedo afirmar-te el día que eso será, pero yo iré a Londres.

Ahora bien: el ruego que me haces, querida Golman, has de saber que será cumplido, porque yo no estoy en París nada más que para eso: para servir los intereses de la organización y también los de los camaradas. Yo, desde aquí, tengo organizado un correo especial, el cual me permite que con regularidad lleguen todos cuantos documentos son necesarios para nuestra organización. Por lo tanto, a partir de este momento te ofrezco mis servicios para que los uses en bien de la causa en general.

El otro aspecto que tocas en tu carta sobre la Conferencia Internacional ya celebrada y de tristes resultados para la causa antifascista mundial, no tenemos porque preocuparnos más ni volver a hablar del asunto. Ya ha pasado y, desde luego, opino como tú que con el marxismo en general hay muy poca cosa a hacer. No obstante, habría sido interesante que hubieras podido asistir a la misma para formarte un juicio exacto, a la vez que facilitar una información, necesaria para el Comité Nacional en todo momento.

Esperando, pues, poderle leer pronto, se despide anarquicamente tu amigo y compañero.

Nemesio Galve

NOTA.

No puede notificarte con exactitud cuándo será la celebración del Congreso Internacional Anarquista en España. Se han dado diversas fechas, sin poderse afirmar cuál será la buena. VALE.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918204

[Letter, 1937 April 21, Paris, to Emma Goldman, London] / [Nemesio Galve].—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12435

I have received your letter of the 13th April, and I have not replied to it before, as I usually do with all correspondence from my comrades, for several reasons, which I hope comrade Flechin will have explained to you. The most important of them all being the one in which you are most interested. I communicated verbally to the said comrade the possibilities of you being able to enter Spain without any trouble.

In this connection, as you may well understand, the possibilities are not very good, but nevertheless, my personal opinion, as well as that of all the other comrades who are here and with whom I have discussed the matter, is that when you decide to go to Spain, you should simply say that you are coming to France, without disclosing the fact that you really are going there. Once here in Paris, we shall do our best to get you across.

During the last few days I have been working hard in order to be able to tell you something definite towards this end, but without any positive results. If instead of your age (this of course without any aspersion) you were younger, we would tell you: - Come along at once and you will reach Spain. - This not being so, I am not able to guaranty anything, as I said before.

In any case, your coming from London to Paris would not be wasted, and we should take advantage of it in order to discuss many matters of interest, the most important of all being my desire to exchange opinions with you ~~regarding~~ and, if possible, design a scheme for our work, since we both are delegates of the same organization in its Offices of Propaganda and Press.

I have been thinking of going to London for a long time, but the pressure of work and the hundred and one thing I have had to attend to, have prevented me doing so so far. In spite of all this, I will come to London. I cannot say when yet, but I will come one day.

The request which you make in your letter, dear comrade, will be complied with. I am in Paris for that; to serve the interests of our organization and also those of our comrades. From here I have made special arrangements for the despatch of mail thus making sure that all documents for our organization arrive with regularity. I therefore place my services at your disposal, which you can use for the good of our cause in general.

The other subject which you touch in your letter, regarding the International Conference and its sad results for the anti-fascist cause throughout the world, should not trouble us any further. It is a thing of the past and, like yourself, I believe that nothing can be accomplished in collaboration with marxism. Only it would have been interesting if you have gone to the Conference from the point of view of what you would have been able to report to the Comité Nacional.

Awaiting your prompt news, etc.

P.S. I cannot tell you when the International Anarchist Conference in Spain is taking place. Several dates have been mentioned, but none fixed yet.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005244

[Letter] 1937 April 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. — 1 p. ; 32 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE SIX POINT GROUP

20366

Telephone No.
MOUNTVIEW 172.

31, BROOKFIELD,
WEST HILL,
LONDON, N.6.

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.
LADY BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH
MISS VERA BATTAIN
CAPTAIN CARLST, M.P.
LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER
PROF. WINIFRED COLLIS, C.B.E.
MISS CLARENCE DANK
ALDERMAN A. ERIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

Vice-Presidents.
MISS AGNES DAWSON, J.P. L.C.C.
MRS. BRUCE DICK
MR. ISAAC FOOT
MISS CICELY HAMILTON
MR. E. L. MALLALIEU, M.P.
MISS WINIFRED MAYO
MISS EVA MOORE
MRS. FRANK OOLIVY

MRS. JAMES O'HEA, C.B.E.
VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA
SYNTH VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA, D.B.E.
DAME ETHEL SMYTH, D.B.E., MUS. DOC.
LORD STRABOLOI
DR. JANE WALKER, M.D., J.P.
MRS. CHALMERS WATSON, C.B.E.
MRS. MARGARET WINTRINGHAM, J.P.

Executive Committee.

Chairman: BETTY ARNDALL

FLORA DRUMMOND
DOROTHY E. EVANS
MARION GRAHAM
MARY GRAY
EMILY HAY
ELISE CLIFFORD JONES
GERTRUDE LUBER

CLAIRE MADDEN
ELISE MAITLAND
CHARLOTTE A. L. MARSH
AVARAI MENTA
MONICA WHATELY
LOTTE WHYTE

Hon. Auditor: MISS L. M. HARRIS, A.C.A.

Hon. Solicitor: MRS. CROFTS, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS E. M. HAY

Chairman Nationality Committee: MISS D. E. EVANS

.. Social .. MISS E. MAITLAND

Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY,
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

21st April, 1937.

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road,
West Kensington, W.14.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I reported our interview to the Executive of the Six Point Group and they were delighted to hear of the work which you were doing on behalf of the women in Spain.

Mrs. Lotte Whyte, of 9, Stafford Mansions, Stafford Place, S.W.1., offered her room for a meeting at which our Executive members, and the officers of the Equal Rights International should be asked to meet you and hear what you have to say. I wonder if you would find this possible.

I should like myself so much to be present and it is a real puzzle for me to find a free evening. Since I returned from Spain, I have been inundated with request to speak. Would Thursday, May 6th be a possible date for you. If not, I think it will have to be towards the end of May, as I am going away for two weeks shortly after the 6th.

When I hear from you I will communicate with our hostess to see whether the arrangement will suit her.

With all good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

Monica Whately C.E.P.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005245

[Letter, 19]37 April 22, London [to Monica] Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London April 22nd 37.

Dear Miss Whately.

Our letters crossed each other. I can imagine you being in demand since your return from Spain. People really want to know what is going on in that stricken country. I am only sorry you could not remain longer and also go to Catalonia to see the wonderful spirit of the people there.

Thank you for having arranged for me to tell about the struggle the groups of Spanish women are making to enlighten and emancipate their sex under domination for so many centuries. Indeed I will come Thursday May sixth. I want so much to do so when you can come. Do I understand that you will be present on the sixth? Let me know.

Sincerely.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005158

[Letter] 1937 April 22, Towanda [Pa. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rock-
er]. — 3 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

send back my reply as well. name only
Towanda, den 22. April 1937. *Cap*

20177

Liebste Emma:

Nun ist die lange Reise endlich zu Ende. Wir schnaufen uns hier einige Tage aus und fahren diesen Sonnabend nach New York zurück. Dort geht es bald wieder in die Tretmühle, denn ich muss schon anfangs Mai nach Philadelphia und Atlantic City, um die Kongresse der International Garment Workers Union und des Arbeiter-Rings zu adressieren. Meine Tour war sehr erfolgreich, überhaupt in Californien und in den grösseren Städten des Landes. Ich sprach hauptsächlich über die Lage in Spanien und wir konnten überall Sammlungen veranstalten für diesen Zweck. Das ist heute nicht so einfach, denn spanische Delegationen fahren über das ganze Land: Republikaner, Sozialisten, Kommunisten etc, und das Geld kommt stets aus denselben Taschen. Im allgemeinen stehen die Amerikaner den Ereignissen in Spanien viel kälter gegenüber als in Europa, obgleich während der letzten Monate eine gewisse Aenderung zum besseren eingetreten ist. Meine meisten Versammlungen waren in Englisch, was heute wichtiger ist als je zuvor.

Ausser den Versammlungen über Spanien haben meine Vorträge über die letzten Prozesse in Moskau den stärksten Eindruck hinterlassen. Ich hatte zwar überall mit den Kommunisten einen Kampf auszufechten, aber die sind heute bedeutend zahmer geworden. Ohne Zweifel haben die letzten Ereignisse in Russland einen Eindruck hinterlassen, der für die kommunistische Bewegung nicht gerade günstig ist.

Meine Tour nahm ungefähr fünf Monate in Anspruch; leider konnte ich diesmal Canada nicht besuchen, weil wir nun gänzlich ohne Papiere sind und die Grenze nicht passieren können. Unsere Absicht war von San Diego nach Mexico zu fahren, um dort ein Immigration Vise zu erlangen. Alles war vorbereitet; wir hatten bereits einen Lawyer, der uns über die Grenze begleiten sollte, und unsere Freunde in Washington hatten alle Vorkehrungen getroffen, damit uns keine Schwierigkeiten entstehen sollten, aber im letzten Augenblick erhielten wir ein Telegram, nicht zu fahren, sondern nach New York zurückzukommen. Gleichzeitig erhielten wir eine neue Extension bis zum 1. September dieses Jahres. Was weiter werden soll, wissen wir vorläufig nicht, bis wir wieder in N.Y. eintreffen. Wir sind nun gänzlich ohne Papiere und können uns nicht vom Flecke rühren. Unter der jetzigen Administration ist zwar keine unmittelbare Gefahr, dass man uns nach Deutschland zurücksenden wird, aber die ewige Unsicherheit geht uns beiden auf die Nerven. Vor allem sind wir nach wie vor nicht imstande, uns irgendwo niederzulassen und unser Leben neu einzurichten. Wir treiben uns nun schon vier Jahre lang wie die Zigeuner in der Welt herum, ohne Ziel, wenn auch nicht ganz ohne Zweck. Das Schlimmste ist, dass ich mich literarisch wenig betätigen kann, denn auf den ewigen Touren kann man sich schlecht konzentrieren zu der Arbeit. Zur Arbeit muss man schliesslich einen Winkel haben, wo man sein eigenes Leben leben kann, aber das scheint ganz aussichtslos zu sein.

Mein Buch wird im Juli endlich erscheinen und zwar bei Covici & Friede. Ich weiss, dass du mich vor diesem Verlage gewarnt hast und vielleicht mit Recht, aber Jeanne Livey und andere, die mit den Verlegern bekannt sind, waren der Meinung, dass ich es mit ihnen versuchen sollte. Vier Verleger hatten bereits abgelehnt, trotz der 500 Subscribers. Sie schrieben mir sehr schmeichelhafte Briefe und empfahlen mir das Buch bei einer "University Press" zu verlegen. Das Unglück ist, dass die ganze amerikanische Intelligenz, so weit sie radikal gesonnen ist, mehr oder weniger kommunistisch eingestellt ist, und gerade unter den literarischen Ratgebern der Verleger finden sich viele offene oder verkappte Kommunisten. Mein Buch hat natürlich alle gegen sich: die Bürgerlichen, die Sozialisten und die Kommunisten. Das kleine Häuflein aufrechter Liberalen und Anarchisten zählt nicht viel. Unter diesen Umständen war es das Beste, das Angebot Covici's anzunehmen. Materiell wird dabei nicht viel herauskommen für mich oder das Buch müsste eine grössere Verbreitung finden wie ich erwarte. Die Hauptsache ist, dass es endlich erscheint, alles andere muss man dem Zufall überlassen.

Auf meiner Reise hatte ich diesmal besonderes Pech. In Saint Louis wurde ich von einer schweren Grippe erfaßt und musste ins Spital, denn der brave Ben Capen ruhte nicht eher, bis er mich dort sah. Es war sicherlich das Beste. In Los Angeles sass ich drei Wochen fest, ohne etwas unternehmen zu können, da unsere Extension sehr spät eintraf und wir

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005158

[Letter] 1937 April 22, Towanda [Pa. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rock-
er]. — 3 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

20178

nicht wussten, ob wir weiter bleiben konnten oder nicht. Na, schliess-
lich ging noch alles gut.

Das ist, was ich dir über uns persönlich berichten kann. Nun zu dir
und unseren tapferen Genossen in Spanien. In deinem letzten Briefe
schreibst du, dass ich dir einen Brief schuldig war. Das kann nicht
stimmen. Ich hatte dir einen langen Brief von fünf Seiten geschrieben,
in dem ich dir meine Gedanken über den jetzigen Zustand in Spanien ein-
gehend auseinandersetzte. Der Brief war auf die Adresse der CNT in
Barcelona gerichtet. Falls du ihn nicht nachträglich noch erhalten
hast, wäre es gut, eine kleine Nachfrage anzustellen. Ich warnte in
diesem Briefe besonders vor den Intriguen Russlands, die mir gefährli-
cher erscheinen als alles andere. Sollte der Brief von unberufenen Hän-
den geöffnet worden sein? Solange der russische Konsul in Barcelona
Persona grata ist, ist alles möglich.

Liebe Emma: ich fühle wie du, den ganzen Ernst der Lage und bin durch-
aus nicht blind für die Gefahren, die unsere braven Kameraden von allen
Seiten bedrohen. Ich verkenne auch nicht, dass grosse Fehler gemacht
worden sind, aber wer macht in einer solchen verzweifelten Situation
keine Fehler? Haben unsere Genossen in Russland etwa keine Fehler ge-
macht, wie du in deinem Briefe an Sanja sehr richtig betontest? Bei
einem so furchtbaren Ereignis wie in Spanien, ist es selbstverständlich,
dass sogar eine so mächtige Bewegung wie die unsere vor Probleme ge-
stellt wird, die man vorher gar nicht übersehen kann. Ich glaube, dass
Bertoni, der ein sehr gewissenhafter und kühler Beobachter ist, in dieser
Hinsicht die Situation am besten erfasst hat. Der Eintritt in die Re-
gierung war sicherlich eine heikle Sache, aber ich kann verstehen, dass
unsere Genossen das nicht leichten Herzens getan haben. Ich bin auch
heute noch felsenfest davon überzeugt, dass unsere Bewegung in Spanien
ihren Charakter nicht verlieren wird, aber es wäre lächerlich, die Ge-
fahren eines solchen Schrittes zu unterschätzen. Trotzdem glaube ich,
dass die grösste Gefahr heute Russland ist. Diese Leute werden alles
versuchen, um der spanischen Revolution die anarchistischen Zähne auszu-
reissen. Glücklicherweise begreifen unsere Freunde die Gefahr, und ver-
schiedene Artikel in Soledad Obrera waren sehr eindeutig und zeigen,
dass man die Gefahr erkannt hat. Wenn der Faschismus erst überwunden
ist, werden Republikaner, Sozialisten und Kommunisten sich einheitlich
gegen unsere Genossen wenden. Der elende Caballero ist heute nur ein
Werkzeug Russlands wie er früher ein Werkzeug der republikanischen
Reaktion gewesen ist. Die grösste Gefahr aber ist die Länge des furcht-
baren Krieges. Unsere Besten werden dabei drauf gehen und das muss den
Widerstand gegen die kommende Reaktion schwächen. Aber was sollten unsere
Kameraden tun. Sie mussten den Kampf, der ihnen aufgezwungen wurde,
aufnehmen. Der Standpunkt absoluter Pazifisten in Holland, dass man den
Krieg gegen Franco hätte vermeiden müssen, um den Faschismus durch den
organisierten Boykott zu besiegen, ist einfach lächerlich. Deutschland,
Italien und Oesterreich sind warnende Beispiele. Wir dürfen unseren
Kameraden unter keinen Umständen in den Rücken fallen in der entsetz-
lichen Situation, in der sie sich befinden. Viele Dinge lassen sich
von ~~ausserhalb~~ aussen her sehr leicht rügen, aber an Ort und Stelle
sein und es besser machen ist etwas anderes. Unsere spanischen Kameraden
hier in Amerika haben das sehr gut begriffen. Sie arbeiten wie die
Teufel für die alte Heimat. In ~~Garick~~ Garick, Indiana, um nur ein Beispiel
anzuführen, ~~an~~ arbeiten eine Menge spanischer Arbeiter in den Stahl-
werken. Sie verdienen nicht viel, aber sie senden alle 14 Tage von
2000 bis 3000 Dollar an die CNT und FAI. Diese wunderbare Solidarität
ist geradezu erstaunlich. Die grosse Mehrheit aller Italiener hier im
Land sind Faschisten. Die Deutschen sind geteilt und mindestens 50 %
sind Hitlerianer. Aber unter den spanischen Arbeitern und Intellektuel-
len hier zuhause gibt es keine einzige faschistische Organisation. Ist
das nicht ein glänzendes Beispiel für den Geist der Spanier?

Es freut uns beide ausserordentlich, dass du diesmal in England einen
solchen Erfolg hast. Indem du dein Bestes für die spanische Sache tust,
hast du dir nichts vorzuwerfen, sogar wenn deine Bedenken gegen manche
Handlungen unserer spanischen Genossen nicht ohne weiteres von der Hand
zu weisen sind. Es ist schwer zu beurteilen aus der Ferne, wer in dem
einen oder dem anderen Falle Recht hat; eines aber ist sicher, unserer
Genossen ~~es~~ sind keine feilen Politiker und noch weniger Renegaden.
Was sie getan haben und tun, geschah unter dem Druck der Umstände und
gegen ihren ~~Wille~~ Willen. Sie können irren, aber sie sind ehrlich, und
ich betrachte es als eine Ehrensache, bis zum letzten Momente mit ihnen
zu stehen und ihrer Sache zum Siege zu verhelfen. Sie haben der Welt
ein Beispiel gegeben, wie wir es bisher noch nicht gesehen haben. Das

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

160

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005158

[Letter] 1937 April 22, Towanda [Pa. to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf [Rock-
er]. — 3 p. ; 32 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

20179

fühle ich als "Deutscher" vielleicht tiefer und leidenschaftlicher wie viele anderen. Die spanischen Kameraden werden ihre Sache nie verraten; dazu ist sie zu tief in den Massen eingewurzelt. Was immer der Ausgang der blutigen Ereignisse in Spanien sein wird, der Anarchismus hat in Spanien Geschichte gemacht; und wenn ihr grandioser Opfermut vielleicht nicht überall den rechten Weg zu finden wusste, so kann ihnen niemand bestreiten, dass sie ihrer Sache das letzte geopfert haben, und das wird in der Geschichte nie vergessen werden.

Hoffen wir, dass wir uns in Spanien alle wiedersehen werden, denn auch ich bin fest entschlossen, meine letzten Jahre in Spanien zu verbringen.

Was den anarchistischen Kongress in Barcelona anbelangt, habe ich keine grossen Hoffnungen. Bei der Sache wird nicht viel herauskommen, überhaupt jetzt, wenn die Blockade die Reise nach Spanien noch schwerer machte. Wir müssen draussen arbeiten und Spanien in der Fremde verteidigen gegen alle Verleumdungen und gegen alle krummen Wege der Politiker, und besonders der Kommunisten.

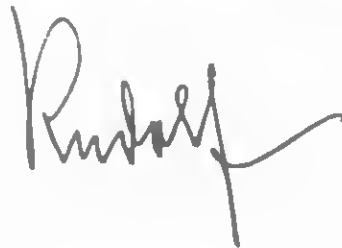
Was dein Kommen nach Amerika anbetrifft, so glaube ich nicht, dass alle Hoffnungen verloren sind; aber ich weiss nicht, ob Roger Baldwin der rechte Mann ist, etwas zu tun in dieser Sache. Seine ausgesprochene Sympathie für Moskau hat ihm viel von seinem Einfluss geraubt, besonders nachdem er sogar die Urteile in Moskau verteidigt hat.

Dass Prof. Heines in Chicago zu den Kommunisten übergang, wiesst jedenfalls schon. Er liess sich in meinen Versammlungen nicht sehen und verteidigt die schauerliche Justizkomödie in Russland bis zum letzten. Die meisten der amerikanischen Intellektuellen sind ganz unberechenbar. Er ist nicht der einzige und wird nicht der letzte sein. Jedesmal, wenn ich in Chicago war, wich er mir nicht von der Seite. Die beiden letzten Male wich er mir aus; ein Beweis, dass er kein gutes Gewissen hat. Dasselbe ist der Fall mit Monroe in Denver, den du gewiss kennst. Der Mann verteidigt heute jeden Handlung Stalins mit demselben Fanatismus, als wäre er seit Jahren in Moskau in die Schule gegangen.

Da wir vorläufig keine bestimmte Adresse haben, so bitte ich dich alle Briefe an die Adresse der F. A. S. zu schreiben.

Wir umarmen dich beide von ganzem Herzen. Grüsse alle unsere Freunde recht herzlich von uns.

Mit aller Freundschaft



The Emma Goldman Papers

871005061

[Letter] 1937 April 22, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p.; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

CONGRESO MUNDIAL ANTIFASCISTA Congrès Mondial Antifasciste - Antifascist World Congress BARCELONA, 19 - 20 - 21 - JULIO 1937

TELEGRAMAS: MUNDIALCONGRES
TELEFONO: 14781

BARCELONA, 22 de Abril 1937
Via Suñer, 22

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Liebe Emma,
Deinen Brief vom 16-4-37 habe ich erhalten. Ich habe zur Kenntnis genommen, dass Collanze des Manuskript nicht angenommen hat. Hoffentlich hast Du Glück bei den anderen.

Ich ~~schreibe~~ schreibe heute in der Angelegenheit des Antifaschistenkongresses. Ich lege Dir einige Aufrufe in ~~englischer~~ ~~Spanische~~ ~~englischer~~ Sprache bei und bitte Dich dieselben an Leute weiterzugeben, die dafür ~~an~~ ~~Interesse~~ Interesse haben. Gleichzeitig lege ich Dir einige Briefe ein an Bertland Russell, Havelock Ellis, Paul Robeson. Ausserdem noch einige ohne Anschrift. Du weisst besser wer von Leuten mit internationalem Ruf in England zu haben sein wird. Du kannst diese Briefe abschicken (oder selbst hingehen) mit einem Begleitbrief, dass man an Dich antworten soll. Es kommt darauf an bedeutende Namen in England zu bekommen, die wir dann auf unseren Briefbogen als sponsors angeben koennen. Dann auch Namen zweiten Ranges, die wir auf die Aufrufe mitaufdrucken werden.

Wir muessen hierbei sehr vorsichtig und deshalb langsam vorgehen. Die UGT und auch die zweite Internationale wollen zunachst nicht mitmachen (Leute der dritten Intern. wuerden natuerlich mitmachen, aber nur wenn sie dominieren koennen.) Wenn wir einige grosse Namen haben, koennen wir an Organisationen herantreten, wie z.B. die ILP und aehnliche Organisationen in anderen Laendern. Es duerfte nicht unmoeglich sein eine grosse Minoritaet der internationalen Arbeiterbewegung und verschiedene antifaschistische und liberale Organisationen dafuer zu gewinnen. Wie Du aus den beiliegenden Briefen erschen kannst, haben wir bereits die Unterschriften von General Miaja, den Ministern fuer Justiz und Gesundheitswesen, Rektor der Universitaet, Buergemeister von Valencia, und viele andere. Wir koennen hunderte von Namen haben, wollen uns aber vorlaeufig einschaenken. Wir koennen mit der Unterschrift Casals rechnen, der augenblicklich in Paris ist.

Wenn Du einige Unterschriften hast, teile sie und bitte telegrafisch mit. In meinem naechsten Briefe werde ich Dir mitteilen, ob Du Dich mit Penner Brookway in Verbindung setzen kannst. Vorlaeufig unterlasse es bitte noch.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy


The Emma Goldman Papers

871005238

[Letter] 1937 April 23, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. — 1 p. ; 32 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE SIX POINT GROUP

20387

Telephone No.
HOLLYWOOD 1739.

31, BROOKFIELD,
WEST HILL,
LONDON, N.C.

Vice-Presidents.

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.
LADY BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH
MISS VERA BRITAIN
CAPTAIN CAHALET, M.P.
LADY VIOLET BONNAR CARTER
PROF. WINIFRED COLLIS, C.B.E.
MISS CLARENCE DAVIS
ALDERMAN A. ERIL DAVIS, L.C.C.

MISS AGNES DAWSON, J.P. L.C.C.
MRS. BRUCE DICK
MR. ISAAC FOOT
MISS CICELY HAMILTON
MR. E. L. MALLALIN, M.P.
MISS WINIFRED MAYO
MISS EVA MOORE
MRS. FRANK OOLIVY

MRS. JAMES O'HEA, C.B.E.
VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA
STYL VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA, D.R.E.
DAME SYBIL SMYTH, D.R.E., MUS. DOG.
LORD STRABOLO
DR. JANE WALKER, M.D., J.P.
MRS. CHALMERS WATSON, C.B.E.
MRS. MARGARET WINTRINOHAN, J.P.

Executive Committee.

Chairman: BETTY ARONDALE
FLORA DUNNISON
DOROTHY E. EVANS
MELTON GRAMER
MARY GROW
HELEN HAY
ELLEN CLIFFORD JONES
GUTHRIE LUNN

CLAIRE MADSEN
ELLEN MAYLAND
CHARLOTTE A. L. MASON
AYARAI MENTA
MONICA WHATELY
LOTTE WHYTE

Hon. Auditor: MISS L. M. HARRIS, A.C.A.
Hon. Solicitor: MRS. CROFTS, M.A., LL.B.
Hon. Treasurer: MISS E. M. HAY
Chairman Nationality Committee: MISS D. E. EVANS
" Social " MISS E. MAYLAND
Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY,
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

23rd April, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Thank you so much for saying that you will speak to members of our Group and others.

I am very anxious to be present and find that I shall have to do a meeting on May 6th. May I ask you, therefore, whether you would be good enough to come on May 31st at 8.30 p.m. to the house of Mrs. Lotte Whyte, 9, Stafford Mts., Stafford Place, S.W.1.

I hope your concert will be a great success.

Always sincerely yours,

Monica Whately

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 24, London [to] The Manchester Guardian, [Manchester, England] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 29 × 19 cm.

Obtained from International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



Roc

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1937

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CATALONIA'S PART IN THE WAR HOSPITAL

Offers of Assistance that Madrid is Said to Have Refused

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian
Sir.—As an old reader of your paper I have always felt that it is the only Liberal paper in this country, liberal in the true sense. I am here as the accredited representative of the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia (F.A.I.). I have been trying since last December to counteract the misrepresentations and often vilification of these two gallant Spanish organisations. I would almost say that there is a conspiracy of silence on the part of the so-called Left publications and fabrication on the part of the Conservative papers. I was therefore not a little surprised to find that even the "Manchester Guardian" is sadly misinformed as to the actual place of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the anti-Fascist struggle. In your leader of April 3 you say: "It is remarkable, for example (although not perhaps without an historical explanation), how little military assistance has been given by the Catalonians to Madrid during the war. The Anarchist leader Durutti was sent with 15,000 men to fight on the Madrid front, but the bulk of the valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon." I do not know where you got this information. I can only say that completely misstates the facts of the situation in Catalonia. Will you permit me therefore to place before your readers several incidents which occurred while I was yet in Barcelona? First, as late as September, 1936, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. submitted to the Madrid Government a plan for the immediate organisation of a Council of Defence. That was rejected. Secondly, the C.N.T.-F.A.I. offered to reorganise an old depleted munition factory in Madrid and to proceed at once with the intensive manufacture of arms. That was also refused, although it was known to the Central Government that the C.N.T.-F.A.I. had succeeded in turning a famous automobile plant into a munition factory within forty-eight hours of July 19 and that it was working day and night in producing the largest amount of arms for the anti-Fascist struggle. Thirdly, Durutti went to Madrid to offer his services and the services of the International Column he had organised to begin the fortification of Madrid. He begged to be permitted to appeal to the people direct to defend themselves, their city, and the revolution. That was also refused. One month later, when the danger to Madrid became acute, it was again Durutti, with 15,000 of his column, who undertook the defence of Madrid. Actually it was Durutti who repulsed the first attack of Franco's Italians and Germans. Durutti had set his heart on conquering the Aragon front. He

worked for that day and night, and he perfected his column to that end, but when the call came to go to Madrid he did so without a moment's hesitation. The heroic battle was short-lived, for, as you know, he was killed on November 20.

From the earliest beginning of Franco's rebellion the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and Catalonia have contributed arms, man-power, and foodstuffs to Madrid, depriving their own city of the necessities of life and of arms to defend itself. It is also Catalonia that is saddled with the main burden of the evacuated women and children, already numerous before I left at the end of December and since numbering hundreds of thousands as a result of the exodus from Malaga. (Incidentally, it is an open secret that, while large sums are being raised in England for all sorts of purposes for Spain, Catalonia as such has received very little help in any shape or form.) I cannot emphasise enough that Catalonia has strained every nerve and muscle for the needs of Madrid.

You state that "valuable Catalan resources seem to have been frittered away on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon." Actually Catalonia remained without "valuable resources" because everything it could muster went to Madrid. As a result the column on the Aragon front was condemned to inactivity against the enemy, for even burning faith and enthusiasm cannot make up for the lack of munitions. It seems, therefore, unjust to charge Catalonia with having "frittered away resources on ill-managed and fruitless skirmishes in Aragon."

The charge against Catalonia of having in any way sabotaged the defence of Madrid is pure invention on the part of the people who, though claiming to belong to the United Front in Spain, have left nothing undone to stah their allies, the C.N.T.-F.A.I., in the back. They simply cannot forgive these organisations, who have been steeped in libertarian ideas for three generations, for having been the first to go on the streets of Barcelona in July, 1919, to fight the military and Fascist conspiracy and who have since endeared themselves to the Catalan people by their magnificent constructive work and their valour. But the truth has a way of making itself heard sooner or later. I am certain that the time is not far distant when the whole world will know the sacrifice, the consecration, and the fortitude of the Catalan people and of C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the anti-Fascist struggle and in the attempt to build a new social order amidst danger and death.—Yours, &c.,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

18, Castletown Road, London, W. 11, April 21.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929284

[Letter, 19]37 April 24 [London to Emma Goldman, London] / Alma V. Finnmore. —
1 p. ; 23 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17985

24. IV. 37

Please give bearer three
one guinea ticket for
the Spanish Concert
at Victoria Palace
tomorrow (Sun. 25. IV. 37.)
Cash herewith

Alma V. Finnmore.

Secretary to the
Social Action

Confirmation
received
17/5

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918205

[Letter, 19]37 April 25 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12436

April 25th 37.

Dear comrade Galvez.

I ^{received} ~~received~~ your kind letter and will write you soon. This is to introduce comrade Abe Bluestein and his companion. Abe is among the best and ablest of our young American comrades. He goes to Spain as the delegate to the I.A. Conference for the Libertarian Workers Group. But he also wants to do all necessary work in English. He is most competent and his work will be of value to our work in England and America.

Please do your utmost to facilitate his getting over. For the rest he will tell you all about my work here and the general work for Spain in the U.S.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001225

[Letter] 1937 April 25 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19785

25th April, 1937.

Dear Mary Feivel,

Your letter and the enclosure of £ received yesterday. It is splendid of you and your sister, Mrs. Kirschner, to send the contribution. Since the frightful exodus from Valaga the number of homeless and destitute women and children from Spain can be counted in the hundreds of thousands. And it is Catalonia that has to carry the heaviest brunt. The certain thing is that all of the numerous Societies appealing here for Spanish aid are discriminating grossly against Catalonia. The reason is obvious. They are deadly opposed to the CNT/FAI and they permit their fanatical adherence to their own parties to neglect Catalonia. The more reason for me to concentrate entirely on the needs of that part of Spain which actually represents historically and in revolutionary zeal the most formidable organisations, CNT/FAI. You can imagine how deeply I appreciate any help give me in my efforts to counteract the gross misrepresentations and the injustice to the Catalonian people.

The Concert takes place this Sunday. You will probably think it a nose when I say that I should have preferred to take a year in prison than to go through the ordeal that has been mine since I began with the theatre venture. It has been one failure after another in addition to the open and insidious opposition I met with on every side and at every step. Actually if it were not for the consent to participate by my old friend, Paul Robeson, I should have dropped the whole matter when I was faced with the necessity of postponing the affair from the 11th to the 25th April. But it seemed too terrible to reject such a golden opportunity of having Paul Robeson's glorious voice pleading on behalf of the Spanish women and children. True, I have been very fortunate in getting help from a very fine man who is keenly interested in the Spanish struggle and who has succeeded in getting free of charge printing, advertising and publicity. to the value of £150 or more. So you see that I still have luck.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

167

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001225

[Letter] 1937 April 25 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19706

2.

Although we have sent out 1000 folders to about 600 people with an individual letter to everyone I cannot say that the returns of the expensive seats is very encouraging up to date anyway. But we have gone in for intensive advertisements these last few days so I am hoping that the admirers of Paul Robeson will book seats even if they do not feel deeply for the victims of Fascism.

I had planned to leave for Spain the first week in May, but the Conference I was to attend there has been postponed until the middle of July, so I will stay on here perhaps until the middle of June. I still have some dates outside of London to fill and a lot of odderrandnnda to do for my Spanish comrades. I hope, however to have more time once the Concert is over and done with, to write to you and your sister at greater length. I have a plan which I would like to submit to you which may help to get me to Palestine, but there is no hurry about it. Please remember me very kindly to your sister.

Affectionately,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

168

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001075

[Letter, 19]37 April 25 [London to] Augustin [Soucy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19521

April 25th 37.

Dear Augustine.

This is to introduce Abe Bluestein and his companion Selma Bluestein. Abe is among our very best your comrades and from the reports by Harry Kelly and others of the old guard he is also one of the ablest. In him you will find at last a competent man for English work, and one who ~~will~~ is able to do the Bulletin as well as other important jobs. It will certainly be a blessing to see the Bulletin in presentable English and edited as it should be done without making the work ~~for~~ for Anglo-Saxon countries look cheap and inaccurate.

I want you to give Abe every facility to acquaint himself with the situation in Catalonia and also with the constructive work the CIT-PAI are doing. And also to make it possible for Selma to demonstrate what she can do in her art work.

As Abe comes as a delegate to the I.A. Conference you will of course get him in touch with the PAI comrades in charge of the Conference.

I have received the material in re the I. Anti Fascist Conference. It is a grand idea. But Abe will report what

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001075

[Letter, 19]37 April 25 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman], — 2 p. ; 25 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15-00

possibilities in this country for the matter. However, I will do my best and write you later.

To day is the concert. I never worked harder for any undertaking. Abe has watched the effort for a week and he will tell you all about it. I have worried so much and I have no peace until it is all over.

Affectionately

Please introduce Abe and Selma to the Comité Regional and tell the comrades what I wrote about him.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 April 27, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20354

London April 27th 37.

Dear H.W. I have your letter of March 30th with your check for five bucks inclosed. Will you believe it when I tell you that you are the only one of all my friends in America who thought of slipping in a few dollars in their letters. True, it was not so in ~~former~~ former years. Quite a number of friends were most generous before hard times overtook them. Still, one can always spare a dollar bill. I mean those who do not exactly live on relief. Yet no one thinks of such a thing. They all want letters but they do not think of the cost of postage. Mine is higher than what some workers here get in the dole. Well, its the old saying "Out of sight, Out of mind." I am glad this is not the case with you. Believe me I appreciate it very much indeed. "Buy flowers" say did you think I am a ~~wastrel~~ wastrel. When money is so scarce as in my case flowers are a luxury. A pair of shoes are more to the point. I'll have them made when I pass through Paris on my way back to Spain and I will add your fiver to the amount it costs to have shoes made to order. I have to do that for my short and broad feet to get any comfort out of life. I know you won't mind that your five spot will go towards that will you?

The reason I did not reply to your letter immediately was that it found me in deep dejection over the failure to pull off and affair for Spain I had set my heart to. It was to be a theatre venture for which I had all kinds of promises in the way of help, a theatre, actors and actorinos and what not else. I did get the theatre though not entirely free. But not one man or woman of the stage. I don't know where the fault was. Most likely with the man at the head of the actors equity who simply neglected to see the people he had promised to approach. At the eleventh hour I had to postpone the theatre affair from the 11th to the 25th of this month and I had to turn it into a concert. But even that was a hell of a job to organise. In fact if I did not have Paul Robeson to sing I would have had to drop the whole beastly undertaking altogether. Well, I drugged for three weeks working about 16 hours out of 24, sending out hundreds of letters and doing a thousand odd jobs including the sale of tickets.

Well, the concert from the musical point of view was a great success. It was of the finest quality. And Paul Robeson

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005237

[Letter, 19]37 April 27, London [to] H[arry] W[einberger, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20355

was sublime. You cannot imagine how he has grown both in his singing and his personality. His voice was never richer and more stirring than last Sunday. Believe me I was very proud. Especially as the rotten Communists under the disguise of SPANISH MEDICAL AID SOCIETY had attempted to induce Paul to sing for them at an affair they were going to have this evening. But he refused because he knew it would just about kill our concert. Naturally the Communists have the machinery to get every body. I work with just a few. So you can imagine I delighted I was that Paul would not go back on his promise to me. Yes, artistically the Concert was worth the strenuous efforts and down right drudgery of weeks. But materially it is disappointing. The theatre should have brought 450 pounds. It brought £250. True, I tried my damndest to keep all expences down. Actually I got nearly two hundred pound of advertising free in posters and streamers on buses and underground, handbills and programmes, and of course all the musicians gave their contribution free. Still the expences will come to about seventy five or eighty pounds. An appeal was made for the Homeless Spanish women and children. But the friend who made the appeal is not very ~~experienced~~ experienced. So that only brought £58. You see the affair had to be kept as non political thats why I did not make the appeal. It was funny though in the end. Dr Stella Churchill who made the appeal did blurted out the fact that Mrs E.G. Colton the Hon. Sect. is none other than Emma Goldman. The audience thereupon insisted on my appearance. So I could just as well have made the appeal and gotten another fifty pounds. Now comes the real fun, the Soviet Ambassador had sent for tickets little suspecting that Colton is the most hated E.G. The Spanish Ambassador knew the "secret". But he is less squeamish. Anyhow you can see I did get a "distinguished" audience together even if there will be only a ~~mere~~ paltry hundred and twenty pounds to go to Spain.

In justice to the British it must be said that they have been made to pay ever so many times. But it is also true that they are not as generous as American audiences. ~~Yikes~~ Theb too that must save their pennies for the Coronation. Gave ~~as~~ there ever a more idiotic show. And the waste, the criminal waste with all the unemployed and poverty stricken people in England living in squalid quarters and underfed. It is a farce.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20336

N.W.1. Roger is anything but cheerful about my chances of getting back. Perhaps he needs a bit of boosting up. See him please. You see I simply dread having to come back here from Spain to resume work for Spain. The climate, the people, the whole situation in England goes against my grain. Yet I will have to come back unless a visa can be gotten for me. So you had better see Roger soon and make whatever suggestion you think might work the trick.

I am inclosing some material in re an International Anti Fascist Conference in Barcelona during July. Can you interest some of the Liberal elements to participate. I have suggested Einstein Dewey and a few others to my Barcelona friends. They will no doubt write them and you as well. It would be grand if you could attend We'd meet there. But aside of that you should lend your name to such an important conference. I am returning to Spain in June for five weeks. Then I will go back here unless I can go to the States.

Poor ~~Johnston~~ Tom Money. He will probably end his life in prison. It is awful how powerful the Calif gang continues to be. It is well for Money that he is so optimistic. Otherwise he would be dead by this time. The Will to Life is indeed a powerful driving force. Isn't it?

Yes, I too have always be opposed to War. But it would have meant Fascism in Spain as in Italy and Germany if the Spanish people had not resisted. I have abiding faith in their victory which will spell the end of Fascism in more countries than Spain I am sure. Meanwhile their struggle is the grandest shewing in our time.

Good by dear H.W. faithful friend as ever.
Give Fitz and Pauline my love. I hear little from them, nothing at
all from Pauline and only a Christmas note and one of her scores
dollars as a gift.

affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005085

[Letter] 1937 April 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Claro J. Sendon. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional

20028

SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Grabador Esteve No 4

Teléfono 10.1.68

Valencia

27 de Abril de 1937

Emma Goldman

18 Castleton Road

West Kensington

London, W 14

Estimada compañera:

Con fecha 13 del corriente, hemos recibido tu carta, por la que nos enteramos que nos has escrito tres o cuatro cartas que no han llegado a nuestro poder, lo que sentimos muy de veras por lo que en ellas pudiera haber de interés.

De la campaña que determinados elementos ~~del~~ ^{del} obrerismo han emprendido en el extranjero contra nosotros, estamos perfectamente enterados, y no nos extraña ello por virtud de que lo esperábamos y porque, digámoslo de paso, fuera de España no existe movimiento anarquista. Y los pocos, contadísimos compañeros que hay, siguen creyendo y pensando igual que sentían y pensaban los camaradas del siglo pasado.

Es más cómodo filosofar, discutir a Stirner y otros sobre el velador de un café que hacer labor práctica entre la clase trabajadora allí donde esten sindicados o agrupados.

Nos preciamos de conocer un poco el movimiento anarquista internacional, y, la verdad, ~~hada~~ existe.

Es verdad que el elemento marxista ha emprendido una ofensiva contra la C. N. T. en el extranjero, pero no es menos cierto, que los que se dicen anarquistas, lejos de poner cada cosa en el lugar que les correspondía, han contribuido a que esto corriera, ya que tenemos conocimiento de la labor derrotista que en Francia, Inglaterra, Estados Unidos y otros países, han realizado los incapaces de comprender el anarquismo español y su posición actual.

Es una desgracia, pero es así.

Sabemos que los anarquistas en el extranjero, podían hacer mucho más de lo que hacen en pro del antifascismo español.

Ellos sabrán porque no lo hacen, Allí cada cual con su responsabilidad.

Nuestra posición es clara. Hemos aceptado lo que las circunstancias nos han señalado, sin tener en cuenta los "sacrosantos" principios del anarquismo que por ahí invocan los omnipotentes, para que el fascismo no se apodere de nuestro

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005085

[Letter] 1937 April 27, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Claro J. Sendon. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional

20026

SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Grabador Esteve No 4. Teléfono 10 1 68

Valencia

suelo sagrado, de nuestra Iberia única, cuyo pueblo, cuya raza sin igual, lucha y muere por la Libertad del mundo.

Por encima de todas las miserias humanas, está la guerra ^{que} contra el fascismo sostenemos. Para ganarla, y la ganaremos muy pronto, recurriremos a lo que haya que recurrir, sin importarnos nada de lo que de nosotros digan los que viven de espalda a la realidad.

Los únicos que nos han comprendido, los que de verdad sienten y ven nuestras necesidades, son los compañeros españoles residentes en los Estados Unidos.

¿Y si aquellos compañeros nos han entendido, por qué los demás no han de ponerse a la altura de las circunstancias?

Por medio de ~~los~~ ^{un} órgano en la prensa, los camaradas mencionados, además de llevar una magnífica campaña de ayuda al antifascismo español, hacen todo lo humanamente posible para desvirtuar las campañas insidiosas contra nosotros. Campañas de unos y de otros, ya que incluso han tenido que hacer callar al camarada Armando Borghi, que se empeño en no ver bien nuestra actuación, pero no ha tenido en cuenta lo que el pueblo italiano sufre por no haberse puesto a la altura de los momentos que Italia vivía en la Época en que Mussolini se ha hecho dueño absoluto del país de Malatesta.

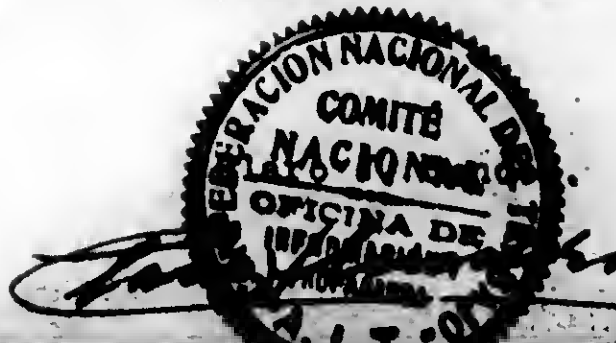
Y para que seguir, querida Emma, si no merece la pena!

En cuanto a la Conferencia Internacional de que nos hablas, se celebrará el 18 de Junio, para ello, quedas en libertad para que vengas a España cuando lo creas oportuno, ya que una vez aquí, ya decidiremos lo que has de hacer.

Te esperamos, pues, para cuando lo desees, ya que tu eres la que ha de decidir sobre el particular.

Recibe el aprecio de tus amigos y camaradas

Por el Comité Nacional
Sección Propaganda y Prensa.



The Emma Goldman Papers

871005086

[Letter] 1937 April 27 [Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / C[laro J. Sendon]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Translation of letter from C.N. dated 27th April, 1937.

20027

On the 13th inst we received your letter in which you say that you have written to us three or four times, but we must point out that none of these letters have reached us. We are very sorry about all this, especially if there was anything important in any of those letters.

Of the campaign that certain elements in the labour movement have started abroad against ourselves, we are fully aware, and we are not surprised because we more or less expected it, since, it must be said, outside of Spain there is not any anarchist movement worth mentioning. And the few groups there are still carry on thinking and acting in the same way as the comrades of the last century. It is easier to temporize and discuss Stirner and others over a cup of coffee than to do practical work among the working classes. We pride ourselves of knowing well the international anarchist movement and really, it does not exist.

It is true that the comunists have begun an offensive against the CNT abroad, but ~~it~~ it is also true that those calling themselves anarchists, instead of putting things in their place, have contributed to this, as we know that the defeatist efforts in France, England, U.S.A. and other countries have been made by elements incapable of understanding Spanish anarchism and its present position. It is a great pity, but it is so. We are convinced that the anarchists abroad could do far more than what they have done up to now in favour of the Spanish anti-fascists. They must know why they won't do it. Each one, though, must bear his own responsibility.

Our position is clear. We have accepted what the circumstances have dictated to us, without taking into consideration the "sacrosanct" anarchist principals so much bandied about by the omnipotents, in order that fascism does not take possession ~~of~~ of our sacred soil, of our only Iberia, whose people, ~~with their~~ fight and die for world ~~freedom~~ freedom. Over and above all human miseries is the war which we are carrying on against fascism. To win it, and we will win it soon, we will stop at nothing, without caring two hoots for what those who live behind the times may say. The only ones who have understood us, the ones who truly feel and see our needs are the Spanish comrades residing in the U.S.A. And if those comrades have understood, why the others cannot bring themselves to the ~~real~~ of the circumstances? Through their press, the said comrades, besides carrying on a magnificent campaign in favour of anti-fascist Spain, they do all humanly possible to discredit the insidious propaganda against ourselves. Propaganda of both sides, since they have had to silence comrade Armando Borghi, who persisted in not wanting to see with good eyes our work, without taking into account how much the Italian people have to suffer now because ~~of its~~ of its failure to rise to the occasion ~~and~~ thus allowing Mussolini to become the absolute ruler of Italy; the country of Malatesta. But what is the use of going on? It is not worth it, dear Emma.

P.T.O.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005086

[Letter] 1937 April 27 [Valencia, Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / C[laro J. Sendon].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

As regards the International Conference, it will take place on June 18th, and you are at liberty to come to Spain whenever you like. Once here we will decide what you are to do. We shall then expect you when you decide to come.

Yours, etc.

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022140

[Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Llistowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

London April 28/37.

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

Dear Comrade,

Galve
I received your letter at the most hectic time before our concert. I had not a minute to write you. This is really the first day in weeks that I can begin to clear away the accumulated correspondence. And your letter is the first among them.

an
First about the Concert which has taken up much of my time for nearly three months. I had worked strenuously to have it take place April 11th, not as a Concert but as a theatre affair. But at the last hour everything collapsed because not one of the promises of help given me by all sorts of people was kept. I hated to give up the plan altogether and though I was very tired from the long drawn out effort I yet decided to go on and try for a Concert for the 25th of this month. That was three weeks ago. ~~During~~ To succeed at all I had to give up all other efforts and concentrate every hour of 16 per day to the undertaking. You may be surprised that so much labor was necessary. You would not be if you knew how desperately hard it is to reach the British people. They are so self sufficient, so very satisfied with their conditions they care little about the needs and suffering of their own people in their own country. Much less do they care for the struggle and suffering of those far removed from them. Anyhow, it took three weeks intensive effort to realize the Concert. It took place last Sunday. And as affairs of such nature go here it was successful. But nothing what I had hoped for, nor ~~was~~ to the work put into the project. I don't know yet how much we will clear. But certainly not more than £200 pounds if that. The main thing is it is over. I am sure I could not undertake a similar thing again soon. It is not only too exhausting. It is also most humiliating because one is forced to hide one's identity and beg from people who are far removed from one's world.

equal
On the day when I got your letter I also had one from Souche telling me that the International Anarchist Conference had been postponed until July 11th. I was very glad for that because it would have been almost impossible for me to get away this week. We have organised a MAY DAY demonstration and meeting in Hyde

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022140

[Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

Park for Saturday, I have to speak before a group of teachers and physicians the Fifth of May, I must go to one of the large provincial towns the 23rd and I have a big dinner affair arranged by the Free Thinkers in London. Besides all that I must prepare a large report for the CNT-FAI on the campaign started here and the possibilities for the future, and I must prepare another report about the general Anarchist situation in England for our conference. So you see how hard it would have been to have to rush away this week if the conference had not been postponed.

About getting into Spain I really don't see why it should be so difficult to get through ~~France~~ the French border. Is there no one in Paris who has access to M. Blums secretary or some one else to get a visa to pass? After all even a border gendarm is not such a fool as to suspect that I am going to Spain to fight at the front. I wish I could do that I should prefer it to the ordeal of moving the average Englishman to help Spain. But my time for that is unfortunately over. So how could anyone suspect me of going to Spain to fight? However all authorities are stupid and mere automatons doing what they are told. What do you think about a credential as news paper correspondent? I could get that from Spain and the World. The Home Office here had to give the representative of the Daily Worker a visa why not me? I could also get a credential as correspondent for our Jewish Weekly in New York. Then again, being the representative of the CNT-FAI it should be understood that I must go back to Spain for new instructions. Surely there must be a way to get through. By the way, a comrade and his wife, English people want to go to Spain for some business arrangements. What would be the means of their being permitted to pass, they have their car and they want to take me along. What influence has Rocca with the Spanish Ambassador to help with a visa? Perhaps you will see him and talk it over with him. But whatever happens I MUST GET TO SPAIN IF I AM TO CONTINUE WORK HERE. A way will therefore have to be found.

Yes, I will come to Paris in any event. I agree with you that all comrades placed in Europe and working for Spain should have somekind of an understanding about means and ways to get the best results. In fact I mean to impress on the comrades in Valencia and Barcelona that it is impossible to continue in this country unless one has a staff of comrades to help and some means

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022140

[Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

to draw from for the expences and other items. One simply cannot undertake numerous things alone. Our comrades in Spain do not realise this. Every day they send me new jobs to attend to. The latest to help them interest people in the proposed INTERNATIONAL ANTI FASCIST CONGRESS. Several weeks ago it was to put Mujeres Libres in touch with English and American womans organisations. Thats all very well. But there are only 24 hours in the day, and one cannot be in a number of places at the same time. One needs several people to help, a competent secretary etc. All that means an expence. Anyhow I mean to place this before the comrades in due time. Mean while it is also necessary for you and me as well as other Spanish comrades stationed in Europe to come together. My plan is therefore as follows; I will leave here the first week in June for Paris for about two weeks. And then go to Spain. Will you dear comrade try until then to find a way of my getting there. I am sure there must be a way, especially if someone could reach the Blum official side.

Thank you for forwarding my letter to Valencia. I have not yet heard from the comrades again. When I do I will again avail myself of your kindness to forward my reply.

salud.

I hope you will
find means to get comrade
Bluestein & his companion
over.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918207

[Letter] 1937 April 28 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12490

28 de Abril de 1937.

Querido camarada Galvez. Salud:

Recibí tu carta cuando más atareada estaba con la cuestión de nuestro concierto y no pude disponer ni de un minuto para escribirte. Hoy es el primer día desde hace semanas que puedo dedicarme a otros asuntos y a contestar a mi correspondencia que se había acumulado y tu carta es la primera a que contesto.

Te hablaré primeramente del Concierto que tanto trabajo me ha dado durante más de tres meses. Había pensado celebrarlo el 11 de Abril, no como un concierto sino más bien como una función de teatro, pero a última hora todo se echó a perder porque muchas de las promesas de ayuda que me habían hecho las personas a las que había interesado su apoyo fracasaron. Me sabía mal abandonar la empresa por completo, y aun cuando me encontraba muy cansada de todo, decidí seguir adelante y celebrar un concierto el día 25 de actual. Para ello me quedaban tres semanas y de forma que fuera un éxito tuve que abandonar todas mis otras ocupaciones, concentrando todos mis esfuerzos en organizar dicha función. Te extrañara que encontrase tantos obstáculos, pero si conocieras a la gente de Inglaterra no sería así. Son sumamente retraídos y tan satisfechos de sus condiciones que les importa muy poco los sufrimientos de otros y mucho menos de aquellos que se encuentran a distancia. Por último el concierto se celebró el domingo pasado, y tomando todo en consideración no resultó del todo mal, si bien no llegó a lo que yo esperaba, en proporción al trabajo desarrollado. Todavía no se con certeza a cuanto ascenderá la recaudación, pero seguramente no pasará de unas 200 libras. De todas maneras, me alegro que se haya terminado, pues además de las molestias de orden material resulta humillante el tener que mendigar favores de personas ajenas a nuestros ideales, y de las que es preciso mantener una en la anonimidad.

Al mismo tiempo que tu carta recibí otra de Couchy en la que me informaba que la Conferencia Internacional Anarquista había sido aplazada hasta el 11 de Julio, de lo que me alegré bastante, y que me habría sido imposible haber ido esta semana. Hemos organizado una manifestación para el 1º de Mayo y un mitin en Hyde Park. El día 5 tendré que hablar ante un grupo de profesores; el 23 he de asistir a un mitin en una de las ciudades de provincias y además a un banquete iniciado por el grupo de Libres Pensadores de Londres. Aparte de todo esto tengo que preparar una memoria dando cuenta de la campaña aquí comenzada y de las posibilidades para el futuro, para ser presentada a la CMT-FAI, así como también un estudio de la situación general del movimiento anarquista en Inglaterra.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918207

[Letter] 1937 April 28 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

12441

Por lo que respecta a mi ida a España, no se porque ha de resultar tan difícil el que yo pueda entrar. ¿No hay nadie en París que tenga acceso al secretario de Blum u otra persona de forma que me faciliten visa? Después de todo no se puede pensar que los gendarmes que guardan la frontera vayan a ser tan todos que piensen que yo voy a combatir. Ya me gustaría hacerlo, no lo creas. Y me gustaría mas que la misión que tengo aquí de mover el sentimiento de los ingleses en favor de España; pero estos tiempos para mí han terminado ya desafortunadamente. ¿Que te parece una credencial como corresponsal de un diario? Podría obtenerla de "Spain and the World". El Ministerio de Estado aquí no tuvo mas remedio que dar su visa al corresponsal del "Daily Work", así es que no se porque no me ha de ser dada a mí. También podría conseguir una credencial como corresponsal de nuestro semanario "Jewish Weekly" de Nueva York. Por otra parte, siendo la delegada de la CIP-PAI, sería lógico que tuviese que ir a España para recibir instrucciones. A propósito, un camarada inglés y su compañera desean ir a España en viaje de negocios y te agradecería me informases los tramites necesarios para que puedan entrar en España. Tienen auto y desean llevarme en él. Tal vez Roca pueda influir cerca del Embajador español para que se les consiga visa. Consúltale y hazme en favor de ilustrarme sobre este punto. De todos modos y a pesar de todas las dificultades, yo tengo que ir a España, y las actividades aquí han de continuar, y el medio para realizarlo ha de ser encontrado.

Pero de cualquier manera ire a París. Estoy conforme contigo de que todos los camaradas en Europa que laboran en pro de España deberian reunirse y acordar los procedimientos que deben ser adoptados a fin de obtener los mejores resultados. Yo bien deseo reiterar a los camaradas en Valencia y Barcelona que no es posible continuar en este país a menos que se tengan en la oficina camaradas que puedan ayudar en el trabajo y se pueda disponer de recursos economicos para hacer frente a los gastos en general. Una persona sola no puede llevar todo el trabajo. Los camaradas en España lo realizan esto. Todos los dias me encargan nuevas cosas. Ultimamente me han interesado que consiga propagar el Congreso Internacional Antifascista para que asista gente de aquí y hace unas semanas me pidieron que pusiera a "Mujeres Libres" en contacto con organizaciones femeninas de Inglaterra. Todo esto requiere tiempo y ayuda, un secretario competente, etc., con los gastos consiguientes. Todo esto tiene que ponerlo en conocimiento de los camaradas, y, mientras tanto, es necesario que tanto tú como yo como los demás compañeros en Europa nos pongamos de acuerdo.

Muchas gracias por haber mandado mi carta a Valencia. No he vuelto a tener carta de los camaradas de allí, pero cuando la reciba hare nuevamente uso de tus amables servicios para enviar mi respuesta.

Confio podras conseguir que el camarada Bluesteen y compañera lleguen a su destino.

Un fraternal saludo de,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

182

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726193

[Letter, 19]37 April 28, London [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23672

London April 28th 37.

My dear Emmy. The Catholics say "confession is good for the soul". So I must confess that I was wrong about the unfortunate blunder of your post card to AUNTIE. Her letter containing it reached me when I had six people in my room addressing envelopes and sending out letters for the concert. I merely ~~glanced~~ had time to glance at the card. The it got mislaid among my papers. All I remembered was something about not desiring to let me have the curtains. Naturally it hurt me very much. I never looked at the card again until yesterday when AUNTIE'S letter arrived saying that I must have made a mistake. I then began to search for the card in my desk drawer. I found it only to see that I had stupidly misread the card. I had not noticed the NOT. I am frightfully sorry my dear, and I ask you to forgive me. Your English is a little too balmy for my blunder. Instead of writing "There is no question whatever that I would not have consented to give the curtains away, especially to E." you wrote "that I would have not consented especially to E.". Of course if I would have read the postal carefully I would have seen at once that your meaning is that you would have consented to give away the curtains especially to me. But the wording read in an hurry was misleading. Anyway please forgive me for having caused you pain and unnecessary excitement. I am deeply sorry for it.

I am sure my dear if you had been here and could have seen the drudgery and anxiety of my life since I had started the theatre venture you would not only wonder that I should make such a mistake about the writing of your card. You would have marvelled that I kept my head at all. It was a drudgery about 16 hours out of 24. and the most sockening anxiety about the outcome. I can assure you I had no life outside of the thought of the Concert and the fear it maybe a failure. Well, it is over thank the stars. It is by no means a great success. Not materially so anyhow. I will know the amount we cleared tomorrow. But I do not think it was more than £200. That after three months effort is awfully small. The concert itself was of the highest quality. as I said it is over. I feel a stone lifted from my mind.

I am not going to Spain until the middle of June. But I plan to come to Paris the end of May. I wish my coming could

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001214

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to] Fenner [Brockway, London] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19772

April 28th 37.

Dear Fenner.

Inclosed find my check for £15-16-0 the amount due your organisation from the collection at the FIVE WINDS HOUSE meeting. It should have been sent to you long ago. But it took time to straight out the accounts.

I had hoped so fervently to contribute towards the food ship project from the proceeds of the Concert. But the material result is most disheartening after the amount of labor and effort put into it. I am not certain at this writing whether we will have £200 left including the collection. I will know tomorrow. But I am sure it will not be more if that amount. Yet I have not slaved so much in many years as I have since I conceived the idea three months ago. I am afraid people in England are growing tired of giving. They who can afford care damn little for the suffering in Spain, and those who care deeply have no means to keep on giving.

If you can think of anything I could do to help you with the ship project I will be most happy to help. In any event Regie can have my lists. There are no more than fifty people on all of them worth spending a stamp on, maybe not even that number.

Please see what can be done about the gross discrimination in re the permit for Hyde Park.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001265

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19855

April 28th 37.

Auntie, my Dearest.

At last I can write in peace without being bothered away from the machine, ever so many people coming in about the Concert and the telephone going. You thought my life was mad and hectic while you were here. Don't think I am putting it on thick when I tell you it was tranquility in the highest compared with what it was the last three weeks. I am certain you could not have gone through with it. Not even for Spain. Well, it is over thanks to all the good fairies. I do not mean the Homo kind. But those who are supposed to watch over one. But before I tell you the whole story I must ask you to attend to something for me which is very urgent. The two nice women who had your place and are friends of Ann Sedgwick must know where she is. Would they tell you how to reach her as quickly as possible. I have received bills for the rent and use of the telephone in St Tropez amounting to I believe 90 francs or even a little more. Not only that but the P.O. in Paris sent an inspector to Nollies place searching for me. And he impressed her that I must pay the bill at once. I dispatched the bill to Ann at her Bauvallon address and begged her to pay the bill. I have heard nothing from her so I do not know whether she has done so. To day I got a letter from Sandstrom who is in Paris now saying that I will have to pay the bill, or the line will be cut and I will be made to pay the cost. Now I cannot afford to pay for the telephone as you well know. Nor to be bothered about it. I must therefore ask you to get at Ann if possible and ask her for me to settle the matter by sending a postal money order to the St Tropez P.O. right away. I am sure it is merely carelessness of Ann to draw it out so long in paying the bill. I am very sorry that she has to do it without using the telephone. It will have to go on until August or Sept. Then the two years will be over and ~~perhaps~~ we will stop it altogether. But until then Ann will simply have to pay. Please darling AUNTIE see about it and let me know.

Now to the Concert. It was a grand affair as far as the programme is concerned in spite of the fact that Rostal called off at the last hour and we had to get someone else instead. Actually she was better than Rostal, an American Violinist of very fine

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001265

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19861

quality. She charmed every body. The others were also very much appreciated. As to Paul he outdid himself. He rose the house to wild enthusiasm. In other words the programme was carried out in excellent manner. Alas, the material results though not to be sneezed at was far from anything I had hoped for. The theatre at ordinary prices should have brought £450. In spite of the guinea seats of which about forty were sold at my end and ~~and~~ or more and the five pounds for one box brought only 237 pounds. Of those £120 tickets were sold from my end in response to the five or six hundred letters I sent out and all the other beggings. Keith Proves sold very little, and the rest was sold on Sunday the Victoria having sold little until then. £35 pounds went for amusement tax. I don't know whether I will get it back. Tomorrow Harrison and Barrett will make up the balance sheet which will be sent to the Customs. In other words so far we can count only on £200. Out of that the Victoria deducted fifty instead of the forty I was told for the theatre and the staff. There were about six or eight men, hangers on really who had to be paid. Barrett is bringing me the receipts tomorrow so I will know exactly why it should be ten pounds more than I had been made to believe the staff would cost. So that leaves £150 pounds of which there's Barrett yet to pay. Of course the undertaking was not a success in the sense of any high claim from Barrett. I hope he realises that. He was certainly valuable as far as the Victoria is concerned. He got conditions I never would have gotten. But he neither sold a single ticket nor did he get a single artist as he had promised. In any event he will have to be paid. I only hope he will not ask for much.

Harrison not only got us the posters streamers and publicity in a lot of local papers free of any charge. But he also got the folder and programmes done for nothing. Nevertheless we do have about £16 pounds expenses for adverts in the Chronicle, the Standard, the Star and the Sunday Times in addition to Time and Tide and the New Stateman. About five pounds for postage and about three for handbills of which 17,000 were distributed. You will see when you figure it all out that the balance is woefully small. Indeed so little it made me want to weep. But the collection and a few individual contributions brought about seventy pounds and programmes were sold for about 13 pounds. Also we have one paying advert for which we will get £3. Tomorrow I hope to know exactly the amount realised from the damned affair. I will let you know then.

Stella did very well with her appeal. It is probably the first time in her life that she appealed, and she did it with all her heart. But as far as hiding my identity for fear that the Concert may not go down as "non" political we could have saved ourselves that muckery. For just as soon as Stella was through with her appeal she told the audience who was back of the whole thing. And of course everybody insisted on my coming to the stage. I did but only for a few minutes. I am sure no one was shocked except the men of the Soviet Embassy who had sent for tickets to our place never

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001265

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19868

dreaming that E.G. Colton is the enemy N.I. of Satlins regime. The Spanish Ambassador knew who E.G. Colton is. But since his government needs the CNT-N.I. and I am their representative he had to accept the situation. Evidently he was pleased. He wrote a charming note to Stella with a check for five, and he also sent me a letter for Paul Robeson which I forwarded. In his capacity he could not very well send E.G. or even Mrs E.G.C. a line of appreciation. I am grateful for that because I work for the Spanish workers not for its government so that's that.

Stella has proven a grand person. This not only because she bought ten guinea seats, of course not. But because of her warmth for me and her truly genuine interest to help me in every way. I rather think I have endeared myself to her as she has to me. Actually she is the only one of your friends who has taken me to her bosom. The others did not even have the grace to reply to my letter in re the Concert, let alone attend it. Lady Playfair who you thought would do a lot and who had promised to give me a list did nothing except to buy to half guinea seats. I do not even know whether she was at the Concert. But that is of course not your fault. Only you need not regret that you had no folders for the people who pass through once. They would not have come to the Victoria anyhow. They are worlds removed from the Spanish Tragedy, the majority of them including your friends here are on Franco's side, if not actively, they are so in their minds. That's alright darling AUNTIE. Friendship is the rarest of all human feelings, and to have made ~~of~~ friend of Stella through you is worth all the others of your so-called friends in London. I am grateful to you for Stella.

Bless her generous heart she had a party for me last night attended by about twenty of my friends and some of hers. It was a lovely affair and very restful. I wished you had been with us. Tomorrow Stella has a luncheon for some people she told me were anxious to meet me. So you see I have endeared myself to Stella.

Now about our accounts. I don't know what I did with the first bill J. White gave me. But I have the stub of the check for £9.10 issued March 20th. As you will see by the inclosed second bill I paid him £9.10 again. This makes £19 instead of £18 as he first told me. And in addition there was another two shillings as per my second check issued April 10th. He insisted on the whole payment and I was too crowded with work to argue long with him or bargain. Had

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001265

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1986.4

Had you arrange the deal in my presence I could have refused to pay. But he swore you agreed to the amount and so there was nothing else to do. Besides the £19.25x 2/ I found the inclosed bill for 2/3/2. Tow shilling three and half penny. and something like 1/ 3. owing to Cullens. These two must be included in the amount I paid you for food. At least I have the impression you told me that. If I am mistaken tell me and I will pay it from here. I see I have the second bill White signed. I inclose then. Then there is the 1-10-0 for Amy. There is another item. I hate to mention it my dear. But I must because I am frightfully strapped. It is the extra shilling to Winnie for the stairs. You told me I am to pay her 2/6 not 6/6. It would not matter if it were only for a week. But it will mean more than four a month. I know you will not feel hurt if I ask you to let me pay that out of the rent. The total of the amount I paid out are £20-18-4. I'll let the small liquor bill go for the present. I owe you for the month of April ~~rent~~ £5.10. which I have always paid. the £2.16 you returned and £5 on the furniture which I think to be the last payment. But if you think there is another I will of course pay it. The total then is ~~£22-19-6~~ £19-6/. The balance you owe me is therefore £1-12-0 which I will deduct from May's rent. May is coming so I will let him see out a separate slip as I am still very ~~and~~ dumb when it comes to English figures.

About the unfortunate post card of Amy's. It was my fault and I am writing her about it. The card arrived in your letter when I had not a minute to read. I read your letter at night and forgot all about the postcard. In fact I could not find it at all. All I remembered was that it said "especially not Amy". I then dropped her a line to say that I would send back the curtains after the Concert. Of course she replied by a violent outbreak and that she would not talk to me if I did returned the curtains. The whole thing is so puny it is not worth wasting a moment on it. But since I had overlooked the post card I am writing her that it was all my preoccupation with the Concert that is to blame. I inclose the bally card. I am awfully sorry you should have to be Amy's target.

About Nellie, she wrote me she is coming May 16th. I told David about it and he will leave in time to let me prepare the room for her. As to where she will take the rent. Darling I don't know. I will have her as my guest until I leave for Spain the end of May. When I go Nellie will have to pay the rent. If I were going for a permanent stay I would be forced to find a tenant who would take the flat furnished so I can get back a little of the money invested in the get up. But as I will come back here the latter part of July I will ask Nellie to pay what I pay you. No more. As to what will happen in the autumn I don't know. If the American visa will not be forth coming I will try to get to Palestine. If that too falls through I will have to remain in London hence will need the flat.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001265

[Letter, 19]37 April 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 5 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19864B

This morning I received a letter from Ethel asking why her name had been deleted from the programme. I did not know it had until I read her letter. I had been so busy I had had no time to look at the programme on Sunday or since. You can imagine I was shocked. Of course I wrote at once telling Ethel it was the printers negligence because no one would dream of deleting her name of all the names. But you can see that even now I have to spend time and energy in trying to soothe everything over. I had a lot of that with some of the artists, one demanded different lighting, the other a different music stand and the third some other nonsense. I was all in when I reached home. But it is over and I feel like a new human being.

You will be interested to know that a few of the canvases that had been promised to me for the London exhibition the G.I.F.I succeeded in getting hold of for an exhibition in Barcelona. I am sending you one of the catalogues of the two they sent me. It is to laugh how things worked and grew out of my suggestion of an exhibition. Perhaps when I go back I may yet get the collection. I am certainly not building on that. Nor would I ever again dislocate your mode of life on mere promises. I have regretted the first blunder more than you realised.

I am glad to know the weather is good in Vence and that business is picking up. I hope it will go on doing so. You silly, silly AUNTIE darling would I ever begrudge you all the kindness and attention you are getting from your friends? When I said that I could not endure for along so many entertainments I did not mean you should not have them. Nor did I mean my "frail" body could not stand them. I meant that I would be bored to death with people whose world is miles remove from mine. But I want you to have all the joy and happiness Vence can give you. So do not feel peeve so easily.

I embrace you with love.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005170

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20205

20205

29th April, 1937.

Dear Havelock Ellis,

Not having written you for such a long time I missed hearing from you very much because you are among the very few rays from the usual bleak sky of London.

As you know, I had undertaken a theatre venture and little did I dream that it would mean carrying water up the Mont Blanc. It seemed an insurmountable undertaking - so little help from any source and utter indifference on the part of the theatre profession. My efforts finally had to be concentrated on a concert instead of a theatre performance. This was largely due to the antideluvian laws of the L.C.C. to keep Sunday holy and drab. However we had the concert last Sunday. It was a great success musically speaking, largely due to Paul Robeson. I wonder if you have ever heard him sing. He has a glorious voice and back of it a grand personality. I cannot say what result the affair has brought materially for the Spanish homeless women and children, in as much as I hoped for anyway, but it is really exasperating to do anything in the way of work that requires warm feeling for those in distress.

I have received the enclosed two days ago. I have suggested that the friends who are organising the International Anti-Fascist Congress in Barcelona should address themselves to you directly, but I feel certain that you will not refuse them your name to sponsor their effort. They have already quite a galaxy of people in the world of science and letters in Spain itself and France, and I hope that England and America will also sustain the very great and necessary effort of an international gathering.

Havelock Ellis Esq.,
24 Holmdene Avenue,
Herne Hill, S.E.24.

Enclosure

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Havelock Ellis, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20206

I had hoped to leave England for Spain next week, but I am
staying here until the first week in June. Should you come
during May I hope you will let me see you.

Cordially,

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005277

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] P. [F]ijlstra, Sneek [The Netherlands] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20264

29th April, 1937.

Dear Comrade,

Please forgive the delay in answering your letter. There reached me amidst a great deal of work on organising a concert for the homeless Spanish women and children, which was a job far more difficult than I had anticipated. It therefore required complete concentration and all my time and energy. That is why I have now written you before.

Thank you very much indeed for translating "Living my Life". I am afraid however that you will not be able to publish it without asking permission from my American publisher, Mr. Alfred A. Knopf whose address is 730, Fifth Avenue, New York City. He bought the world rights and he may make trouble if the book appears in Holland. I will write him a line myself and ask him to get in touch with you. Of course I will tell him that I am very anxious you should bring the book out in Holland and that I will waive my rights for royalties if he will permit you to go ahead with it. But without his permission I would not suggest that you make a translation.

E
I am enclosing copies of letters about my activities in England. They may interest you. The last two months, in addition to big meetings ~~and in~~ and in the provinces, I have been engaged on a very difficult undertaking already mentioned above, the organising of a campaign. It has taken all my time and energy and a great deal of exhausting labour, but it is over and while it has not brought materially as much as I had hoped to realise for the suffering women and children in Spain, it will bring a few hundred pounds. Besides it was a very beautiful and impressive affair. I still have a great deal to do this coming month.

In June I am going back to Spain for about six weeks to get new impressions and new material. I will then return to England to resume the campaign I started last December. Please remember me kindly to all the comrades.

Fraternally.

Mr. P. Fijlstra,
Wassenberghstraat 25, Sneek, Holland.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005235

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen] Wales / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12012

20350

Enc

29th April, 1937.

Dear John Cowper Powys,

Thank you for your congratulations of having got Paul Robeson for my concert. That was the easiest effort because Paul is an old and dear friend of mine and is as responsive as you have always been. That is a blessing indeed. I don't know what I would do in England if I didn't have a few gallant and generous friends to help in whatever way they can whenever I come to them. Perhaps you will find it strange when I tell you that I know few English people to whom I can appeal easily. It is not that they are not my friends but somehow I always feel there is a wall between most of them and me. There are blessed exceptions, my good friend Stella Churchill is one of them. Of course you are Welsh. That may make a difference, or perhaps it is due to the fact that you have lived in America long where people are not quite so cramped in their traditions and in what "is or is not done" as is the case in England. Well, great things come in small measures so I ought not to feel quite friendless with you and the few others always willing and ready to respond.

Well, our concert is over. I really did not think it would be pulled off. It was a success from the artistic point of view. Certainly few concerts in London have had such a quality of first-class artists. As for Paul Robeson he as usual carried the House and stirred everybody profoundly. What it has brought materially I am not yet in a position to know as all the accounts have not yet come in, but I am sure that it will not be anything what I had hoped for, but I am happy that I held out and that it is over.

Thank you for sending me the address of Herbert Marks Esq. He did not come to the concert but he sent a contribution to the fund which was very kind of him.

With the situation in Spain continuing so tense and the need of the Spanish people going on more desperately I cannot now sit back and enjoy all the kind things people are saying to me because of the concert. I must go on with more work. The enclosed was sent to me

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005235

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] John Cowper Powys, [Corwen] Wales / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20351

2.

few days ago. The call for an International Anti-Fascist Conference which is to take place in Barcelona on the very days of the anniversary of the Revolution. As it is sponsored by the Catalonian Government, by some of the leading scientists, by Casals - the greatest of all cellists - the appeal ought to meet with great response. Will you let me send your name as one of the sponsors? Please do. I am taking the liberty to send your address to the ones who are organising the Conference so that they can send you all the material. I myself had planned to go back next week, but I prefer to go later, first because I still have a lot to do here and secondly because I too would like to be in Barcelona during the month of July, the first anniversary of the day when the CNT/FAI saved Catalonia from Franco's hordes.

I do wish we could meet, but I suppose you never come to London do you? Should this happen during May please get in touch with me.

Cordially,

John Cowper Powys Esq.,

7 One Good,

Merionethshire, N. Wales.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029300

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Martin Secker [and] Warburg [Ltd., London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

4392

29th April, 1937.

Messrs. Martin Secker & Warburg,
22 Essex Street, W.C.2.

Gentlemen,

Your letter of April 19th to the Secretary of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union was handed to me for reply. I was very pleased indeed to see that you are interested in the work on the subject. Unfortunately I myself am so crowded with work for the CNT/FAI, whose accredited representative in England I am, that I cannot take the time to write a book on Anarcho-Syndicalism. I have stressed this idea for many years and I should love to write about it but it is impossible now. However, I have two men in view outstanding in the International Anarcho-Syndicalist movement and I will write them about your suggestion. Before I do so I should like very much to know whether you are definitely prepared to get out a small volume on the theme suggested. I will then write to my friends about it.

Yours truly,

105

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001198

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] E.A. Kirschner, Tel Aviv / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19741

29th April, 1937.

Dear Mr. Kirschner,

Thank you for your letter of March 31st. It caught me as a very busy lady organizing a concert for the homeless Spanish women and children. I have been engaged on similar undertakings in the United States. I never found it so difficult there or so disappointing as anything I have done in this country. But then United States has been my field for many years. I am quite a fixture there, whether for good or for evil depends on the point of view. However, while I am not a good Jewess in the national sense I do come from Jews. You will therefore not be surprised that I have an immense amount of perseverance to carry out anything I undertake and that I am never quite satisfied even when others think I have been very successful. Certainly from the point of view of music the concert was perfect. I wish you could have been there. Instead, I am sending you one of our programs, but from the point of view of material results we will probably clear very much less than I had hoped for. I can't say how much at this moment.

Enty I am sorry that I am burdening you with German papers. I thought every Jew reads German, since they are such adepts for languages. Of course I did not take you for an anarchist. I do not judge people by the measure of my ideas. The fact that you showed interest to write me when you read Dr. Stella Churchill's letter in the New Statesman and Nation, and that you kindly sent a contribution for my work, were quite reassuring that, whatever you are, you are not a reactionary. Also, I thought that Spain and the world, while an anarchist paper, would interest you because it presents very authentic material about Spain, but it is quite all right if you do not care to read it any more.

I have heard from Mary Peivil and I have written her. The Kirschners family has been exceedingly kind to me, or at least some of its members, for which I am very grateful indeed.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. E.A. Kirschner,
2. Lilienblum Street,
Tel Aviv, Palestine.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880321000

[Letter] 1937 April 29 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20358

29th April, 1937.

Dear Miss Whately,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd inst. As far as I know now, I will still be in London May 31st and I will be very glad indeed to go to the Drawingroom gathering at Mrs. Lotta Whyte. I prefer to wait than for the gathering without you present.

An English woman, married to a Spaniard, who is in charge of several hospitals in the rear of Catalonia, has arrived from Catalonia. Her own name is Mrs. Adams. She has a moving and very convincing story to tell about the frightful conditions of the unfortunates in these hospitals. She comes with credentials from the Spanish I spoke to her about you and I promised that I would ask you whether you could meet her. She would come at any time you could spare to your place. I am sure that what she has to say would prove of utmost interest to you. I know you are terribly busy, but as she is going back to Spain soon you will perhaps be good enough to spare her a half hour. You can let me know by phone if you wish, Fulham 6829.

Always yours sincerely,

Miss Monica Whately,
Six Point Gap,
31 Brookfield,
West Hill, N.6.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519583

[Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma Goldman. —
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox
and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 30th April, 1937.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Dear Roger,

Thank you for the two recent letters. As usual you have shown yourself very naive as you actually take for granted the letter you received from Stassova. If our friend Zenl is really free why should her friends have to write her through Stassova? Could she not be reached direct? Of course I do not believe that her friends in America have not written her. I am quite certain that everybody wrote her, but the letters were not delivered for the simple reason that Zenl was not in a Sanatorium but in prison. You see, my dear, I had the same experience with Spirdonova when I came to Russia; they also told me that she was in a Sanatorium. I learnt many months later that the Sanatorium had been the prison, Krenl, and that she had been held incommunicado, and I am as certain as I can be that it is the same thing with Zenl. Incidentally it may interest you to know that Stassova, in answer to Mollie Staimer's letter in the beginning of Zenl's arrest, had replied that she was all right and that Mollie could write Zenl through Stassova. In other words, it is the same contemptible Jesuit business that stoops to any measure to cover up the continued persecution of political opponents. But they cannot blind me who knows their utter unscrupulousness. Unfortunately it takes you away every time they assure you that all is well in Stalin's heaven. No, I don't believe a word of Stassova and I will not believe that Zenl is really free until we hear from her direct, or until we can reach her direct. If you are deeply interested in the fate of the unfortunate woman, who should never have gone to Russia, then I hope you will continue pestering your Soviet friends to release Zenl.

Yes, indeed, I want a list of women's organisations. Stella has left New York. She is in Bearsville. So of course she cannot do anything about the list. Will you get it for me? Please send it to the following address:

It will be a great help for the group of women in Catalonia who are doing such marvellous work with their paper and with the campaign they have started for the emancipation and education of the Spanish women.

Mr. Roger Baldwin,
1 Union Square West,
New York City.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519583

[Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

The undertaking I wrote you about re our theatre event had to be changed to a concert. Not one artist of the theatre was big enough to consent to participate for the homeless and starving women and children of Spain. I hoped against hope for nearly two months, only to conclude that I must either give up the venture altogether or proceed with the musical program, and that seemed at first also an insurmountable undertaking. But, as my old friend Bolton Hall used to say, "patience and postage stamps can move mountains". You will see by the enclosed program that we had a very rich evening. Foremost to make it so was Paul Robeson; his voice and his personality grow with the years. Every time I hear him sing my contempt for the white race grows to think that such a supreme artist and such grand personality should be discriminated against because he does happen to have the white skin, and that his race should be persecuted and hounded like wild beasts. Yes, the concert was a great success from the point of view of musical quality. I wish I could equally say it was a great success materially. Perhaps I was too ambitious. I had hoped to fill the theatre which should have brought in £450, but unfortunately I did not. I can't say what the result is at this writing, but I am hoping to credit between £300 and £250. I will let you know.

The International Anarchist Conference arranged in Barcelona for the first week in May has been postponed for the most historic month in the history of the Spanish people, namely the 11th-18th July. I have therefore changed my plans. I still have a considerable amount to do here so I will stay on until the first week in June, then go for a week to Paris where we have a Conference for those who represent the CNT/FAI outside of Spain, and then go on to Barcelona. It will only be for about six weeks. Perhaps by that time you will know whether there is any hope at all for my return to America. It happens that the son of a very great anarchist in America, John Edelman, who represents the hosiery trade in Philadelphia, is very close to O'Grady. I think that is the name of the Assistant Commissioner of Labour isn't it? Do you think it would be worth while my writing to John to see what he can do about a visa? I do not want to have the effort made from different

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519583

[Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Roger Baldwin, New York / Emma Goldman. —
3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox
and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 3.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

angles because it might interfere with each other, so you must let
me know. I will do nothing until I hear from you.

The other day I received material setting forth a plan for an
International Anti-Fascist Conference in Barcelona. This is sponsored
by the Catalonian Government by a number of men in the world of science
and letters, by Casals, and many others in Spain. Also by a number
of outstanding personalities in France. I have been asked to approach
similar people in England, but knowing how utterly impossible it
is to move the intellectuals in this country, I have written to Spanish
friends to approach them direct. It will have a better effect.
Of course I am writing them to get in touch with you as you can do a
great deal in that line for the purpose. I cannot think of a more
historic place than Barcelona for an Anti-Fascist Conference and I hope
that you will give our friends all the help you can to interest the
outstanding people in America who would be interested possibly attend
the proposed International Anti-Fascist Congress. Meanwhile I am
taking the liberty to send down to Barcelona the names on your letter-
head. These people will probably be written to c/o Civil Liberties
Union. Will you forward the letters?

Affectionately,

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

200

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005147

[Letter] 1937 April 30 [London to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20162

20105

30th April, 1937.

Dear Mr. Knopf,

I have received a letter from Dutch friends of mine, that they have translated "Living my Life" and would like to get it out in the cheap edition. I have just written them that they must get your consent. The trouble is that they are poor people and will not be able to pay royalties. I am hoping that you may grant them the right to go ahead without exacting money from them, or not very much. I myself am quite willing to waive any rights to royalties to help my Dutch friends get the book in circulation. They write me that the translation and all the work will be done without payment and that they want to have the price as Kronen 1.50 value. So you see that ~~these~~ very little hope of anybody making many profits. If you can relieve Holland from the copyright will you drop a line to:

Mr. P. Eylstra,
Jassenberghstraat 25,
Sneek, Holland.

I am sending you a copy of a program of the concert which I have organised here for the homeless Spanish women and children. It was a great affair musically speaking but nothing what I had hoped to raise for the starving victims of Fascism. I may know before this letter is mailed what the result is in a material sense, but my God it was an effort to rouse people in England. Perhaps it is all my fault. I do not know how to penetrate their rigid reserve and their self-sufficiency. I have lived too long in America that is my trouble, and also the cause of being unable to acclimatise myself anywhere in Europe with the exception of Spain.

Actually I am only in England in a physical sense. All my thoughts and all my desires are centred on the gallant struggle of the Spanish people. But my friends in Catalonia credit me with more power than I have. They

201

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 April 30 [London to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

sent me here because they thought I could move mountains. I am
sorry I cannot move anybody, or very few.

Cordially,

Enclosure.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005060

[Letter, 19]37 April 30 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19980

April .0th 37.

Dear Augustine. In my last letter I promised to write you the next day. But I found it impossible to do so because of the accounts of the Concert that had to be cleared away. Actually I am not yet through and will not be until Monday evening. But I do not want to keep you waiting in re the invitations to the Anti Fascist Conference you are working on.

Now as I wrote you already and also told you over the phone it will be far more effective if you will send invitations to people in England as well as America direct from Barcelona. Not carbon or mimeographed copies but original letters. I know it means a lot of labor. I sent out six hundred for the Concert each one written individually. But you have greater facilities than I because you have Ilse and now you will have Abe Bluestein who can type and knows the language. I say you have him. I mean if you succeeded in getting him and Selma across. Abe will prove invaluable.

A personal invitation has greater direct appeal. I therefore suggest strongly you should do it. And I suggest another thing which I hope you will not misunderstand. Namely: that you get some known name to sign. It is not disparagement of you and your work if I tell you that you are unknown in England and America. Your name would therefore carry no weight. Can you not get some known Spanish name to sign. The rector you wrote about. Or the Prof. in Paris. You know how people are and how effected by names. It would do no good my signing invitations for England because I am also not very much known here except by the few, like Rebecca West and those I got as sponsors. I could sign the invitations for America if you wish. I am widely known there. At any rate I am sending you a list of names connected with the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION in New York. They are all outstanding names in American public life. They will respond I am sure. If you decide to send them invitations direct from Barcelona send them write them c/o Roger Baldwin. He will forward them. I have already written him to be on the look out for such letters. And I have also sent him your invitation. But you had better write him a personal letter as well. I think it would be advisable to ask Roger Baldwin whether his office would send out the invitation. He has thousands of addresses and he might consent to insert an invitation in every letter the CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION sends out on its own behalf. Roger is very influential and he could do much for the Anti Fascist Conference. I am sure it will be more impressive if sent direct from Barcelona or via France. But as I said I will sign letters to America and send them out from here. But you must let me know at once and send me the

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005060

[Letter, 19]37 April 30 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

necessary material you want sent. Only do try to get some known Span-
or French person to sign the invitation to those in England. I will
of course see Paul Robeson before he leaves for Russia. I know he is
going there soon. And I am sending the addresses of the people ¹⁹⁹⁸¹
who sponsored the Spanish exhibition and my concert. I talked to
Dr Stella Churchill. She is willing you should use her name. She is
quite known in London. You had better send her an invitation. She may
attend the Conference. It is 8, Cumberland Terrace London N.W.1.
The address of Rebecca West is 15 Orchard St. Court Portman Square
London. That of Ethel Mannin Oak Cottage, Burchley Rd. Wimbledon
Common S.W.19. Dr S. Vere Carson Millbank Mondesley Norfolk.
Mr John E. Grant Stridlands. 3, Catherine "d. Surbiton. The other
sponsors of the concert except Havelock Ellis and John Cowper Powys
are not worth while for the A.F. Conference. I have written Powys
and Ellis and have sent him the announcement of the Conference. But
it might be worth while to send them invitations from you end.
Dr Havelock Ellis address is 24, Holmdene Avenue, "erne Hill, London
S.W.24. That of Powys is 7, Que Coed Corwen, Marionetteshire.
N. Wales. You might also send an invitation to Alfred A. Wall
Sect. Actors Equity Ass. He is an important person the the Trade
Union and he will be flattered to have the invitation to do something.
These names and the inclosed ~~list of names~~ separate list in
England ought to help you a great deal. I am not meaning to shirk
labor only my name in England is definitely the sponsor of our ideas
and the British INTELLIGENTSIA dreads nothing more than that. It is
different in America. It still carries weight there, in fact more than
ever so I am quite willing to send out invitations and sign them.

We have been refused a permit for a wagon in Hyde Park
from which we were going to speak tomorrow. But the I.L.P. let us
have their permit. We therefore mean to speak from there though we
may have trouble with the police. Jenner Brockway promised to have
Maxton raise the question in the House of Commons why the Freedom
Group was denied a permit when all other labor bodies were granted
one. But we do not want him to do it until Monday. We are hoping to
get through with the permit of the I.L.P. In any event the comrades w
will be in the demonstration. I will go to the Park at 2.P.M. to try
to speak and all our speakers will do the same. I got the copy of
the May Manifesto issued by the CNT-FAI. But what an idea to send it
so late. It could have gone into SPAIN AND THE WORLD had we gotten
it in time. But everything from Spain was like that, things coming
months after the orders were sent, or weeks too late. Thus we remained
with the largest bulk of the Albums and the Durruti pamphlet. Besides
the Albums proved netirely too high for the English audiences. You ar
the others do not seem to realise how poverty stricken the masses in
this country are. I mean those who come to our meetings. Next week I
mean to take up the accounts with the I.L.P. bookshop. But I can tell
you already very little was sold of Albums and brochure, perhaps at th
shop. But certainly not at the meetings.

I see that the CNT-FAI have actually gotten hold of
a few canvasses for an exhibition, some of those I was to be permitted
to take with me for an exhibition here. At least my idea of an exhib
ition was carried out even if I was deliberately misled by Calvet an
Frabriguas. It was a shabby deal. Yet I could have achieved so much
more than I have if their promise had been kept. Perhaps when I come
back it will still be possible to get a collection for an exhibitor
of Catalan art. It would do a lot of propaganda and also bring some

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005060

[Letter, 19]37 April 30 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19982

money. But that is for later. I merely wanted to call your attention to the use of my suggestion of an exhibition which was carried out in the Catalan art exhibition in Paris and now by the CNT-FAI.

Please dear Augustine give the two inclosed dollars I am taking a chance with them to the German group for DIE SOZIALE REVOLUTION, and a few Ruediger pamphlets. One dollar is for my copies. I have not sold one. There are no Germans in London I can reach. But we have established connections with one or two on the German and Austrian borders who of course do not pay. I have written Ruediger couple of months ago not to send me many copies. Six of each issue would be more than enough. Tell the comrades that. The other dollar is from John Russell, 2201-22nd Street, San Francisco Calif. He is an old comrade. Have the German group put him on their list for the paper and the Bulletin. Tell them to send him a few of each. He might get subscribers.

The coming week I will start on the report for the I.A.C. Conference as well as for the CNT-FAI. And I will also prepare an itemis account of the amounts collected and spent for the work here. I will bring everything with me in translated form. I mean in Spanish and as I intend to come about the 15th or 20th of June there will be plenty of time to translate the report to the I.A.C. in other languages. I am absolutely determined to get back to Spain. I could not possibly continue the campaign here unless I have a serious talk with the comrades and submit a more effective plan of a campaign for the autumn. I have asked you a half dozen times how I might get across. Will you please reply. How do you manage? And can you help me? Surely there must be a way. I want to know.

I am writing Ilse and Mercedes to day if I can manage. I have other important letters to do. By the way, send an invitation to the A.F. Conference to Bertrand Russell. I will send his address soon, I cannot find it now. To G.H. Wells 13 Hanover Terrace London N.W.1 and Prof. Harold Laski 5 Addison Bridge Place London.

Goodby dear Augustine. Let me hear from you soon again. And please write about how I can get back.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029301

[Letter] 1937 April 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. — 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

F. J. WARBURG
ROGER STURGEON

TEMPLE BAR 3337-8
TELEGRAMS:
FROTHINGHAM, LONDON

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

April 30, 1937.

Miss Emma Goldmann,
18 Eastletown Road
West Kensington
N. 14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter of April 29 with reference to a short book on Anarcho-Syndicalism. We should be definitely interested to publish a book of this kind provided that it is written by a really good writer who knows his subject, and provided also that it is not too long. 50,000 words is the upper limit and I think something between 30,000 and 40,000 words which can be published at about 3/6 is even more preferable. I hope therefore you will write this to your friends and let me have word as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Fredric J. Warburg

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918208

[Letter] 1937 April 30, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12442

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

Paris 30 de abril de 1937.

Emma Goldmann.
18-Castletown Rd.
London-W-14 (England)

Querida Goldmann, Salud.

En el preciso momento que recibo la tuya, en el mismo correo me llega otra del Comité Nacional para que la haga llegar a tus manos. Con el fin de no hacer perder tiempo, la cual he visto que la esperas con impaciencia, no soy más extenso. No obstante, debo anunciarte que he leído la tuya y en algunos detalles estoy completamente de acuerdo con lo que expresas en la misma. A no tardar, podremos reunirnos en París todos los camaradas que en Europa representamos a la C.N.T.

Debo anunciarte que mañana mismo parto para España, y do lo relacionado con tu viaje le dejo el encargo al compañero Roca, que lo hará con el mismo cariño y a la vez con mayor inteligencia que yo mismo. No desesperes; tus deseos serán satisfechos y podrás de nuevo visitar la península Ibérica que tan querida te es.

Recibe un fraternal saludo de tu compañero,

a mi correspondencia

Nemesio Galve

Anexa:
Una carta.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918209

[Letter] 1937 April 30 [Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / N[emesio] Galve. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Translation of letter from
J. GALVEZ.

30th April, 1937.

12443

At the same time I got your letter another arrived from the Comité Nacional to be forwarded to you, and as I know that you eagerly await it I will not stop to write you a long letter.

I have read with interest all you say in yours and in some details I am in complete agreement with you. Before long all the comrades representing the CNT in Europe could meet in Paris.

I must tell you that tomorrow I am leaving for Spain and everything in connection with your ~~visit~~ journey I have left in the hands of our comrade Roca, who will do all the necessary in the matter with the same pleasure as myself. Your desires will be met and you will be able to visit the Iberian peninsula that you love so well.

Fraternal greetings from your comrade,

N.G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010258

[Receipt] 1937 [May?] Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI]. — 1 p. ; 8 × 21 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

25267

11
We have received from Emma Goldman Colton the sum of
.....realized at the benefit Concert for Spanish homeless
women and children, held at the Victoria Palace in the city of
London on the 25th April, 1937.

Valencia.....of.....1937.

(Signed)

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918212

[Receipt] 1937 [May?] Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI]— 1 p.; 7 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

12449

Recibido de Emma Goldmann Colton la suma de.....
realizada en el concierto en beneficio de las mujeres e niños
españoles desamparados, celebrado en el teatro Victoria Palace,
de Londres, el 25 de Abril de 1937.

Valencia.....de.....de 1937.

(Firmado)

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005152

[Letter, 1937 May? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—
2 p.; 13 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20167

Ethel Mannin

Oak Cottage.
Burghley Road.
Wimbledon Common. S.W.19.

Wed

My dear, I said on the telephone 'see you tomorrow,' (Thurs. that would be) but we mean Friday, don't we? Fri. was the day we originally suggested, though Thurs. is equally convenient. I will ring in the morning just to check up - don't care to bother you again now.

If you come by train - you come from West Ken. station to Earl's Court, which is the next station; from Earl's Court stn. you go over the ~~bridge~~ bridge to the other side of the station, where you get a train direct to Wimbledon without further changing; please don't go getting out at Wimbledon Park, which is the station before; you go on to the terminus. At W. station its best to get a taxi - its ~~nix~~ only a shilling on the meter, and though there's a ld. bus it means a bit of a walk and its anyhow simpler first time to get a taxi. All the drivers know Oak Cottage.

If you come by road the route is ~~via Putney~~ via PUTNEY. Up Putney Hill, along the edge of meath and common (Parkside its called) and on till ~~you~~ come to a turning on the left called Somerset Road (its the first turning on the left after passing the Windmill road turning) This S. road

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May? London to Emma Goldman, London] / Ethel Mannin.—
2 p.; 13 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20168

followed straight ahead eventually becomes Bursley Road, and Oak Cottage is the white cottage on the right, with a huge tall Oak-tree towering over. (There's a white cottage on the left before you get to it, but mine is distinguishable by the great high tree)

By road it will take you about 30 mins; about the same by train; 15 mins from Earls Court.

I hope so much the sun will shine like it is today - this place with all its old trees will be such a change from all the bricks and mortar with which you are surrounded in West Kensington, and I do think you should have a little break of mental relaxation here and there, and that this place gives it. Most people who come here have a feeling of being away in the country.

If you're not able to get Jolliffe, and Auntie is feeling flus., you could come all the way by taxi for a little under ten bob, and if one is feeling tired and the money is available its sometimes worth being extravagant in this way.

Devotedly,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005051

[Letter, 1937 May? Paris to Emma Goldman, London] / [Nemesio Galve].—
1 p.; 16 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19968

... was received and duly answered.
... received from the Comité Nacional the
... I have the pleasure to forward on to you.
... Also received another letter from the
... of the CNT-FAI in Barcelona, which likewise
... explanation is needed in connection with the
... Comité Nacional. The letter which I sent you
... Conference in London, was despatched four
... took place and in the belief that it
... for you to obtain admittance. These are the
... that I let you know in time.
... looking forward to your news, etc.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

213

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mayday. No cars, ~~on~~ buses, most work stopped, no post and a general air of ~~sunday about~~ 20 years ago about everything, so I am trying to get even with my ~~correnpondents~~ correspondents and first of all, to answer in orderly detail, your long and interesting letter.

Item number 1.... I can guess what you want through during your fight to organise the concert, because, with all the things that confronted you, it must have been a veritable lutte. Now, I hope you are really resting on your oars to get your second wind to start in on some other venture for the cause to which you have given so much already. Next, Ann Sedgwick... I have just found out her address 10 Av. Mimosa, Cannes. I am going to send her a line tonight giving her your message.

CONCERT. It certainly seems to have been a great artistic success, if the financial results are not what you hoped. I would love to have been there. The expenses seemed to have piled on you from unexpected quarters. They always do I am afraid. But still my dear, you brought it off, that is something. I am afraid you still have plenty to do settling up things. I hope you will get help in this. Paul must have been wonderful, David told me how splendid it all was. I hope Barrett won't be too exigent, I don't think he will somehow. Harrison seems to have lived up to all we thought of him right from the first. To

xx. I knew Stella would do well with the appeal. I thought her platform manner very good indeed. An excellent pleasing voice, charm and sincerity. Having the "non" political "hookery" a very good word, was I think, done to put your ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ natural enemies the Communists off the track wasnt it? But I am glad you were able to shed that, I hated it from the first and always felt you were the right one to make the appeal, ~~but~~ I am gratified ~~you~~ you could disclose yourself and say a few words. Do you think the Soviet Embassy did get a shock really? I think they are pretty well informed of most things that are taking place for Spain-dont you? It was a gracious gesture ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the Spanish Embassy to send Paul that letter - I remember one of the officials opening the exhibition - they knew who you were then. there is no doubt about that. *for which reason I think*

Again, Stella... I always thought when you knew her better you would realise the real worth of Stella. Since I have known her she has been more than a friend to me. I am glad you have endeared yourself to her as you tell me she will never let you down, of that I am certain... You say "Actually she is the only one of your friends who has taken me to her bosom" etc. etc. To have one good friend is no small thing, my Emma. Often you reproached me that not a single one of my friends had been of any use to you. I am gratified now to know you judge them too hastily and one real person has come forward. I am hoping something similar will happen to me with your friends..... do you think it will? Lady Playfair. She is not a friend of mine, only the merest acquaintance. I tried her hoping she might help. For myself, I would never have approached her. Thank you for saying, "because she failed you (only took a 10/- ticket) was not my fault" that is something anyhow.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029109

[Letter] 1937 May 1, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(2)

4187

I still regret I had no folders to give some of the people who ~~have~~ passed through Vence. I am afraid I am not clever enough to divine the politics and sympathies of casual people who pass through Vence and stop awhile at my shop.

I only know that some talked to me and expressed great sympathy with the Spanish people and the outrage that is being perpetrated upon them. To them I would like to have given a folder with the hope that it might remind them to take a ticket for the concert. That's all... You say "the majority of them, including your friends are on Franco's side, if not actively, they are in their minds." This is a very sweeping statement to which I cannot agree. No doubt I have not your searching penetrating powers to see into people's innermost thoughts - but don't you sometimes make a mistake? So I still regret I had no folders to distribute.

Thank you again for saying "That's alright darling Auntie" The "Darling" compensated for everything.....

You go on to tell me - and I must answer it as this is to be, as I told you at first, an orderly detailed answer to your letter. That "to have made a friend of Stella is worth all your other so-called friends in London" A very unnecessary ungracious remark with a snap in it that can hardly be warmed by the sweet utterance that "friendship is the rarest of all human feelings" And really friendship is not quite so rare as all that, at least I have not found it so. The rarest thing to my mind, ~~xxxxxxx~~ *to find* ~~xxxxxxx~~ *are those who are true to themselves.!!*

So let's get on.... "Stella's generous heart" could not help but make the party she gave you a great success. Her generosity ~~xxxxxxx~~ has always been apparent to me in whatever she does, although you have so often thought the contrary.

"Now about our accounts" - is the next thing to be dealt with. I see by the statement enclosed you paid White on my behalf £19/2/- for which many thanks - against which is to be deducted £5/8/6 for rent, £5 for furniture, and £8/16/- for cheque returned. Making in all £19/4/6. leaving a balance IN YOUR FAVOUR of £1/7/6 to be deducted from May's rent. I hope I make this clear to you.

With regard to the furniture I have these figures in the envelope containing "your accounts" of Castletown Rd.

Payment by Emma with regard to furniture "the total of which was *being* £34. - " £5 sent from Paris, £10 given in Jan. and again £10 given in Feb. - making in all, £22, leaving a balance of £10. If you have other figures that do not tally with these, I am quite willing to accept them. The 2/3^d of the bill from Bearman, is for bread - if I may say so so, your affair. This I have marked on the bill returned. Further, I owed for no "liquor" - Syphons I daresay were ordered, but not by me - this also I think is your affair. And that disposes of those items - unless you contest the further.

Now we come to "the unfortunate postcard of Emmys" And it was indeed unfortunate. I know how busy you ~~xxxxxxx~~ were at that time and petty things of this kind would, I am sure, worry you. But why write her a letter ~~which reproaching~~ her and telling her you would send back the curtains, if you had not time to properly read her post card. ~~The result~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

215

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4210

You may choose to call it.

So that you should have
it in power.

and your regrets that you did it, ^{and} need give you no misgivings. If I came to London, it was because I choose to do so and I in no way regret it. I like to be responsible for my own actions. "Silly, silly AUNTIE darling" knows well you don't begrudge her fun or kindness and attention I am getting from my friends. There were no entertainments, that you could not have endured, just decent kindly people who thought they would save me bother by giving me meals and helping me put my place in order. Of course I know these people's ^{own} world is miles removed from yours, but still they're entitled to express themselves in their own way,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029109

[Letter] 1937 May 1, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4

As much as you despise their mentality and mode of living. That you should graciously want me "to have all the joy and happiness Vence can give you" is a great concession under the circumstances, Emma darling, for which I am duly grateful.

Many thanks for Dr Russell's address. I will writ to him right away. I wish you had remembered to send him a couple of tickets, I am sure he would have appreciated it.

Which brings me to your postscript. That "de la Motte was very light weight" is interesting as news. Very, very interesting Thank God people laughed at him.

Further postscript. Bon Esprit. Personally before I accepted the offer the agent sent you, I would ask David ~~xxxxxx~~ to figure the difference in francs, as they stand today, and as they were when you bought it. I believe the franc then was very low. To get only half you gave for it seems to me absurd, but I think you will find when you go into it, that you are not losing quite so much. ~~Personally~~ There are more people about these days and therefore there should be a greater chance of finding a buyer, the only thing that scares foreigners buying, is the general European unrest. An Englishman here looking for a house is very aggitated as to whether he should put his money in things abroad. I am inclined to think you would be well to accept the offer made, if on going into the figures, you find you are not losing so much as you thought. Really I dont think you are.

Now Cheerio dear Emma, dont let this long screed interfere with your rest. I started by saying I wanted this to be an orderly answer in detail to your long letter. The borrowed typewriter I am using has tried my patience sorely, it is just now I have found the ribbon all twisted and have managed, after an hours struggle, to put it ~~gras~~. Cant you see the difference?

Let me know what your movements are likely to be. Things have been quiet here this week - but we hope for great business from people fleeing from coronation horrors. Give the enclosed to David. My love to you. Remember me to Barr, I do hope he is better, I thought he looked very ill when I left England.

As ever affectionately,

Annie

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12239

May 2nd., 1937.

Dear Sonia,

Far from being able to plead "laziness" as an excuse for my silence, I have to tell you that I have just completed three months of intensive effort on a Theatre venture on behalf of Spain. I do not know whatever possessed me to conceive the idea or to have imagined that I should have been sailing. In point of fact, I never worked harder for anything, certainly not since I am out of America. You remember the comforting assurance one of the officers of the Surote gave me with when I protested against the order of ~~my~~ expulsion he confronted me with, an order of 30 years' standing; he said "Why are you so angry, this experience will give you material for another chapter of your book". This experience with the Theatre venture is enough not for one chapter but for several, were I to write another volume of "My Life". After many promises from all kinds of theatrical people, the dramatic side had to be turned into a Concert, and after very intensive work for months for the Concert, there is nothing very great to boast about. The musical part was a great success, but instead of the \$100 I had hoped to clear, I will be glad if we can realize half that sum, and that will only be possible if we succeed in getting back the amusement tax, which the Theatre deducted from the sales of the tickets before any money was turned over to us. Anyway, it was a Herculean job and has left me pretty exhausted. However, I have decided to delay no longer in answering yours of March 20th, especially as I have our old comrade Doris Zhook to take this letter. At least, you will get decent typing (L.H.:!! says Doris).

little

Dear Sania, I am afraid I am like the poor/orphan who was damned when she did and damned when she ~~didn't~~ didn't. You condemn me for not being critical of our comrades in Spain, and Betliou condemns me for having dared in my statement published in the "F. Arb. St." and in "Spain & The World" to explain the mistakes and compromises of the CNT. You want me to see only the black shades in the Spanish canvas, and Betliou wants me to see everything in rosy colours, but as I am not one who can be "all things to all men", I will have to let both charges go by the board and try again to state my position. Though you have answered many points in my letter, you have entirely overlooked the principal one, namely that I stated in my letter referring to your long epistle to Bogghi that it is not that I disagree with your criticism of the comrades in Spain - what I disagreed with was your method of attack, your unwillingness to leave a single good hair on the heads of the leading comrades. In other words, I disagreed with your blanket charges against them of every imaginable crime against their own past and the Revolutionary spirit. You also misconstrued my

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918117

[Letter] 1937 May 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12240

saying that "now is not the time to criticize". I naturally had in mind the particularly critical moment in Madrid when it looked absolutely hopeless for us and when Franco's victory seemed certain. I admit that, the moment being so critical, it seemed extremely cruel to me to "mail in" into the CNT-FAI in such a vindictive and bitter manner as you did in your article. I certainly did not mean to imply that the comrades should not be criticized, but whether you know it or not, there is a very great difference between criticism and condemnation. However, we will get back to that part later.

Your reference to the difference between your 'friendly attitude' towards the Bolsheviks "doing anarchist work" and your 'unfriendly attitude' towards "anarchists doing Bolshevik work" is an contradiction on the face of it. The Bolsheviks never did anarchist work, in spite of what Lenin told Shatoff. They used the anarchists from the very beginning and exterminated them when they no longer had need of them. Whereas our comrades in Spain certainly have not used Communists to their own ends - far from it; they have given the Communists far too much freedom, and they are already paying dearly for it, as not only you but I as well predicted. Your attitude to Lenin and the Bolsheviks up to the Kronstadt massacre was not only friendly - it justified and defended everything from the point of view of revolutionary necessity, whereas your attitude to the Spanish anarchists is not merely unfriendly, it is a bitter attack, without granting even the least "revolutionary" necessity so ardently maintained by you and the rest of your Group in Moscow. It is this which was painful to me and not the actions and steps you criticized. I repeat, I have and do fully agree with you on that.

You say that you and the other anarchists in Russia "never gave to anybody any mandate and none of us ever represented them in Governments and political bodies". You seem to have forgotten that Shatoff as Governor or Chief of Police of Petrograd was part of the Government, and that he did all the shady things his position required. Among other ultra-anarchist and non-political acts was his running after the man who killed Uritski and delivering him to the Cheka. It is quite true that you never held a political job under the Bolshevik Government, but you were part of the machinery in the Foreign Office under Chicherin. You remained in close relation with Kostichin, although he was part and parcel of every act the Bolsheviks did, and if I mistake not, there were quite a number of your comrades you considered 100% anarchist, who, while not belonging to the Communist Party, did many of its jobs that were anything but creditable to anarchists. Of course, I realize that "two wrongs do not make one right", that what you people did for nearly four years under the Bolshevik regime does not justify the entry into the Ministries of ~~anarchist~~ members of the CNT; but it is unfortunate that human memory is so fleeting: had you remembered your stand to the Bolsheviks until the Kronstadt uprising, you would be less condemnatory of our people in Spain. If your bitterness has been prompted by the lesson of the Russian Revolution - that's

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

219

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918117

[Letter] 1937 May 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12241

- 3 -

another matter. I welcome it. Indeed, the Russian Revolution should have taught us all great lessons. But even the lessons we have gained should not impel us to form a definite opinion about the actions in Spain after 4 or 5 months' struggle which we were so willing to overlook during merely four years in Russia.

did

You sneeringly say that I can't criticize the Soviet regime until I was out of Russia. Where, pray, was I to get a chance of criticising it while in Russia? Was there any platform, or publication, or any means whatever, save blowing up the whole rotten gang where I or anyone else could have gotten a hearing? Or did you mean to suggest that I was afraid to criticize? It would be too silly on your part, and what is more, anybody who knows me would not believe you that it was fear which prompted me to keep silent while in Russia. Everybody was gagged there, as you well know. Naturally, I had to wait until I was out before I could speak out. True, I had articles printed in the daily papers and in 187 other papers, where the articles were syndicated. I knew that you were opposed to my going into the daily papers, but then, we did not agree at the time that the important thing was to reach not merely a "baker's dozen": my aim was to cry from the house-tops about the crimes of the Soviet Government. That you still believe in the anti-diluvian Anarchist notion that we must not be heard in the columns of the Capitalist Press, even if not a comma has been altered in what we have written, merely shows, dear Sania, that you are standing still.

You also seem to doubt that I have carried out what I told you in regard to the mistaken methods I observed when I was in Barcelona. Let me inform you that, as far as I was able to reach the leading Spanish comrades who can speak French, I certainly did not mince matters. I argued with Federica for hours, pointing out that the entry of Anarchists into the Ministries and the other bodies would undermine their strength and their usefulness for the Revolution. I argued with Garcia Oliver and with Santillan regarding militarisation. They did exactly as you did when I argued with you regarding the daily injustices I saw in Russia. They explained everything away on the ground of the necessity of the moment of winning the Anti-Fascist War. If I did not speak out at any of their Plenums or Conferences, it was because I was handicapped by my ignorance of the language, but certainly not because I was any more afraid then as I was in Russia, which you seem to imply. Moreover, there was no need of fear in Spain. With everybody proclaiming aloud their own ideas with the help of amplifiers, there was certainly no need to fear frank speech.

However, I owe you an apology that you should have criticised the CNT on pre-Revolutionary occasions. Of course, you have taken it for granted that I received your reports, but did not read them. That's nonsense. Had they reached me, I would most assuredly

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

220

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918117

[Letter] 1937 May 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 4 -

12242

have read them. But let me call your attention to two dates: in 1933 I was in England and I am certainly not aware of having received your report. In 1935, I was again in England. You probably sent these reports to St. Tropez and there they were left with stacks of other papers which I never got to read. Anyway, you can rest assured that if I had received them, they would have been read. I am sorry to have charged you unjustly. I do not know why you or Carbo should have found so much cause for amusement when I resented your charge that I had accepted credentials from the Generalidad. I merely stated that I accepted them because I thought I would be able to be useful to the CNT. I did not think that it would be necessary to emphasise to anyone who has known me so long as you have that it was not to serve the Generalidad politically. But, even if I had actually come as the representative of the Generalidad - just exactly what would be my crime? Would it be any more heinous than the various "propusks" and other official papers Sasha and I accepted when we went on the expeditions for the Museum of the Revolution? I certainly did not pledge my ideas to Zinoviev and the rest when I travelled with their blessing. Neither did I pledge my ideas to the Generalidad; but, in point of fact, I did not use the credential, because I saw on my arrival that I could not possibly serve our Spanish comrades in the office of the Generalidad, and the very fact that I have received no support whatever from the Generalidad should have been sufficient proof to you that I have not bartered my ~~mind~~ soul.

You kindly suggest that I am repeating what the heads of the CNT told me. That's sheer nonsense, Sania dear. I never was in the habit nor am I now of merely repeating what others tell me. As I have already told you, I have argued and argued with those I could reach. So it is not a question of repetition. It is a question for me of seeing the heroic struggle, with our people daily sacrificing their lives, desperately trying to defend the Revolution, and yet being bitterly attacked by you and other people far away from the scene of action. This is not a taunt against you, Sania, though I do feel that instead of your holiday, shortly after the 19th of July, you should have gone to Spain and you should have tried to become a part of it. You bet, I would have ~~not~~ rushed to Barcelona if I had not been so shattered by the shock of Sasha's end, and I know that you could have done a thousand times more than I, but that, of course, is your affair. I claim no right to sit in judgment. I am merely telling you that that was my regret to know that you could have become a force: you were so near, and yet stayed away.

As to Santillan, I have already told you that you are extremely narrow in your attitude to him. I am not disputing his "ideas" of organisation. I know that Santillan is honesty personified, and that he is deeply and passionately devoted to the struggle. I lived with him and his wife; I saw their mode of life. I saw many hours the man put in on his job and I read his first public address when he entered the Council of Social Economy: it was frank and unafraid.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

221

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918117

[Letter] 1937 May 2 [London to Alexander Schapiro, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 5 -

12243

I don't care what your quarrel is with him - I cannot share your bitter hatred of him - a hatred that oozes out of every word in reference to Santillan.

One more thing: You repudiate my contention that the CNT had but two alternatives: either dictatorship or participation in the Government. You say that "in the mouth of Emma Goldman, the undaunted, this is the greatest condemnation of Anarchism that could be imagined" and that you are deeply sorry for ~~the~~ Spanish Anarchism if it had "no choice" between these two equal evils". But you do not say, what other alternative was open to the comrades of which they were unwilling to avail themselves? I really would like to know. Meanwhile, the comrades seem to have realised - I admit, a bit too late - the blunders they have made. At any rate, they are now calling a retreat - a retreat to first principles, which merely goes to prove that the Spanish Anarchists are hewn from a different rock than our comrades in the rest of the world. They are not deceived for long, nor do they lack courage to undo their mistakes. That is why I love them, and that is why I want to help them to the best of my abilities. If that is denying my principles, Sania, then I will have to accept your verdict of condemnation. I will not go back on the comrades.

You say that you sent your article only to Borghi and Kratchni, because you are not in the habit of sending copies of your letters, and even Press notices, broadcast." I admit, I am guilty in that respect, but you see that is my only link with my former life and activities in America. I shall not weary you anymore with such things I thought you enjoyed them. However, Borghi is using your notes in his attack in "L'Adunata" against the CNT - FAI. So, in the last analysis, your article is doing more harm than my duplicated letters which I send only privately. How little we know ourselves, dear Sania. Notwithstanding all this, I love you, my honey, not so much for your deserts as for your faults of which there are many though quite loveable.

Your friend always,

Give my love to Fanny.

says Doris,
(And mine, please, "unbekannterweise" - /
take some yourself. I may see you in
Paris this Aug., if you are still there).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

222

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005129

[Letter] 1937 May 2, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper] Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

here. It w^d take
a long long time
to enter into all
the subtleties of
it — it would
take a Proust &
a Henry James
together to analyze
it — & then
a Hebrew Prophet to
denounce it!
But I feel it in my own
bones — only I regard
it as a temptation of
the Devil!
But you are absolutely
right about the Welsh —
Our English "Upper Middle Class"
the most mobbish of all our classes
simply doesn't exist in Wales!
Well, as you say, there are too
few days to moralize about
clanes & no birth! — In your
inexhaustible energy you
make me think of the
old Catholic saying, "The
Saints never sat down to

rest, flushed with success!"
Bless you, friend C. Powys!

of Cae Coed

Corwen

Merionethshire

N. Wales

May 2nd
1937

My dear Emma Goldman

Well I'm glad

you carried through
the concert anyway
& made something
out of it tho' I dare say
less than you hoped.
But you must be very
this time be very
philosophical over
disappointments of that
kind.

It certainly seemed
at one time, with all
your handicaps &
difficulties, that you'd never
carry it through — but
it's good that you did.
Yes, of course

20120

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005129

[Letter] 1937 May 2, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John C[owper]
Powys. — 2 p. ; 20 x 25 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

use my name as
a honour for what
it's worth -- but I bet
my dear friend you
are hutting it's worth
higher than most people
would! — but for
any good it can do
by all means use it —
That's the "most-least" that
an ~~hypochondriac~~ invalid, like your
old John C. P., can
reach to!
God! my dear Emma Goldman
I wish we could meet;
I assure you I'll let you
know when next I
can get to London;
but it's the devil of
an effort I confess;
it certainly won't
be in May if I
can help it!

20121
I think that International
Barcelona Conference
is a good idea: &
I do pray you'll
make a quarter of
an hour during it
to send me a line ~~from~~
when the time comes, for
tho' I cannot go I do
read all these "Information
Bulletins" from there
with the most intense
interest.
Oh Emma Goldman my
friend well, so well,
do I know this cautious
curious attitude of
my fellow-subjects!
But ^{even} you yourself would
feel the same thing,
as a ^{dear} temptation of the
soul, if you had been
born & brought up over

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 3, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12450

London May third 37/

Comite Nacional
Seccion Informacion y Propaganda
Calle Landerer 1.
Valencia.

Dear Comrades. Again our letters have crossed each other. I wrote you April 19th in answer to yours of April tenth. I have also written you April First and April 12th. I am therefore very much surprised that your letter of April 17th which reached me via Paris only Saturday, May First, was only an answer to my letter of March tenth. I doubt whether your or my letters go astray. I am more inclined to think that those who carry our letters from Paris to you and yours to mine via Paris keep the mail in their pockets for weeks before they forward them. That is outrageous negligence and hardly worthy of real comrades and true revolutionists. Well, I have decided to send this by AIR MAIL direct to Valencia. It will not take as much as the letters have so far in reaching you. And you should try the same way, by AIR MAIL.

Now as to your letter of the 17th of last month. Indeed I know that the Communists carry on the same nefarious work against us all over the world. I know it from personal experience in all the countries I have lectured in since 1922 when I came out of Russia. Only three years ago when I was readmitted to the U.S. I was persecuted by the damnable Moscow gang at every meeting. And it was the same in the Scandinavian countries and in England in all the years. But I had hoped that their pretended unity in Spain would stop their evil doings at least until Franco has been crushed. It is for this very reason that I carefully avoided mentioning the Communists at my lectures for the CNT-FAI since I began the campaign for your work dear comrades. But nothing does the miserable Communist gang any good. They are jesuites and they must act in that manner. Pretend they are engaged in the anti Fascist fight together with the CNT-FAI and keep up underhand work against you just the same.

I have already written you twice that the Communists have spread the rumor that Catalonia and Aragon have been sabotaging Madrid. Everywhere I went I was confronted with this outrageous lie. I kept quiet until I saw the same misrepresentation of Catalonia and Aragon in the Manchester Guardian. In as much as this is the most Liberal paper in England and also because it has been quite fair to the CNT-FAI I wrote a letter to the editor protesting against the contemptible charge of the CNT-FAI. I am glad to say my letter was published. I inclose a copy of the letter which appeared in the Manchester Guardian April 28th. I hope you have someone to translate it. Perhaps it could go into the Fragua. I have also sent copies for the Soli and Mujeres Libres. You understand dear comrade that I do not want the letter reproduced in our Spanish presses for any personal reason. I want the Spanish people to know the kind of

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 3, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12451

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Maonin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gleigud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer:

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1. *Stella Churchill*

The Hon. Secretary:

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829

wretched some of their allies are, and what is being done in England on our part to explain and defend the integrity of the CNT-FAI. *Murphy*

You will be happy to know that we succeeded in participating in the FIRST of MAY demonstration in London Saturday. The Communists hated to let our comrades join in the demonstration with the banners of the CNT-FAI, Ascasios and Durrutis large photos and many posters I still had of those I brought with me from Barcelona. The demonstration was gigantic. Fully sixty thousand workers participated in the march. And equally as many must have been all along the route taken by the marchers. No one could possibly have missed our banners, and slogans. In addition we had a wagon in Hyde Park a most historic place in England of the economic struggle. And a few of us spoke from the wagon to a large crowd. When I tell you that it was the first time in thirty years that the anarchists participated in a May demonstration, and the first time since July 19th 36 since large masses of people saw the CNT-FAI flags and heard what they stand for, their heroic and gallant fight in the streets of Barcelona, your struggle since, and the magnificent constructive work you have been doing you will agree that the campaign begun here in Jan. ~~xxxxxx~~ has more than proven worth while. Of course, ~~the press~~, neither the Labor papers nor the Capitalist Daily, have reported our presence in the First of May demonstration. Naturally they have to keep it silent. We will have a report in Spain and the World, and the crowds who saw our comrades in the procession will not so easily forget that there are Anarchists in London.

My sorrow is that there are so very few, really not more than a dozen who can be relied upon. My great hope now is that the first Anarchist Syndicalist Union we have organised ~~may~~ *may* bring fruit. I will send you their declaration of principles and the brochure they have issued in a separate envelope. This Union is really the one definite result for direct propaganda in England from my visit and the campaign for the struggle of the CNT-FAI. As I myself had more work than one person could possibly carry I got a young comrade, and the daughter of an old American comrade to take charge of the Anarchist Syndicalist Union. Her name is Sonia Clemens. I hope she maybe able to attend the International Anarchist Conference in Barcelona. She is quite promising and she would be valuable should I succeed in going to America for

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 3, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

1 2 4 5 2

for six months. I have not mentioned this before because it is far from sure that the U.S. Government will grant me a visa. You know of course that our great comrade Alexander Berkman now dead and I had been deported from America. In 1934 when I was lecturing in Canada friends of mine succeeded in getting me a visa for three months. The same people are now trying hard to get me another visa this time for six months. If only they will succeed I will be able to achieve more for your struggle in six months than in England in six years. You see I am well known there, I could reach larger masses. But this is far off. I merely told you about comrade Clemens that you should know I am preparing someone to take charge of the CNT-FAI Bureau in London when I leave, if I do. In any event I will see you and the other comrades some time in June in Valencia. It is very necessary that I should talk over with you plans for more extensive work here for Spain. It is impossible to do so in a letter as you will agree, I am sure.

I am glad dear comrades that you realise that I have nothing to do with the unfortunate quarrels ~~of~~ between some of our groups. Actually it applies only to Glasgow, Scotland. I am sorry you were bothered with the matter because it is really of no great importance. No one knows much about these groups, ~~their~~ Their work is extremely limited, and what harm they do is only to themselves. It is sad to think that there should be any division among those who call themselves anarchists in the face of the sublime fight you are making for our ~~ideas~~ and for the future of Anarchism in all countries. But small people have small visions. Nothing can be done about it. As to myself, I have made it a rule in my long active life never to reply to slander against me, no matter what I have been charged with. In the case of one of the groups in Glasgow I do not even know what all the silly opposition is about. I am really too busy to bother, and so I simply ignore it. And you too, dear comrades should ignore it.

I am sending you one of our posters for our concert and also the ~~programme~~ programme. ~~Must~~ally it was one of the finest affairs in London. Financially it did not bring as much as I had hoped for or as the amount of effort put into it should have brought. I do not yet know the net result, approximately £225. I am now preparing a full report of the whole campaign, all that was done, all the cost of the entire work and all that I have raised. The Spanish comrade who has been translating all my letters will translate the report as well. I will bring it along when I come back to Spain. This month I have still considerable to do. I have several meetings for the CNT-FAI, some gatherings as well as correspondence for Mujeres Libres. I am trying to interest English women in the work the women comrades in Spain have undertaken. And I am also helping Souchy in reaching people in England and the U.S.A. in the call to the International Anti-fascist Conference.

Dear comrades it was comrade ~~Mariano~~ ^{who} Vasque ~~who~~ wrote about the questionnaire. I inclose his note and original copy

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1 2 4 5 3

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Secretary:
Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
'Phone: Fulham 6829.

Speaking of coming to Valencia I hope some of you speak French because my Spanish is impossible though I understand more now than when I was in Spain and I can read the Spanish publications easily.

Is comrade Pross still in Valencia. He was very comradely indeed when I visited him in Nov. last.

salud.

You can reach me in London until June 8th. After that for two weeks in Paris c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires.

Paris, XV.

Paris XV.
 M. De Burian in London of the Generalist
 is in a room next to the Socialist
 League, now affiliated with the Comman-
 dery. Every body is going in and
 out of the Bureau, it seems as if every
 one of the members of the I. & L. and the Comman-
 dery. Every body writes plain text
 in common knowledge, as if
 it was their reason, but I could not
 find the Bureau at the Generalist. X

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109073

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

Roc

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London May 4th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dearest Rudolf, darling Milly.

At last a sign of life from you Rudolf dear. Yes, I know about your letter to me while I was in Barcelona. But I have long answered that and I have been waiting anxiously for a reply. But you are hopeless while on tour. Lucky your girl is more prompt else I would have despaired about never hearing from you at a time so critical for all of us. I mean our attitude to the comrades in Spain and some of their steps that are already bearing ~~terrible~~ such evil results. You have no idea how I needed your reaction to the situation and your exchange of ideas. Not that I have relaxed in my zeal to the Spanish Revolution for one moment, or to our comrades. But that cannot blind me to some of the steps, especially as regards their submission to the jesuitic conditions imposed on them by Stalin. Our comrades are already paying heavily for it. They are now forced to call a retreat to fundamentals and to expose the criminal intrigue carried on by Moscow. But I will come back to this later on. First about an important and immediate matter.

The Publishing House Martin Seckert has offered to bring out a work on Anarcho Syndicalism of about 30,000 to fifty thousand words. Now, it is certain that I cannot undertake to write it. Not only have I no material to go by. But I have not the time. I must absolutely go back to Spain to have a conference with the comrades in Valencia with whom I am now in direct contact. I have to give them a lengthy report about the work here and its further possibilities on a larger and more wide spread scale. I am working on that now. In addition I still have some meetings to cover for Spain, here and in Norwich. Last but not least is to prepare everything accumulated in connection with my work in this city. Anyhow I am not really the person to write on Anarcho-Syndicalism. And I know no one so competent as you to do it. Of course I could ask Sania. He knows the subject ~~well~~. But he is so sectarian and now so bitter against the CNT-FAI. I am really afraid to entrust the job of a book on Anarcho-Syndicalism. No, it must be you, or no one else.

A work on Syndicalism ~~in~~ in the English language is desperately needed now. It would do tremendous good. The very fact that a publisher asks for such a book shows that he too realises the importance of it. The firm suggests something that could sell at 2/6 or 3/6 and it should not be larger than the highest fifty thousand words. I told them about you and that you are the best informed on

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109073

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

in our ranks. I inclose their letter in answer to mine which was an answer to their first letter sent to SPAIN AND THE WORLD. You will see they are in earnest. Rudolf dear you really should do the book. And you should do it as quickly as possible. After all a ~~work~~ short work on Anarcho-Syndicalism is not a work of science or deep philosophy. To reach large masses it must be kept in a light ~~tone~~ tone, ~~anyhow~~ Anyhow you ~~and no one else~~ are the man to do it. And I hope you will undertake it. It would be a real disgrace to refuse such an opportunity to present our ideas before a large public in England and America. Do you not think so?

19. Now listen Rudolf darling I want you to think it over and send me a cable because I promised the publishers I would let them know very soon. Of course you must write it in English. If need be it can be revised here. Besides, I feel sure by this time you have become proficient in English. Believe me I am glad of that. I am asking for a cable because I am afraid you will delay in answering this letter and it will not reach me before I leave England around the 8th of June. I want to be able to make all arrangements with the publishers for the publication of the MSS. I feel certain if you made up your mind you could do it in a month, possibly during June. Anyhow cable me. Just Colton Eastbetown Rd London ~~West~~ Yes or No. Then when you write me and you agree to do it, send me your authorisation under Emma Goldman. Please, please dear Rudolf say Yes.

To come back to our Spanish comrades. I have dictated two letters to Doris Zhokk last Sunday. One to Sania, the other to Nettlau. But she is so slow in transcribing what I give her I don't know when she will let me have the letters. I will send you a copy each when I get them. I can already tell you that I am between the devil and the deep sea with Sania and Nettlau. Both have become so blind in their fanatical ~~and~~ attitude to the Spanish comrades its impossible to bring them back to sanity. Sania condemns everything in Bausch and Bogen. And Nettlau harangues against everybody who is in the least critical of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. You probably remember my first statement which appeared in the Freie Arb. Stimme and in Spain and the World. Far from being a condemnation of the CNT/FAI I tried to explain to the comrades in Holland and some of the oppositionists in Toronto that our Spanish comrades ~~had~~ had been forced by circumstances to act as they did. Well, Nettlau wrote a violent attack on me for daring to criticise. Why did I wait four years to criticise Russia. And why did I not give our Spanish comrades more time to prove that their methods were right. And a lot more. As to the polite names Nettlau uses for the Dutch comrades and anyone who dares to doubt the wisdom of every act of the CNT-FAI they really are not fit to print. Actually I never taught Nettlau capable of such bitter recriminations and blind intolerance.

On the other hand, is Sania who writes that to ~~say~~ that the CNT-FAI had no other choice except dictatorship or positions in the ministries in the mouth of Emma Goldman the undaunted, is the greatest condemnation of Anarchism I can think of". Sania however fails to tell me just exactly what other choice the comrades had. Now, while I must agree with some of the criticisms Sania raised in his long letter to Borghi, especially that of the complete surrender to the Stalin conditions in return for the very small amount of arms, I resent his tone and his vindictiveness. And I have told him that in my letter. I hate to suspect Sania of ulterior motives. Yet I cannot

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109073

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6822
free myself from the suspicion that there must be something more than just his 100/00 Anarcho Syndicalist adherence that motivates his resentment of every step taken by the CNT-FAI. Whatever it is he does not show even remotely the patience, sympathy or solidarity with his own comrades as he did with Lenin's regime. As I reminded him by my letters he ~~was~~ was more than lenient with the Soviet gang. In fact he resented criticism until Kronstadt which means nearly three and half ~~months~~ years after the Oct Revolution and when nearly all our comrades were already in prisons and concentration camps. Moreover, he was condemnatory of the Nabat, and of all the Anarchists in Russia outside of his own group. Sahas and my attempt to bring the various groups together failed because Senia refused to meet them because they were not the simon pure Anarchists he and his group considered themselves. Yet some of his best comrades, like Rubintchik joined the Communist Party. Of course it is natural to expect more from one's own than outsiders. Still Senia's blanket condemnation of the CNT-FAI while our comrades are facing every hand against them, while they are fighting and dying on every front is more than I can stand.

Nettlau is simply childish in his belief that our people are infallible. That is his special attitude towards Fedrica and the Urles. It is not a denial of Fedrica's brilliant abilities as speaker and political writer. But only blind jealousy will deny that she among all the comrades is the most willing to compromise. I hope you understand dear Rudolf that I have no personal reason to say that Fedrica has gone more to the Right than any of the leading CNT-FAI members. Not only that but she is as dogmatic against any critical expression on the part of comrades in the FAI as anyone else. Imagine her saying "the International Anarchist Conference should be postponed until July and should take place in Madrid because the excessive heat there would keep the cowardly Anarchists away from the Conference". ~~Make you,~~ my dear I am not doubting Fedrica's honesty and sincerity. Of course not. I am only doubting her judgment. She has changed since I first met her in 29. Many of the comrades feel that she has changed radically since July 19th. Her position has simply gone to her head. It is a pity. But not surprising as we have always predicted. I hope she will come to her senses. For one so popular and ~~idolised~~ idolised as she is can do much harm or good according to her stand.

But whatever objection and fears I may have about Fedrica I have no doubts whatever about Santillan. The very facts that he does not last very long in any high position shows that he is more

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

consistent than some of the others. As to his sterling honesty and his utter unconsciousness to anything of his own importance, no one will make me believe that Santillan is a self seker. I simply cannot understand Sanias positive hatred of Santillan. He spits fire every time he uses his name.

Well, my dear you can rest assured that I have taken my place with the comrades in Spain. I do not say I can accept every action ~~in general~~ uncritical. But their courage, their fortitude and even more their passionate devotion to the Revolution far outstrip any thing else. And so I am with them to the bitter end whether in triumph or defeat. No doubt there will be much to righten once Franco were no more. Until then I should consider it the worst breach of solidarity not to serve the CNT-FAI with every fiber of my being. My tragedy is that I can do so little here to help our comrades. Yes, I know you and others think my achievements wonderful. The comrades in Spain shower fire and blamstone on my head with their unstinted praise. It only makes me ashamed that I have ~~achieve~~ achieved so little though I have worked day and night to raise funds and to make the CNT-FAI known in this country. The odds are so great here and so much against the real purpose of our people. You will see by the inclosed letter in the Guardian how the CNT-FAI is being slandered and maligned by the god damn Moscow slaves. I hope the letter will ~~enx~~ do some good. But to me it seems but a drop in the ocean to counteract the ~~swamp of lies~~ swamp of lies spread against our people in this country.

You know of course the latest elogan of Stalin is to "save Democracy". The very democracy Lenin and the others have blackmailed for years. The result is that not a word is being said any where for the Spanish Revolution or the constructive work of the CNT-FAI. It would be a farce, if it were not so sad to see the various banners and floats carried by the Communist gang in the procession off on Saturday to Hyde Park. Not one single word about the Revolution. "WE ARE FOR THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN. WE ARE FOR DEMOCRACY. HELP US SAVE THE SPANISH REPUBLIC". In the name of this the hundred and one Communist organisations under many other names, of course are reeling fortunes for Spain, in reality for their insidious work in Spain against the CNT-FAI.

Well, we have spoiled their breath even if it had to be on a small scale. I saw to that believe you me. I prevailed upon the few comrades we have to take part in the First of May demonstration. We had large CNT-FAI flags, we had Durrutis and Ascasio large portraits and we had masses of slogans. Our comrades much against the objection of the Communists were in the procession which embraced fully fifty thousand people outside of the tens of thousands that lined the way from the Embankment. And we had a ~~man~~ in the Park from which several of us spoke about the CNT-FAI, the Revolution and the magnificent work done by our comrades. We are really indebted to the I.L.P. for the permit in the Park. We had applied to the Ministry of Works. But the permit was refused. And as the I.L.P. had a permit besides the one obtained by the general May Day Committee they gave us the use of it and the police were no wiser for it. Anyhow, it is the first time since the War, if not long before that the Anarchists

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London _____

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

were able to make a showing, to make it known that they are in existence though no one knows how very few and far between they are in England. And it is the first time that the CNT-FAI were both seen and heard by vast masses of workers. I confess I feel proud of this achievement almost more than the money I have raised, or any of my indoor meetings. It was the first time since 1914 that I spoke out of doors. I cannot say I like it. But there are damned few things I would refuse to do for the struggle of our heroic people in Spain. Now that I am on the subject of pride I must confess to one or two other matters that also gave me reasons for satisfaction. One is the small but very viril group we organise as the Anarchist Syndicalist Union, the first of its kind in England. And the Concert I managed. The first is the direct outcome of my return to England and my work here. The main credit however must go to a young German comrade whom I had met at the Huesca Front in Spain, and who has worked hard on interesting a group of young people in an Anarcho Syndicalist organisation. And the other is Sonia Clemens, the daughter of our very able comrade John Edelman, and Rachel ~~Edelman~~ who was his wife and subsequently took up with a chap by the name of Sinclair in the Whiteaway Colony. Sonia has never before taken part in direct Anarchist activities. She is well informed, has possibilities as a speaker, and she is a great worker when once set going. As I could not attend to everything I ~~turned~~ the matter of young people over to Sonia who is herself in the early thirties, or at least does not look more. And she has whipped a splendid group into line consisting mainly, I am glad to say of Britishers, Scotch among them. They have issued a sort of declaration of principles and they will print a brochure. You bet I will keep an eye on it as it maybe the beginning of a large Syndicalist organisation. Another reason why you should write that book on Anarcho Syndicalism. It would be of invaluable help to build up something permanent in this country. This then is another ~~bauxite~~ ~~incomparable~~ feather in my ~~musical~~ coquetish bonnet.

As to the concert. It really came nearly breaking me because of the work connected with it, and the bitter disappointments of three months. But as I have never been able to let go anything I begin I drudged and drugged until it did take place. Artistically it would have gladdened your heart. It was, as every body told me, the rarest musical event in London arranged by an amateur. But financially the returns broke my heart. I had hoped to clear at least five hundred pounds. I doubt whether we cleared 250. The balance sheet is only now being made up so I am not yet sure. Believe me my

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109073

[Letter, 19]37 May 4, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

experience in this line of activity is not only enough material for one chapter, it is for a whole book. I learned to know the cowardice and weakness of the acting profession in England as I never knew before. I must say this breed stand high in America, and it is by far more responsive when called upon for any humanitarian purpose.

dearest Rudolf, you say you are not sure whether Roger Baldwin is the right man to secure my reentry. Can you suggest anyone else? If you know would you approach him. I begged Rose Pessota to go after Dubinsky. I don't know whether she has done it or whether D. promised to do anything. The only other person suggested to me was John Edelman who is General Sect. now of the hoigery union and close to O'Grady, or is it McGready. He is Asst Sect. of labor. John's mother Rachel is sailing for America and she will urge John to do something about my return. I have no idea what will come of it and I know no one else. Yet, I am longing to go. I know I could achieve much for Spain coming as I would directly from there. Please my dear if you can do anything without jeopardizing your own chances go ahead and let me know.

I am delighted to know your book was such a success. And that your book is finally coming out. I hope fervently a cheap edition will soon follow.

I still have some letters to America to write. So I must close. Please my dear cable me about the book on Anarcho Syndicalism. I want to be able to arrange with the publishers before I go to Spain around June 8th or tenth. I will remain in Paris for about ten days because one of our best comrades who represents the CNT-FA in France suggested that we meet to work out more efficient plans for our work in different countries. While in Paris mail will reach me c/o Mollie. I long to have another look at Bon Esprit. It looks as if I will be able to sell it. I had an offer for sixty thousand francs, just half of what the place had cost outside of improvements. I refused. Now I have another offer for seventy five thousand francs. I think I will have to let it go. I will never live there any more and I am so hard pressed for every penny its almost impossible to continue. Out of the amount will have to come 5/00 to the agent and a certain amount to Stein because his pekee is included in the deal. I want to set aside a part for Emmy though she really grows more impossible all the time. And I want terribly to help my poor suffering brother Morris and Babsie who have helped to support me for several years. Moe is now minus his Government position. I have no idea how they live. I know that Saxe is the oldest son of my beloved Helena have helped him. I have no peace about him, ~~and I will~~ I feel I must share with him part of what the ~~peace~~ of Bon Esprit will bring. It means of course that there will not be Bon Esprit and not much money left. But there is Spain. Oh, if only Franco can be crushed. I would want for nothing better for my old age and to help our comrades and share with them whatever there is. I do want to see the little lovely place in St Tropez where I had some joy and much sorrow. And I do want to visit Sashas grave. I had a tablet put on his grave and Nellie Harris and dear Nenore Tessier planted some flowers. Its for the living I know and not for the dead. Dear own Sash how he would have gloried in the work for Spain.

I hold you both close to my heart in a loving embrace
Love to Emma. I see Polly almost every week. She is the same sweet girl. He made me a nice stop last week.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918361

[Letter, 19]37 May 4 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

*There is a large to covered mistakes here
to that. Don't you? But you are used
to that. Don't you?*

13395

*Said this is a gift
to the least*

May 4th 37.

Dear Modest, as you will remember I put Bon Esprit up for sale before I left St Tropez for Spain. I put the price as 90,000 francs. The very minimum 80,000. The agent told me there and then that I will never get that with everything having dropped in value in France. I wrote you at the time to please send me, or the notaire Bernard an authorisation to include your piece in the sale.

Well, couple of weeks ago the agent wrote me that he has a client who offers 60,000 francs for both places. Naturally I refused because it was less than half of what both pieces actually cost outside of all improvements. Yesterday I again heard from the agent to the effect that another ~~big~~ buyer appeared on the scene who has offered 75,000 francs, the minimum price had I had mentioned when I refused the first offer of sixty thousand. I now feel I should hold out for my original price except that I am afraid to lose the present offer and also because I have made a minimum price of seventy five thousand. It would look somewhat cheap to go back on it. Don't you think? But before anything else I must have your authorisation which will have to be made out before a notary public either to my name E.G. Colton, or to that of the notaire in St Tropez, Maitre Bernard. Do not forget that, and please dear Modest attend to it at once.

Out of the 75,000 will have to come 5/00 for the agent. My place has actually cost hundred thousand francs with the original sales tax of 12,000 to the government and four years payment of 8/00 to Mussier. Let me know what you want for your place. I know you paid twenty thousand. But in as much as the offer is for only seventy five thousand for both places minus the amount for the agent it will leave me a great loss to both of us. But of course I want to do what is right with you. So you must let me know. I mean to set aside something for Amy. Unfortunately I will not be able to do ~~as~~ as much as I had planned because my brother Morris who has been ill for several years and has had to have one leg amputated has lost his position and is now unable to support himself. It will interest you to know that for two years it was Morris who sent me a monthly allowance never failing once in all the time. Even if he had not done that for me I should want to help him in his frightful predicament. But if I get money for Bon Esprit I certainly will have to do something. Anyhow, I will soon be without Bon Esprit and with very much loss than I had hoped to realise on the place. That however has nothing to do with your share of the sales. Please my dear write me by return mail and rush your authoris

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918361

[Letter, 19]37 May 4 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13396

sation. Could such a thing be sent by cable do you think? If so perhaps you will not mind to invest in one. But if you have any suggestions to make in re the price it will be alright to ~~mail~~ send the affidavit by mail.

I am remaining in England until about the tenth of June. I then go to Paris for about ten days. My address there will be c/o Nellie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires. Around the 20th of June I mean to return to Spain for a month. If I can manage I may run down to St Tropez to have one more look at the place where I have known some joy and much sorrow as well. Also I want to have a look at Sasha's grave. I had a marble tablet put up. And Nellie Harris together with Monore Tessier, a French comrade in Nice have planted some flowers. Have I grown sentimental do you think? Perhaps. But I am not fool enough to think its for the dead. It is only if anyone who knew Sasha should happen to be in Nice and go out to the cemetery, they should be able to find his grave.

I hope the winter has not been too trying to you and that the spring will do you much good as it always had.

Please write at once, or just send the authorisation.

Affectionately.

Are you likely to come abroad this summer? I wish you would for Mary's sake. You alone of all Sasha's friends could solve her problem. I don't know how else she will go on? I realize that as the wife of an American she still would not be one. But she would have chances to get there which she never will on her own nationality. Not that I am very hopeful of her chances of a living in the States. As an invalid which she will probably remain all the rest of her years she cannot hope to hold down a job for long willing as she is to work. But it might be easier for you to help her if she were near. Please forgive me for trying to act as a Schatchen. It is only that I have Mary very much on my mind though neither she or you believe it. And I am too poor to do very much for her in the way of material help though I will do something when Bon Esprit is sold.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726053

[Letter] 1937 May 5, London [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian. — 1 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

The Manchester Guardian

28488

PROPRIETORS: THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND EVENING NEWS LTD.

REGISTERED ADDRESS:
"EMMA GOLDMAN, LONDON"

TELEGRAMS

Cable 2711-3

Head Office:
3 CROSS STREET
MANCHESTER

LONDON OFFICE

48 FLEET STREET E.C.4

5th May, 1937

Dear Miss Goldman,

We should be obliged if you could write an article on the position at Barcelona as you see it in the light of the events there this week. Would you please keep it within 500 words, and if we could have it tomorrow by seven o'clock it would be a great advantage for catching all our editions. Perhaps you could telephone a reply tomorrow forenoon to say when we may expect it.

Yours faithfully,

The London Editor

237

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 5, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. — 2 p.; 21 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Paris Mai 5th 37.
Hotel Paris-New York
148 bis Rue de Vaugirard
Ség: 39-45.

Dear Emma:

I received your nice letter and I want to thank you for it. Let us forget about the misunderstanding, and I hope that in future you will know me better, have more confidence, whatever the evidences might be.

I was very sick again, dear, and I am a bit better again. But you know I know that this is my life. As long as I am able to move and type at home, I have to take my fate..... The fright of my future is sometimes very harrassing me, when I think that I might be unable to do anything. Because, you know, I can feel that my condition is going worse with the years.

But please, Emma, do not make anything but understand these my words. Or do write anybody about all this. I must have at least the right to talk frankly to you.

I had some work, and even if very small, I can get along with the help of the 10 Dollars coming in and have to economize to the utmost. And that does not matter, only, I am never certain of the next month. Well, dear, I do not complain, by far not, I just tell you how it is, and it could be worse. Because friends I have got, and that is very soothing. The "kids" and Chapiros, both of them are more than nice to me, and I have pupils for lessons who are very, very sweet to me. Indeed they all are with me like with friends, come to me with flowers, take me out and so forth. Kitty Lewis is here already for a whole month, and whenever I have a spare time, I must go there, she even would like me to sleep in her suite, but I cannot do so, since I have to be home in the mornings to make sure that there is no special work, or telephone call about it. But I go almost regularly for lunch to her, and she takes me to the best places and so I am sure to have the very best of light food. I eat little just now, and am damn glad that I was so fat, because I am losing now, and have something to zuzusetzen.....

Listen, my dearest Emma, I will be very glad to see you and tell me when you will come. Bring me, dear, PLEASE some black carbon paper and one black ribbon for corona portable. Those things here are so bad --- you cannot imagine what I run about, but all those carbons are a Dreck.

I typed the other day Oedipus (Shakespeare) for a young group of French artists. They like my work and I wished they had more to type. Anything that is my work, that goes without saying. They gave me work for the 4th time. It is not much, you know, this last work brought me just 80 Fr cs, but it HELPS, believe me.....

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 5, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein].—
2 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Rose Pesotta Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

- 2 -

The last work I had to do was 125 Francs and because I was punctual and Quick think of it for Frenchmen! they gave me 50 Francs MORE. I hardly could believe it. So, it is a moral success more than a financial, isn't it????

I have not heard in a long while from Kay. They must be busy in furnishing their house they just bought. They have 10 bedrooms there. Plenty of, isn't it?

Well, dear, write me soon. Tell me about your plans and how long you intend to stay here and WHERE. If I should look for a room and so forth.

I thank you for wanting to help me. I know, Emma, that deep within your heart there I am. I am quite sure of it, and also that if it comes to acting -- that I have a friend in you. That consoles me and I do still hope that we may come close to each other, now----when both of us need it so badly.

Love
Emmy.

Emmy

239

The Emma Goldman Papers

900628032

[Letter, 19]37 May 6, London [to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Boris Yelensky Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London May 6th 37.

TELEPHONE 1. FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade.

campaign
I have two letters from you of March 20th and your Air Mail letter of April 17th containing a credential from the Free Society Group. Thank you for both. The International Anarchist Conference has been postponed for July 10th. I am somewhat responsible for that. I asked the Barcelona comrades to postpone it for because I felt that July is the historic month of the Revolution and it should be celebrated by all sorts of Conferences. I also had a "selfish" reason. I knew it would be extremely difficult for me to wind up my ~~campaign~~ *campaign* for Spain this month. I still have an awful lot to do. I am therefore glad to see that our Conference was really postponed though I do not think it was only my suggestion which induced the comrades in Barcelona to delay it. Under the circumstances it is still time for the Free Society Group to send me some sort of resolutions or anything they want me to present to the Conference. Naturally, I do not want to act authoritarian in any way. So you had better ask the group to write me exactly what they would like me to say for them. I will feel more at ease to be able to tell the comrades what the Free Society Groups wants me to say for them. If I will have a set of resolutions I will be in a position to express the group through them. So will you kindly see that they are sent to me.

I am leaving England for France about the 8th or tenth of June. I will probably remain in Paris ten days. Mail will reach me there through Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XIV.

I heard from comrade Abrams in re the progress made in behalf of the fiftieth anniversary of our comrades. I will certainly write him before I leave for Spain. But I cannot do it now. Please act as my representative. Tell him that I induced comrade William Wess fifty years in the movement here and knowing everybody of importance in the England Socialist, Labor and Anarchist ranks of the past to write a sort of ~~reminiscent~~ *reminiscent* letter mentioning the people who protested against the judicial murder of our comrades. It seems that Bernard Shaw is mistaken when he wrote me only Oscar Wilde had signed the petition protesting ~~agxx~~ against the sentence. Wess tells me there were ever so many among them William Morris and other ~~dixxi~~ distinguished men and women. It is tragic that one can find no one to day even willing to write a line in tribute of the death of our martyred comrades. The one man who probably would write is ~~Naxxam~~

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 6, London [to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Boris Yelensky Archive.

evinson. But he is away now. Still I will write him to his London address. His mail may be forwarded.

I suppose you know that comrade Bartoni in his paper L. Revell has protested against the affiliation with the A.F.L. of the anniversary you are preparing. I rather think he is right. The very fact that your heading reads ~~FIFTEEN COMMEMORATION FOR~~ (it should read of not for) THE HAYMARKET LABOR MARTYRS instead of Anarchists proves that you are felt forced to make the concession to the Chicago Federation of Labor. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ It would have been more appropriate to ask the I.W.W. to back your undertaking. However, it really does not matter so long as you will have speakers of our own who will make it very clear that Spiess, Parsons and the other three were Anarchist first and last. And also that they had been miserably sold out by the Knights of Labor and the Jude Powderly. I see that comrade Abrams speak of a "PROMINENT SPEAKER" I hope that speaker will be an Anarchist and will not mince matters. However, I will write comrade Abrams very soon.

raled You will be glad to know that the London Committee of the CNT-MAI has participated in the First of May demonstration much to the protest and disgust of the Communists. True our marchers looked few comrades with the Communists and I.L.P. of at least fifty thousand workers. But the CNT-COMMITTEE and the new group we have organized THE ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST UNION made a marvelous showing with our flags and the Durruti and Ascasio portraits as well as numerous slogans. Of course we had a Van and several of us spoke in Hyde Park. It was the first Anarchist May Day celebration for 25 years and the first to reach thousand for the CNT-MAI.

The Concert I had slaved for nearly three months while a great musical success brought only about £180. Not so bad when you turn this into dollars or francs, especially for this poverty stricken country. But I am bitterly disappointed because I had counted on five hundred pounds. We are so few here and the opposition of the Communists is bitter and almost impossible to achieve what one sets out to do. Still we did have considerable result, nearly five hundred pounds raised, large meetings held and the main thing a new and viril group brought to life.

Be You can send money by check or money order to Spain and the World c/o Mrs Sonia Clemens 47 Midway St. Hampstead London N.W.3 She is the daughter of our famous comrade Edelman who died some years ago, now part editor of Spain and the World and a very ardent worker. I hope you will do so soon. It is really the best paper on Spain in English and it deserves all the support we can give the paper. I have written an appeal which will appear in the next issue of Spain and the world.

Yes, I know New York refused the material for the exhibition. I suppose because Sania Chapiro wanted thousand or more francs for it. Well, I mean to send my material to Chicago free of charge except postage. I had planned to do so in time for an exhibition this spring. But as there is still a possibility of my being granted a visa I decided to wait until the matter is decided. Naturally if I can reenter the States I would arrange the exhibition. It is not a matter that has to be done at once. In fact since I return to Spain

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 6, London [to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p.; 22 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Boris Yelensky Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London _____

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

I will gather new material that will enrich the exhibition and I will send it to Chicago if I should not be granted the visa. I would want to send the material to New York. But I know quite well that the comrades in the Fr. Arb. Stinne are not competent to arrange an exhibition. And my niece and her husband who know much about it are in the country. Well, we will see.

I have still an awful lot of work to do to leave everything in order. And a number of American letters still to answer. So I must close now.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Salud.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005242

[Letter, 19]37 May 6 [London to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20341

~~xxx~~ given a visa I decided to wait until the matter is settled. Naturally, if I can reenter the States I would arrange the exhibition. It is after all not anything that depends on the moment. In fact, since I mean to return to Spain ~~xxxxl~~

May 6th 37.

Dear Comrade.

I have two letters from you of March 20th and your Air Mail letter of April 17th containing a credential from the Free Society Group. Thank you for both. The International Anarchist Conference has been postponed from July 10th. I am somewhat responsible for that. I asked the Barcelona comrades to postpone it ~~par~~ because I felt that July is the historic month of the Revolution and it should be celebrated by all sorts of Conferences. I also had a "selfish" reason. I knew it would be extremely difficult for me to wind up my campaign for Spain this month. I still have an awful lot to do. I am therefore glad to see that our Conference was really postponed though I do not think it was only my suggestion which induced the comrades in Barcelona to delay it. Under the circumstances it is still time for the Free Society Group to send me some sort of resolutions or anything they want me to present to the Conference. Naturally, I do not want to act authoritarian in any way. So you had better ask the group to write me exactly what they would like me to say for them. I will feel more at ease to be able to tell the comrades what the Free Society Group wants me to say for them. If I will have a set of resolutions I will be in a position to express the group through them. So will you kindly see that they are sent to me.

I am leaving England for France about the 8th or tenth of June. I will probably remain in Paris ten days. Mail will reach me there through Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV.

I heard from comrade Abrams in re the progress made in behalf of the fiftieth anniversary of our comrades. I will certainly write him before I leave for Spain. But I cannot do it now. Please act as my representative. Tell him that I induced comrade William Wess fifty years in the movement here and knowing everybody of importance in the England Socialist, Labor and Anarchist ranks of the past to write a sort of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ remembrance letter mentioning the people who protested against the judicial murder of our comrades. It seems that Bernard Shaw is mistaken when he wrote me only Oscar Wilde had signed the petition protesting ~~xxxx~~ against the sentence. Wess tells me there were ever so many among them William Morris and other distinguished men and women. It is tragic that one can find no one to day even willing to write a line in tribute of the death of our martyred comrades. The one man who probably would write is Newman

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005242

[Letter, 19]37 May 6 [London to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20362

"Evinson. But he is away now. Still I will write him to his London address. His mail may be forwarded.

I suppose you know that comrade Bertoni in his paper L. Reveil has protested against the affiliation with the A.F.L. of the anniversary you are preparing. I rather think he is right. The very fact that your heading reads FIFTIETH COMMEMORATION FOR ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (it should read of not for) THE DAYMARKET LABOR MARTYRS instead of anarchists proves that you are felt forced to make the concession to the Chicago Federation of Labor. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ It would have been more appropriate to ask the I.W.W. to back your undertaking. However, it really does not matter so long as you will have speakers of our own who will make it very clear that Spiess, Parsons and the other three were anarchist first and last. And also that they had been miserably sold out by the Knights of Labor and the Juda Powderly. I see that comrade Abrams speak of a "PROMINENT SPEAKER" I hope that speaker will be an anarchist and will not mince matters. However, I will write comrade Abrams very soon.

You will be glad to know that the London Committee of the CNT-FAI has participated in the First of May demonstration much to the protest and disgust of the Communists. True our marchers looked few comrades with the Communists and I.L.P. of at least fifty thousand workers. But the CNT-COMITEE and the new group we have organized THE ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST UNION made a marvelous showing with our flags and the Durruti and Ascasio portraits as well as numerous slogans. Of course we had a Van and several of us spoke in Hyde Park. It was the first anarchist May Day celebration for 25 years and the first to reach thousand for the CNT-FAI.

The Concert I had slaved for nearly three months while a great musical success brought only about £180. Not so bad when you turn this into dollars or francs, especially for this poverty stricken country. But I am bitterly disappointed because I had counted on five hundred pounds. We are so few here and the opposition of the Communists is bitter and almost impossible to achieve what one sets out to do. Still we did have considerable result, nearly five hundred pounds raised, large meetings held and the main thing a new and viril group brought to life.

You can send money by check or money order to Spain and the World c/o Mrs. Sonia Clemens 47 Midway St. Hampstead London N.W.3 She is the daughter of our famous comrade Edalean who died some years, now part editor of Spain and the World and a very ardent worker. I hope you will do so soon. It is really the best paper on Spain in English and it deserves all the support we can give the paper. I have written an appeal which will appear in the next issue of Spain and the world.

Yes, I know New York refused the material for the exhibition. I suppose because Sania Chapiro wanted thousand or more francs for it. Well, I mean to send my material to Chicago free of charge except postage. I had planned to do so in time for an exhibition this spring. But as there is still a possibility of my being granted a visa I decided to wait until then.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005242

[Letter, 19]37 May 6 [London to Boris Yelensky, Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

U

20168

I will gather new material that will enrich the exhibition and I will send it to Chicago if I should not be granted the visa. I would want to send the material to New York. But I know quite well that the comrades in the Fr. Arb. Stimm are not competent to arrange an exhibition. And my niece and her husband who know much about it are in the country. Well, we will see.

I have still an awful lot of work to do to leave everything in order. And a number of American letters still to answer. So I must close now.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519585

[Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to George Bernard] Shaw, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

4.7772
45 MS
7th May, 1937.

Dear Mr. Shaw,

Thanks for your letter of March 9th. It contains more than one surprise. But then your great function in life has been to give the world all sorts of surprises. I have greatly appreciated them and I have helped others to the understanding and appreciation of your value. It may interest you to learn that I have years ago brought your works to the attention of the broad masses in the United States and other countries. I have actually talked to miners and longshoremen about G. Bernard Shaw, his plays and many funny contradictions of his characters.

Still it was rather more than a surprise — it was a shock to be asked why I want "to resurrect those poor Chicago Anarchists?" Imagine the author of *Back to Methuselah* to ask such a question. Have you not rattled her long decayed bones and turned her into living form? If my "digging up the dead and making foolish speeches are a waste of time and energy" that is one to say of you, having done the same with your heroines and the long and foolish speeches delivered over her, her time, and her contemporaries. No doubt you consider your effort in "digging up the dead" of greater value to the future than mine in "digging up the Chicago Anarchists." I shall die with respect and appreciation of your great dramatic craftsmanship. I must say that your "waste of time and energy" merely served to amuse your English audiences. While the condemnation of the Chicago Anarchists may teach the young generation of workers the lesson that the beginning of labor's awakening in the States was not made by Marx and Lenin but by those poor Chicago Anarchists. That is sufficient reason for me to resurrect them.

You may be right when you ask "but is their treachery treachery affair comparable to the massacres that have happened since, and are happening to-day in Spain and elsewhere?" Yet the massacres of the many do not make the murder of the few less hideous or releases from our part in making these judicial and social crimes known to those who come after them. And that is precisely what my comrades in America and I have and mean to do — "resurrect the dead" in order to infuse their gallant and selfless spirit in the living.

While I am not versed in scripture as you are I do remember a passage here it says that the Lord will save a city if but one just man can be found in it. With you and Oscar Wilde to have demonstrated a sense of justice England will surely be saved even if you two happen to be Irish. You are however mistaken in thinking that you and Oscar Wilde had been mistaken the only ones to protest. Since I wrote you I have learned from

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519585

[Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to George Bernard] Shaw, [London] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

2.

very dependable sources that scores of Englishmen have also been moved to appeal for the lives of the Chicago Anarchists, among them William Morris, Walter Crane and the Rev. Stewart Headlam to mention only a few. In other words, the average Englishman can rest in peace - his city and country will be saved. Whether it is worth saving in its present state only you all-knowing and the Lord should know.

Yes, it is only too true that "the pioneers of our time are mostly either dead or in the rear-guard". But you see I had never considered myself a pioneer. Perhaps that is the reason why I am still very much alive and on the firing line. I hope I have also learned especially through the Russian revolution how easily the nineteenth century dogma solved all problems. But just because of the great lesson of Russia I refuse to accept your worship of Sovietism. Indeed, I consider it a delusion and a snare, a disintegrating poison that is responsible to a large extent for the lack of unity among the workers in and outside of Russia. Moreover, I am a socialist responsible for the triumph of Russia. I therefore have little difference between the two dictatorships except their different color. Fight them both.

I know you and others of the intelligentsia are enthralled by Stalin's blessings. Not so the workers in Russia. They are better than Russia's capitalist rulers that the dictatorship has allowed the revolution and has bound them hand and foot to the crashing state machine. I should despair of the masses here, not certain that there will be an awakening in Russia as there has been in Spain. When that moment comes it will be you and your colleagues words lying at Stalin's sacred shrine. They will find themselves in the "rear-guard". Not I.

As you have I am sure the living force of Anarchism it is but natural even if short sighted to say it is a dead issue no. I am sure are mistaken in this as you so often have been in other great issues. A point of fact Anarchism was never more alive than it is now. It is the greatest force in Spain recognized as such even by its erstwhile detractors. It was Anarchism that drove back the fascists and militarists in Barcelona and Catalonia July 19th. It was the first to send its gallant son Ferrer with his international column to the Aragon front. The first to inspire the workers to give their all to the manufacture of arms which alone saved the Spanish revolution from Franco's hoards. Or do you not know that your socialist publicists three and a half months before it came to the rescue of the Spanish revolution. And, that only to return for gold and such privileges that have since made the united front in Spain a farce. Yes, it was Anarchism that inspired the Catalan workers to begin constructive work, socialization of the land and the industries in the very face of daily danger of death.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to George Bernard] Shaw, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

In other words, Anarchism embodied in the National Federation of Labor the C.N.T. and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, the P.A.I., are very much alive. They are the leaven of the future and the glorious example for the whole world that Anarchism is not a mere fancy but an actual working fact. You should really go to Spain near Barcelona, but not for a few days. It might help you to see how busy you are to say "Anarchism is dead now."

Thank you for calling my attention to the mis-spelling of Hurley Granville-Barker Esq. Surely you do not want to rob me of the traits that have made me akin to some of the greatest minds. My atrocious handwriting and bad spelling. That could be cruel indeed.

Yours faithfully,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

248

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 7 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

THE FIRST OF MAY IN LONDON

The First of May demonstration in London on Saturday, May 1st, was a magnificent showing. But I venture to suggest that very few of the massed workers had any idea of the origin of the First of May as Labour's Holiday. Its origin is supposed to date back to the Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889. Actually, the idea was conceived and carried out by the Chicago Anarchists murdered by the State of Illinois on the 11th of Nov., 1887. It was in connection with the eight hour workday movement that our martyred comrades proclaimed the First of May as Labour's day of rest. The re-action that followed their death postponed the celebration of the First of May until 1890. It was then that the Anarchists in New York and other cities held their first demonstration and public meeting in the historic Union Square. Together with other comrades I awoke from a Van, much to the chagrin of the Social Democrats who also had their platform. They prevailed upon the driver to hitch his horse to the Van and get us out of the Square. I continued to speak as I was driven along the streets until I had finished. I thought of this historic incident as I was addressing a large crowd that came to our van to hear our comrades talk.

This time the opposition to the presence of Anarchists in the demonstration came from the Communists, though they did not make their protest too loudly known. To have done that would have of necessity exposed their great "love" of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and their bitter dislike of the wonderful constructive work our brave Spanish comrades are making. Anyhow the Anarchists marched with the rest, proudly carrying the lusty banner of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the flag of our newly organised Anarchist Syndicalist Union and a number of slogans telling the workers what we stand for. These were gladly received and applauded by the tens of thousands all along the route of march. Especially did the masses welcome the large photographs of Durruti and Ascasio carried by our comrades.

It was the first time in many years that London learned of the presence

like pipes for the water, we make ourselves. It is hard work—but we have to grow food for the men at the front. And we are building the new Spain."

of Anarchists in its midst and the first time that huge numbers of people came to know about the C.N.T.-F.A.I., its banner, its aims and its gallant fight for them.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

EMMA GOLDMAN APPEALS

To American Comrades to support Spain and the World.

7th May, 1937.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Since I cannot reach you with my voice I hope I can do so by my pen. I am writing you on behalf of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, the best paper we have in English entirely dedicated to the heroic struggle of our Spanish comrades. Their struggle is the more worthy of our support because the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has not only Fascism to fight. They are surrounded by other enemies no less dangerous than Franco. The Socialists of Caballero's kind and the Communists, while pretending a united front, have sabotaged the Spanish Revolution beyond belief. And outside of Spain they are carrying on a vicious campaign against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Among other miserable villifications they have spread the rumour that Catalonia and especially Barcelona have done and are doing nothing for the defence of Madrid. A more criminal libel has never been committed against any movement.

In this country there is a complete conspiracy of silence in the so-called Left Press, and the meanest attacks against the Anti-Fascist War and the Revolution in the Right publications. Actually the only medium we have is SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is the only voice for the gallant fight our comrades are making, and the only channel through which we can reach, if only a few thousand workers, with the truth about the Revolution in Spain, as well as the marvellous constructive work our comrades are continuing in the very face of danger and death. To lose SPAIN AND THE WORLD would be a great calamity. We must not permit that. It is for this reason that I appeal to you with all the intensity of my being to come to the rescue and support of SPAIN AND THE WORLD.

You can do the following: subscribe yourself, take two dozen copies of every issue and send them to your friends. Organise some affair for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. Collect donations on subscription lists. Do get busy, dear comrades. Do help SPAIN AND THE WORLD without delay.

Salud,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Otherwise they are traitors, destined for concentration camps, island prisons, torture, exile or death.

There are those who call this an awakening, a new system, a new ideal. They draw their conclusion from signs of order, from chauvinistic challenges, from the outward trappings of tyranny itself. There is no voice of dissent; a kept press echoes its master's voice. The more perfect the oppression the more perfect the indications of success.

Who is this man, this colossus who, having destroyed every vestige of liberty in Italy, has made himself the state? He must be a superman of indomitable will, of uncanny insight, of brave spirit, of incorruptible integrity, and above all, of fixed, unalterable and consistent purpose!

The story of his life explodes this myth. Vacillating, changeable, even timid, he has been a puppet of fortune. His power is an accident of fate. Opportunism, hatred and brutality are his sole contributions. Pacifist when became an interventionist through a bribe from France; Socialist discredited and expelled by the party; extremist despised by his fellows, he finally and fortuitously became a Fascist because of his hatred of his former comrades. The industrialists and reactionaries found him useful as an instrument against the radicals and then, having made of him a symbol, found him necessary as an instrument of repression against all workers and dissenters. The heroic march on Rome was at the invitation of the King to whom Mussolini grandiloquently presented himself with apologies for his black shirt and a reference to "a battle which luckily was not sanguinary."

We in America are not unfamiliar with racketeers who prey on fear and for a price pretend to protect us from greater evils than themselves. The bourgeois fear of Communism was used by both Mussolini and Hitler. When a racket controls a state you have Fascism; when Al Capone gets to the top you have Mussolini.

Fascism is dangerous because of the subtle approach. Those who hold power in states, presumably democratic, use the selected individual to fasten the chains. The change is hailed as revolution.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

New York,

May, 1935.

(The above article is the unpublished Foreword to Armando Borghi's book "MUSSOLINI, RED AND BLACK," pushed by Wisharts, price 5/-. This book may be obtained through "Spain and the World," price 5/6 post paid.)

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12444

8 de Mayo de 1937.

Comité Nacional,
Sección de Información y Propaganda,
VALENCIA.

Queridos camaradas. Salud.

Otra vez nuestras cartas se han cruzado. Os escribí el 19 de Abril en contestación a vuestra grata 10 del mismo. También os llevo escrito cartas el 1º y 12 de Abril. Por ello me sorprende mucho que vuestra carta 17 de Abril, que sólo llegó a mi poder vía París el sábado 1º de Mayo, sea únicamente en respuesta a la mía 10 de Marzo, y antes de seguir adelante he de aclarar que si he tardado un poco en contestar a vuestra citada del 17 de Abril, ha sido debido a que la traducción de la presente no ha podido hacerse hasta ahora.

Dudo que mis cartas o las vuestras se pierdan, cabiendo mas bien pensar que lo que pasa es que los portadores de mis cartas para vosotros desde París y las vuestras para mi, se las quedan en su poder sin darles curso bastante tiempo. Si ello es así tal negligencia es intolerable e impropia de verdaderos camaradas leales y revolucionarios. Para probar, esta carta la envío directamente a Valencia por correo aéreo; y seguramente no tardará tanto como las atras. Vosotros debéis probar también dicha vía.

Ahora por lo que se refiere a vuestra aludida carta 17 del mes pasado, yo sé muy bien que los comunistas practican su nefaria campaña contra nosotros en todo el mundo. Lo sé por experiencia propia en todos los países en que he dado mítines y conferencias desde 1922, cuando salí de Rusia. Sólo hace tres años, cuando fui admitida nuevamente en los E.U., que fui perseguida por la pandilla de Moscow en cada mitin en que tomé parte. Y lo mismo ocurrió en los países escandinavos y en Inglaterra. Pero yo tenía esperanzas de que su pretendida unidad en España pondría término a estas malas prácticas; al menos hasta que se haya acabado con Franco. Por esta misma razón había siempre tenido cuidado de nombrar a los comunistas en las conferencias de la CNT-FAI desde que comencé mi campaña en este país. Sin embargo, nada que se intente da buenos resultados con dichos individuos. Son jesuitas y han de actuar como tales. Mientras pretenden estar ocupados en la lucha contra el fascismo en unión de la CNT-FAI, en la sombra conspiran en contra de ésta todo el tiempo.

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

12445

Ya en un par de ocasiones os escrito que los comunistas han hechado a rodar el rumor de que Cataluña y Aragón sabotean a Madrid. En todas partes me han asaltado con tamaña falsedad, y, no obstante, permanecí callada hasta que vi reproducidas las mismas calumnias sobre Cataluña y Aragón en el "Manchester Guardian". Como se trata del diario mas liberal de Inglaterra, que al mismo tiempo ha tratado con bastante imparcialidad a la CNT-FAI, le escribí a la Redacción protestando contra cargos tan infundados y aborrecibles. Tengo el gusto de comunicaros que mi carta fué publicada y adjunto os envío copia de la misma, que apareció en el Manchester Guardian del 28 de Abril ppdo. Confío tendréis ahí a alguien que os la pueda traducir y que pueda ser reproducida en FRAGUA SOCIAL. Igualmente he enviado copias a SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA y MUJERES LIBRES. Habréis de comprender, queridos compañeros, que no desee sea reproducida la mencionada carta en la prensa de España por razones personales. Quiero que el pueblo español se de cuenta de la clase de ataques que algunos de sus aliados se dedican a hacer y las gestiones que se están llevando a cabo en Inglaterra de nuestra parte encaminadas a explicar y defender la integridad de la CNT-FAI.

Os agradecerá tener conocimiento de que pudimos conseguir tomar parte en la manifestación del PRI. ENO D. LAYO en Londres. A los comunistas no le agradaba la idea de que nuestros camaradas participaran en la manifestación con las banderas de la CNT-FAI, las fotografías de Ascasio y Durruti y muchos de los carteles todavía en mi poder de los que traje de Barcelona. Fué una manifestación gigantesca. Participaron en ella mas de 60.000 trabajadores y otros tantos estaban apostados en todo el trayecto recorrido por los manifestantes. A nadie pudieron haber pasado despercebidas nuestras banderas y pancartas. Luego tuvimos nuestra plataforma en Hyde Park, histórico sitio en Inglaterra de todas las luchas económicas, desde la cual varios de nosotros dirigimos la palabra al público, bastante numeroso. Cuando os diga que fué la primera vez desde hacia 30 años que los anarquistas habían tomado parte en una manifestación del 1º de Mayo, os daréis cuenta de la significancia del acto, siendo también la primera vez desde el 19 de Julio de 1936 que grandes masas de gente habían visto los símbolos de la CNT-FAI; oído su programa; su heroica lucha en las calles de Barcelona; vuestra intervención desde entonces, y la magnífica labor constructiva que habéis venido desarrollando. Como veréis la campaña empezada aquí en Enero, se puede decir que ha dejado más que demostrado su provecho. Por supuesto, que ninguno de los diarios de los partidos obreros como la prensa capitalista, hicieron referencia alguna a nuestra presencia en la manifestación; pero era de esperar que guardasen silencio. Nosotros haremos una reseña en SPANISH ANARCHISM, mientras que las masas que vieron a nuestros compañeros en la manifestación no olvidarán tan fácilmente que en Londres hay anarquistas.

Mi pesar, sin embargo, es que existan tan pocos, sobre todo en quienes se pueda tener absoluta confianza: a lo sumo una docena. Mi gran esperanza ahora es que el primer partido anarco-sindicalista organizado por nosotros de fruto. Por separado os enviaré el anuncio y programa publicado por la nueva organización. Este partido es realmente el primer resultado definitivo de propaganda directa en

./...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

251

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918210

[Letter] 1937 May 8, [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

12446

Inglaterra, derivada de mi visita y la campaña por la lucha de la CMT-FAI. Como yo tenía más trabajo que el que una persona buenamente puede hacer, conseguí a un joven camarada y la hija de una antigua compañera americana, para que se encargaran del Partido Anarco-Sindicalista. Se llama Sonia Clemens y espero que pueda atender la Conferencia Internacional-Anarquista en Barcelona. Prometo ser un buen elemento y su concurso sería valioso caso de que yo consiga poder ir a los E.U. por seis meses. No os he hablado antes de esto porque no estoy del todo segura de que el Gobierno de los E.U. me permita la entrada en aquel país. No dudo sabéis que nuestro gran camarada Alejandro Berkman, ya fallecido, y yo fuimos deportados. En 1934, cuando daba conferencias en el Canadá, unos amigos consiguieron me diesen permiso para estar allí tres meses. Estos mismos amigos trabajan ahora activamente por conseguir se me permita ir a los E.U., esta vez, por seis meses, y si tienen éxito podré hacer más allí por vuestra causa en seis meses que aquí en seis años. Allí soy muy bien conocida y las masas a las cuales puedo hacer llegar mi voz de mucha más magnitud. Pero todo esto está lejano todavía. El principal motivo de haber mencionado a la camarada Clemens es para que sepáis me ocupo de preparar a alguien que pueda quedarse al frente de la oficina en Londres de la CMT-FAI cuando yo me vaya, si esto ocurre. De todas formas, os veré a vosotros y demás camaradas en Valencia en Junio. Es necesario que hable con vosotros sobre planes para un trabajo más extensivo aquí por la causa de España. Ello es imposible hacerlo por carta, con lo que creo vosotros mismos estaréis de acuerdo.

Mucho me alegra saber, queridos compañeros, que vosotros no creéis que yo tenga nada que ver con las desafortunadas diferencias entre nuestros grupos. Verídicamente tal estado de cosas sólo existe en Glasgow, Escocia. Siento que hayáis sido molestados con este asunto, que si se mira bien no reviste importancia alguna. Nadie sabe mucho acerca de dichos grupos. Su trabajo es la mar de limitado y el único daño que causan es a ellos mismos. Desde luego, es triste pensar pueda haber división alguna entre aquellos que se llaman anarquistas, a la vista de la sublime lucha que vosotros sostenéis en pro de nuestras ideas y por el porvenir de los anarquistas en todo el mundo; pero con gestos de poco alcance la visión es corta y nada se puede hacer con ellos. En cuanto a mí, he tenido siempre por norma durante mi larga vida de actividad, nunca contestar a las calumnias que se hacen contra mí, vengan de donde vinieren. En el caso de uno de los grupos de Glasgow, hasta ahora ni se al por que de su antagonismo hacia mí. Estoy demasiado ocupada en cosas más importantes y no vale la pena molestarse, así es que lo mejor es no prestar atención como he venido haciendo hasta ahora.

Os envío uno de los carteles anunciadores del concierto celebrado el 25 de Abril y también un ejemplar del programa. Musicalmente resultó una de las mas brillantes funciones en Londres, pero financieramente no produjo tanto como yo esperaba y como habría de ser en proporción con el trabajo realizado. Todavía no se el resultado neto; aproximadamente £225.- Estoy preparando una memoria detallada de toda la campaña, lo que se ha hecho, los gastos incurridos y el dinero que yo he recaudado. El camarada español que me traduce las cartas

./...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

252

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918210

[Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional [Confederación Nacional del Trabajo], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-4-

12447

se encargará de traducir la memoria, la cual llevaré conmigo cuando vaya a España. Todavía me queda mucho que hacer durante el mes en curso; varios mítines que atender de la CNT-FAI, reuniones de correspondencia para MUJERES LIBRES. Estoy tratando de interesar a elementos femeninos ingleses en el trabajo de nuestras camaradas en España. Igualmente ayudo a Souchy, poniéndolo en contacto con gente en Inglaterra y los E.U. en relación con la llamada que se hace a la Conferencia Internacional Antifascista.

Fué el camarada Vazquez quien me escribió sobre el cuestionario. Acompaño su nota y copia del referido cuestionario. Me ocupo de conseguir direcciones de organizaciones obreras, pero las invitaciones deberían ser enviadas desde España directamente. Si me dáis vuestra conformidad, llevaré las direcciones y el cuestionario juntamente con la carta correspondiente podrá entonces ser despachado cuando llegue a Valencia. Así producirá mejor efecto entre los obreros.

Hablando de mi viaje a Valencia, espero que alguno de vosotros hable francés, pues mi español es muy reducido, si bien ahora lo comprendo mucho más que cuando estuve ahí anteriormente, lo mismo que leo ya con más facilidad las publicaciones en español.

Estaré en Londres hasta el 8 de Junio. Después de esta fecha, durante dos semanas, mis señas serán a/c Mollie Alperine, 23, rue des Volontaires, Paris XV.

Hasta pronto os envía un fraternal abrazo,

P.S.

La oficina en Londres de la Generalidad está situada en una habitación contigua a la oficina de la Liga Socialista, afiliada ahora al partido comunista. Todo lo que entra y sale de la oficina de la G. es observado por la Liga y el P.C. Toda carta que allí se escribe, el contenido es inmediatamente conocido por dicha gente. Por estas razones no me fué posible afiliarme a la oficina de la Generalidad. Además encontré que podía desarrollar mejor mi trabajo por la CNT-FAI en una oficina aparte, de nuestra propiedad.

Vale.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

253

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918211

[Letter] 1937 May 8 [London to] Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Valencia [Spain (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12448

8 de Mayo de 1937.

Comite Nacional,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,
VALENCIA.

Queridos compañeros. Salud:

Unas cuantas líneas para referirme al concierto dado aquí, según ya os he manifestado anteriormente, en el teatro Victoria Palace, el domingo 15 de abril p.d. Los auspicios bajo los cuales se celebró dicha función fueron con objeto de recaudar fondos para socorrer a los niños y mujeres españoles víctimas de la tragedia que hoy sufre España, habiendo todos los artistas que tomaron parte prestado su concurso gratuitamente. Ahora bien, lo que hubo de pagarse fué el impuesto sobre espectáculos, cuya devolución puede ser reclamada si se presentan pruebas al efecto de que la función efectivamente fué celebrada para fines benéficas. Así, pues, acompaño a la presente dos modelos de recibo, que suplico me devolváis a vuelta de correo, tanto el texto en español como en inglés, debidamente firmados, con objeto de obtener a vuelta la suma de £35.- a que asciende el impuesto en cuestión.

Os suplico no demoréis este asunto, y en espera de vuestras prontas noticias, os saluda vuestra y de la causa,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

254

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029110

[Letter, 19]37 May 9, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

121A

A120

May 9th 37.

Dear Auntie. Thank you for Anna's address and for having written her. She may have paid the telephone bill after my letter sent to ~~Beauvallon~~ Beauvallon had reached her. She once wrote me she had the telephone removed to the house of a friend of hers. It surely was done with the knowledge of the P.O. It surprises me therefore that the P.O. in St Tropez keep pestering me. I suppose it is because the contract was made in my name. Well, as long as Ann makes good. Its alright. And she usually has. Perhaps her new found happy married life made her forget the telephone bill. It would not matter at all if it were not that the central inspector is now on my heels. Well, as I have heard nothing further I suppose the matter was adjusted. And that is the main thing.

Dear Auntie I have delayed writing you and sending you the inclosed check for May rent because I was debating with myself whether to answer it at all. Every time I write I seem to put my feet in and rouse your ~~sarcastic~~ sarcasm. It never used to be that way in the past. In fact not until after your first attack of flu. I ascribed your changed tone to your state of nerves from your illness. I had hoped that when you got back to your home in the blessed sunshine and with your friends you'd got back to normalcy as Coolidge called it. You would get back to your old understanding, kind and sweet spirit. But so far there is no sign of it. You trip me up on every word. You tear it out of its context, pull every word to pieces and give it meaning it never contained or was meant to. True, friendship should guarantee mutual frankness. But frankness is not sarcasm or ~~lack~~ lack of faith in one another. Above all, friendship presupposes understanding. You once had all that and it made our friendship a sort of haven that brought me peace and certainty that I could ~~always~~ always come to you and you would not question, sneer and twist everything I say out of shape or form. I don't know what changed you. Or whether you are changed. I only know your letters fairly ooze antagonism slurs and utter unwillingness to love a good horse on my poor sinful head.

Take for instance the word "puny" In former days it would never have occurred to you that I used that term for my unfortunate misunderstanding of E's postcard. You would have understood that I meant the curtains. Not having much sense of property I marvelled at anyone fussing over some curtains. Was it necessary for you think to read me a Calvinistic sermon about the crime of charrin-

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029110

[Letter, 19]37 May 9, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4121

unjustly? It was in a way funny to see you turn into an advocate of E. The main thing however was the fact that you grabbed the word puny with a relish without analysing what it referred to. It is the same about my explanation that I had made the unfortunate mistake because I had read E's postcard hastily. You nseer at that by saying "you had no time to read her card, but you had time to write her a letter and charge her with her offense?" You of course do not seem to believe that. Well, I did not write her a letter in the first place. I was too busy for that. I wrote her a few lines saying I would send back the "damne" curtains. I looked for that post card high and low and could not find it, as so often it got mixed with the rest of my hundred and one papers. Actually I did not again look for it until I got your letter asking for it. The word "Not" stuck in my mind. That's why I wrote her about the curtains. Well, E seems to take my apologies in better spirit than you. That is a pity.

Your friends. Fess up Auntie, I dare not say (darling or dearest) as you will again ~~xxxxxx~~ express doubt in my sincerity). have you not often come back from some of your visits to those friends heart sick and disgusted with their reactionary attitude to Spain. Why then be so provoked with me? In point of fact you are often not only critical of your own friends you are condemnatory, even of your closest friends like d'Eck, David and others. Why then be so impatient with my attitude to your London friends? "You were too hasty about Stella". Well, until the Concert Stella showed no interest in anything I did for Spain, nor when I was here before. I was therefore justified in doubting ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ that she would do as much for the Concert. Come to think of it you yourself told me she would because of the important names as sponsors. She would want to be in such famous company. I hope you have not forgotten that. Naturally I doubted her interest as being free from anything personal. But when I saw how willing and eager she was to help all my doubts disappeared. I don't see therefore why you should find fault with me and say I was hasty. But you have been in a fault finding mood long before you left. Not a thing I did or said or undertook ~~xxxxxx~~ met with your approval. It it seems to continue.

I am glad Auntie for your sake that you find friendship so easy. But being "true to yourself so hard". To use an American expression "you are telling me"? Have you read Living My Life with so little profit, have you known me for several years to tell me how bitter hard it is to remain true to oneself? I have become a pariah an outcast because I have tried to be true to myself. I have been in prison and have gone hungry as a result of it. You should know it. And if you had you would not have found it necessary to make ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ make it appear that I have not been true to myself. I have been worrying my old head during two sleepless nights to find a reason for this nephatic proclamation of yours. I suppose it is because I went ahead with the theatre scheme though I had to make it non-political. I don't know anything else that would have justified you in grandly calling my attention to being true to oneself. You suggest I did so in order to mislead my Communist "friends". Well, you know better. You know that Maurice Brown, Wall of the Equity, Cecil Clovelly and everybody else who promised help insisted that it must be non-political. And what about you? Have you not insisted upon the necessity of making my appeals non-political? Well, if this is not being true to myself it is because of my passionate desire to

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029110

[Letter, 19]37 May 9, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1514

4122

You would have been perfectly right in questioning my desire to be true to myself if the concession I made in the case of the theatre project were for any personal motive, aggrandisement, fame or money. But my god Auntie you know it was for the struggle in Spain, for the women and children cared for by my comrades? How could you have it in your heart to imply I was not true to myself? Frankly I can not understand what changed you so towards me except that there is more truth than fiction in the saying that "familiarity breeds contempt". Just a few months under the same roof has turned you into my mentor as if I were a five year old and had not known storm and stress all my life for what has been its only motivation.

about the accounts and the flat. Why should you worry about the latter? I told you I will be responsible for it. If Nellie can pay the rent when I am gone for six weeks. Alright. If not I will certainly pay since I may have to resume the work for the CNT in ~~Spain~~ England. Naturally, if a visa for A. should be secured I will see that your flat is let with or without the furniture. I have never let any human being down. Much less would I do it with you whose friendship has meant and does mean so much to me. Perhaps because it means so much I feel stabbed to the heart by your sarcastic remarks about every word. Please get the worry about your flat off your mind. No, I did not know you had ~~an~~ the possibility of a lease and for 27 shillings a week. I wonder why people offered to pay more for the second than the ~~third~~ first floor which you yourself told me was preferable. Or the two floor flat down below. Anyhow you are as secured with me as if you had let the place for a whole year. I will pay for it as long as I use it. And I will leave nothing undone to let it if I have to go.

Yes, indeed I asked you to come to London. But have you not assure me over and over again that you want to be with me and help me in my work? That is why I felt free to ask you. I have appreciated the home you made for me and the comforts. But I should not have enjoyed either for a moment if I did not know that you shared everything there was to share on an equal basis. So why repeats this once more when you have told me that over so many times, your coming to London and fixing up the apt. I loved it and I have written my Stella and all my friends how wonderful it was to have a home and a companion so kind and devoted as you have been.

You write about the payment for the furniture

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029110

[Letter, 19]37 May 9, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4128

that it cost £34 and I had paid you five from Paris, ten in Jan. and ten in Feb. That would actually leave only nine pounds. According to the stubs of my check book ~~xxxxxx~~ I also gave you a check of £10-5 March 9th which included the March payment of five for the furniture and the rent, and I ~~xxxxxx~~ I paid ~~xxxxxx~~ the last payment together with the April rent £ten pond for March and April instead of what was coming to you as per your own statement in the account of you last letter. Now if you have paid interest on the debt please let me know. I certainly do not want you to lose a farthing on me. I feel rotten enough that nothing came from the damned art exhibition as I had fully intended to pay you a decent salary for your help. Since that failed not because of any fault of mine I was glad I could share our little meagre and our living. Not for worlds would I stand any loss for you. I hope you realize that. If I mentioned the couple of shilling for the bread, or the last order of liquor it was only because you told me the £8-16 included all that. You must have forgotten it because you were so ill on the day of your departure. I am sorry you found it necessary to be so categorical and harsh in saying "Not my affair". Alright my dear. It certainly is not worth wrangling about it, or the shilling a week for the stairs. If I mentioned this it was more because you told me Winnie only gets five shillings a week and 6d for the laundry. Poor Winnie thought I am not believing her when she said you ~~xxxxxx~~ had been paying her 6/6 instead of 5/6. I am afraid to use the term "puny". For you may again give it some meaning it was never intended.

How easily you are picking at every word is my pseudo offense about de la Liotte. Now, I did not say he was light weight in complaint. I was only too grateful the audience had something to laugh about. I laughed myself. But that does not change the fact that he is very light weight. I meant his value as an artist, not his fun. You even found fault with that. I fear I am in the position of the poor shoe maker apprentice. He was blamed for everything by his master even for the labor pains of his masters wife. Well, I can only hope that you will soon be your old self again, the old Auntie you understood. With whom it was a joy to be and so soothing to talk to.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522041

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

to M. Netlau

copy
May 9th 1937

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of violent vituperation reached me soon enough. I did not reply soon; firstly because I was taken up with a big venture with Spain., and secondly I did not wish to write under the impression of your attack, - I might have said some unkind things, and I certainly do not want to be guilty of that where you are concerned. So I waited until I would be rested a bit from the strenuous efforts I had made in organising a concert which I undertook three months ago, and which only took place last Sunday. It was successful in a musical sense, but that would not appeal to you very much, I am afraid. I still remember when you "chaperoned" me to a concert though you yourself disliked the music. Financially, the affair will not bring half of what I expected. Still, in view of the English condition and the fact that we have no movement to speak of, 200 pounds or more are not to be feared be deprecated. But, as I said the result is in no way to be compared with the terrific amount of labour and anxiety put into the venture.

I confess, I do not know where to begin to answer your letter. One thing is certain: I never thought you capable of such an outbreak and such intolerance, for a man who has always stood up for the utmost liberty even to the extent of being impatient with organizational work, your letter is certainly the most intolerant outbreak I have read in a long while. Now, mind you, I agree with you that the comrades in Holland to continue to be pacifist in the face of the grave dangers from the Fascist pest, is, to say the least of it, childish, so is the criticism of some of the comrades in Toronto of the things the CNT-FAI are doing. First let me say you right about Toronto, those who denounced the entry of comrades into the government were not Anarchists at all. Actually, the comrades we have got in Toronto are heart and soul with the Revolution in Spain and have demonstrated their solidarity in a number of ways. You are therefore doing them an injustice in lumping them together with a lot of outsiders who were never in our ranks. But even they should be granted the right to question the consistency of Anarchists who have repudiated Governments all their lives now being in the same Councils with the Government.

As to the comrades in Holland, they surely are entitled to the right of criticism; they are people who have carried on anti-military work for nearly half a century. They are the direct descendants of Domela Nieuwenhuis' anti-military work. They fanatically sincere and they have proven themselves of sterling quality and courage not only in speech or press, but also by many of them going to prison again and again rather than to join the army. I must protest, therefore, against your condemnation of these people, though I, myself, am opposed to their attitude as regards Spain. Certainly they do not deserve the "nice" names you give them.

The Emma Goldman Papers

840522041

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

As regards your impatience with me,--to call it mildly--I can only explain it by your complete reversal of mind and feeling. It is not so very long ago--not more than 3 or 4 years,--when you showed no understanding or sympathy with Syndicalism, when you thought it more advisable for Anarchist to Ally themselves with Liberal Democratic elements rather than to bust themselves with bringing to life large economic organizations. Now you have no patience whatever with comrades who refuse to see in the leading Anarchists in Spain demigods whose actions are not to be questioned. Don't you consider this rather a plunge from your former attitude? Your former position regarding all Government and their danger?

As to your "kindly" tribute to me for my "hominous offense in my statement that appeared in the 'Fr. Arb&St,' and 'Spain and the World', really dear Comrade, you seem to have become a regular heresy-hunter, for no one else among the hundreds of comrades and friends who have read the statement have complained of a single infraction of loyalty on my part. Far from criticising the CNT-Fai in my statement, I go out of my way to explain them to the comrades who had asked for light on what seemed to them a breach of principle and rather a useless compromise. I was astounded, therefore, to find that you charge me with "lèse-majesté".

Granted that I were guilty of that, I should consider it a sad day for the Spanish Anarchists if their comrades no longer had the right to express their opinions frankly and honestly. I am quite certain that the comrades in Spain would repudiate such a thing, and I do not think you are rendering them very great service by putting yourself up as "judge and executioner" of everyone who does not happen to approve of every step and decision taken by prominent members of the CNT-Fai. How does that compare with your condemnation of the Bolsheviks and their dictatorship? You could not make peace with them, yet you seem to be anxious to put a gag in everybody's mouth--is that not dictatorship?

Moreover, even if my article had contained criticism or condemnation, you as the ultra-libertarian in our movement should not attack me as you have done; but I insist that unless you have become super-sensitive in regard to the least disagreement with some of our Spanish comrades, you could not possibly have found anything objectionable on my part. As I just wrote Alexander Shapiro, I am the unfortunate orphan who was condemned for what she did not. ~~He~~ has attacked me for going back on my Anarchist ideas because I am not critical of the compromise in the CNT and you attack me because I appear to have been critical. Fortunately I have never been able to be "all things to all men". I have gone my own way, though often condemned and burnt in oil by my own comrades, and I mean to continue to my last breath to uphold what I consider right and attack what seems to me to be wrong, which does not seem to me to say that I consider myself infallible, but it does mean that, in order to be true to myself, I must decide my own actions and reactions myself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p.; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Now while I am heart and soul with the struggle of the Spanish comrades, and while I have done my utmost to plead their cause, for which I would cheerfully give my life, I must insist that they are vulnerable: they have made terrible mistakes which are already bearing fruit. I hold Federica Montseny, Garcia Oliver and several others of the leading comrades responsible for the gains made by the Communists and for the danger now threatening the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI. My very first interview with these two comrades have shown me that they are on the "border-line" of Reformism. I had never met Oliver before, but I had met Federica in 1929. The change, since the Revolution swept her forward to the highest top-notch as leader, was only too apparent. I was strengthened in that impression every time I talked to her about the compromise she and the others had made. It was too obvious to me that these comrades were working into the hands of the Soviet Government. That in showing their gratitude to Stalin and his regime (though why they needed gratitude in addition to the gold Stalin received for whatever he gave in arms, I do not know) dire results were sure to follow. Incidentally, it also meant the betrayal of our comrades in the concentration camps and prisons of Russia. I never saw a greater breach of faith with Anarchist principles than the joint "love-feast" of the CNT-FAI with the Russian satraps in Barcelona. It was a sight for the gods, to see Garcia Oliver and the Russian Council competing with each other in the glowing tribute to the Soviet Government, or the eulogies that appeared daily in the "Solidaridad Obrera". Not a word did the paper, or Oliver, or Federica have to say about the Russian people, about the fact that the Russian revolution has been castrated and that Stalin's henchmen are responsible for tens of thousands of lives. It was a disgraceful affair - unnecessary and humiliating. I have not written about this to anyone, dear comrade, although I felt indignation and could have cried out my contempt of the so-called leaders in the CNT-FAI.

Granted that to save the anti-fascist situation arms from Russia were needed, but why was it necessary to make it more than a business deal, for which Spain paid heavily in gold and the CNT paid in loss much of its position and its strength? Surely no one with any clear vision could be blinded to the motive of Russia's sudden "interest", after three and a half months of the Anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. Now the real motive is beginning to be recognised by the very people who sang hosannah to comrade Stalin; it was for no other reason than to get possession of Madrid and, if possible to increase the armed Communist forces in the rest of Spain, in anticipation of the "happy" moment when the Anarchists can be exterminated as they have been in Russia. By right I should have given this to the public. I should have written all about this. My silence was, in a measure, consent of the betrayal of the comrades in Russia. I readily admit that. I did not do it because I did not have the heart to expose Federica and the others in our press outside of Spain. Yet you come along and throw brimstone and fire on my head because I dared, if you please, to explain some of the blunders of the leading members of the CNT-FAI in my statement. I consider it very unkind, to say the least of it.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[tlau], [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
5 p. ; 29 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

You, assume dear comrade, that I knew nothing about the Spanish movement before I came to Spain. What do you base this assumption on? You seem to forget that we had a very strong Spanish movement in America for many years that I was connected with the "Cultura Proletaria" all through the years when Pedro Estove was editor that I have read nearly everything you and Rucker have written about Spain. Not only that, but I have always held the Spanish Anarchists to be the shining example of consistency, courage and fortitude. Actually, if I had not always believed in the implicit, I should have left Spain after that disgraceful pact between Russians and the leaders of the CNT-FAI, and certainly should not have raised a finger in aid or support. It was precisely because of my abiding faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the Spanish Anarchists, and the certainty that they will wake up soon to the danger of their compromise that gave me courage to go out and work as I have worked in England since I returned here. I do not think therefore that I deserve your censure.

However that is not the important thing— what is of the outmost importance is that our comrades in Spain have had their eyes opened; that they now see the danger lurking in every corner from the Marxists, and that they are coming out openly in their papers and bulletins calling the necessary alarm. The Jesuits of the Stalin brand are hard at work preparing all kinds of pitfalls for the comrades; they are hard at work in every country. In England they spread the rumour that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid. They even succeeded in influencing the Manchester Guardian; as you will see by my letter of protest published in the M.G. of April 24th. In fact, their sudden discovery of Democracy as a beautiful bride is nothing else but the deliberate intention of the Soviet Government to destroy the Revolution in Spain, and they are losing no time to achieve this, I would not be surprised if Cabellero and the Communists were to make a separate peace with France, provided the latter would assure them of safety of their own miserable hides.

All that should never have been given a chance to raise its head. It was done unfortunately, through the compromise of the comrades of the CNT-FAI.

Do not lose any sleepless nights, dear Comrade. I am not writing this to others, and I would not have written it to you had you not delivered yourself of such a ferocious attack on my poor innocent head.

I have asked you once before to write me exactly what you mean about all of us having "frittered away our libertarian Ideas" and not having done enough to make Kropotkin and Bakunin known? I hope you will explain it next time you write. To me it is sheer nonsense, but speaking only for A.B. and myself, I can only say that all our years were devoted to the presentation of the ideas and writings of both Kropotkin and Bakunin. If we did less with Bakunin's works, it is only because we did not have them in English and our work was mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, but to say that we have not done our share in popularizing our teachers' works, is to be guilty of lack of understanding and appreciation of our activities.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] M[ax] Net[tlau], [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Frederico Arcos Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Well, I am afraid we will probably not come to any understanding. You seem to feel about rrdrica and the Urales family as a mother does about her "chicks" nobody must touch them even remotely. I myself admired them for years; I admire her brilliant oratorical abilities, but I can say that she has gone terribly to the right, and wearing a revolver in the belt does not make it any more left. However, I am certain that the comrades, when they come to see that politicians, whether in pants or skirts, whether Anarchist or Socialists, must be watched. They will go from the fundamental principles as they always have in the past.

As the International Anarchist Conference has been postponed until July, I am remaining here until the end of this month. I must go back to give a report of my achievements here, and also to suggest some new method by which our campaign can be developed to spread out so as to reach greater numbers.

Fraternally and affectionately,
(in spite of our disagreements).

The Emma Goldman Papers

901205000

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] Max Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



they do not deserve the "nice" names you give them.

(7)

25224

May 9th, 1937.

Dear Comrade, Max Nettlau

Your letter of violent vituperation reached me soon enough. I did not reply soon, firstly because I was taken up with a big venture for Spain, and secondly, I did not wish to write under the impression of your attack - I might have said some unkind things, and I certainly do not want to be guilty of that, where you are concerned. So I waited until I would be rested a bit from the strenuous efforts I had to make in organising a Concert which I undertook three months ago, and which only took place last Sunday. It was successful in a musical sense, but that would not appeal to you very much, I am afraid. I still remember when you "chaperoned" me to a Concert, though you yourself disliked the music. Financially, the affair will not bring half of what I had expected. Still, in view of English conditions and the fact that we have no movement to speak of, £200 or more are not to be deprecated. But, as I said, the result is in no way to be compared with the terrific amount of labour and anxiety put into the venture.

I confess, I do not know where to begin to answer your letter. One thing is certain: I never thought you capable of such an outbreak, and such intolerance. For a man who has always stood up for the utmost liberty, even to the extent of being impatient with organizational work, your letter is certainly the most intolerant outbreak I have read in a long while. Now, mind you, I agree with you that the comrades in Holland to continue to be pacifist in the face of the grave dangers from the Fascist pest is, to say the least, of it, childish, so is the criticism of some of the comrades in Toronto of the things the CNT - FAI are doing. First let me set you right about Toronto, those who denounced the entry of comrades into the Government were not Anarchists at all. Actually, the comrades we have got in Toronto are heart and soul with the Revolution in Spain and have demonstrated their solidarity in a number of ways; You are therefore doing them an injustice in lumping them together with a lot of outsiders who never were in our ranks. But even they should be granted the right to question the consistency of Anarchists who have repudiated Governments all their lives now being in the same Councils with the Government.

As to the comrades in Holland, they surely are entitled to the right of criticism; they are people who have carried on anti-military work for nearly half a century. They are the direct descendants of Dora Nieuwenhuis's anti-military work. They are fanatically sincere and they have proven themselves of sterling quality and courage not only in speech or press, but also by many of them going to prison again and again rather than to join the army. I must protest, therefore, against your condemnation of these people, though I myself am opposed to their attitude as regards Spain.

The Emma Goldman Papers

901205000

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] Max Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M. Nettlau.

-2-

9/5/37. 25225

As regards your impatience with me - to call it mildly - I can only explain it by your complete reversal of mind and feeling. It is not so very long ago - not more than 3-4 years - when you showed no understanding or sympathy with syndicalism, when you thought it more advisable for Anarchists to ally themselves with Liberal Democratic elements rather than to busy themselves with bringing to life large economic organisations. Now you have no patience whatever with comrades who refuse to see in the leading Anarchists in Spain demigods whose actions are not to be questioned. Don't you consider this rather a plunge from your former attitude? Your former position regarding all governments and their danger?

As to your "kindly" tribute to me for my "heinous" offense in my statement that appeared in the "Fr. Arb.St." and "Spain and The World", really, dear Comrade, you seem to have become a regular heresy-hunter, for no one else among the hundred of comrades and friends who have read the statement have complained of a single infraction of loyalty on my part. Far from criticising the CNT-FAI in my statement, I go out of my way to explain them to the comrades who had asked for light on what seemed to them a breach of principle and rather a useless compromise. I was astounded, therefore, to find that you charge me with "lèse-majesté".

Granted that I were guilty of that, I should consider it a sad day for the Spanish Anarchists if their comrades no longer had the right to express their opinions frankly and honestly. I am quite certain that the comrades in Spain would repudiate such a thing, and I do not think you are rendering them very great service by putting yourself up as "judge and executioner" of everyone who does not happen to approve of every step and decision taken by prominent members of the CNT-FAI. How does that compare with your condemnation of the Bolsheviks and their dictatorship? You could not make peace with them, yet you seem to be anxious to put a gag in everybody's mouth - is that not dictatorship?

Moreover, even if my article had contained criticism or censure on, you as the ultra-libertarian in our movement should not attack me as you have done, but I insist that unless you have become super-sensitive in regard to the least disagreement with some of our Spanish comrades, you could not possibly have found anything objectionable on my part. As I just wrote Alexander Shapiro, I am the unfortunate orphan who was condemned for what she did and condemned for what she did not. He has attacked me for going back on my anarchist ideas, because I am not critical of the compromise in the CNT, and you attack me because I appear to have been critical. Fortunately, I have never been able to be "all things to all men". I have gone my own way, though often condemned and burnt in oil by my own comrades, and I mean to continue to my last breath to uphold what I consider right and to attack what seems to me to be wrong, which does not mean to say that I consider myself infallible, but it does mean that, in order to be true to myself, I must decide my own actions and reactions for myself.

Now, while I am heart-and-soul with the struggle of the Spanish comrades, and while I have done my utmost to plead their cause for which I would cheerfully give my life, I must insist that they are vulnerable: they have made terrible mistakes which are already bearing fruit. I held Federico Montseny, Garcia Oliver and several others of the leading comrades responsible for the gains made by the Communists and for the danger now threatening the Spanish revolution and the CNT-FAI. My very first interview with these two comrades have shown me that they are on the "border-line" of reformism. I had never met Oliver before,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

265

The Emma Goldman Papers

901205000

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] Max Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M. Nettlau.

-3-

9/5/37.

25226

But I had met Federica in 1929. The change since the Revolution swept her forward to the highest top-notch as leader was only too apparent. I was strengthened in that impression every time I talked to her about the compromise she and the others had made. It was too obvious to me that these comrades are working into the hands of the Soviet Government. That in showing their gratitude to Stalin and his regime (though why they needed gratitude in addition to the gold Stalin received for whatever he gave in arms I do not know) dire results were sure to follow. Incidentally, it also meant the betrayal of our comrades in the concentration camps and prisons in Russia. I never saw a greater breach of faith with Anarchist principles than the joint "love-feast" of the CNT-FAI with the Russian satraps in Barcelona. It was a night for the gods to see Garcia Oliver and the Russian Consul competing with each other in the same glowing tributes to the Soviet Government, or the eulogies that appeared daily in the "Solidaridad Obrera". Not a word did the paper, or Oliver, or Federica have to say about the Russian people, about the fact that the Russian Revolution has been castrated and that Stalin's henchmen are responsible for tens of thousands of lives. It was a disgraceful affair — unnecessary and humiliating! I have not written about this to anyone, dear Comrade, although I feel indignation and could have cried out my contempt of the so-called leaders in the CNT-FAI.

Granted that to save the Anti-Fascist situation arms from Russia were needed, but why was it necessary to make it more than a business deal, for which Spain paid heavily in gold and the CNT paid in the loss of much of its position and its strength? Surely, no one with any clear vision could be blinded to the motive of Russia's "hidden" interest, after three-and-a-half months of the Anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. Now the real motive is beginning to be recognized by the very people who sang hosannah to comrade Stalin; it was for no other reason than to get possession of Madrid and, if possible, to increase the armed Communist forces in the rest of Spain, in anticipation of the "happy" moment when the Anarchists can be exterminated, as they have been in Russia. By right, I should have given this to the public; I should have written about all this. My silence was still a measure of consent of the betrayal of the comrades in Russia. I readily admit that. I did not do it because I did not have the heart to expose Federica and the others in our press outside of Spain. Yet, you came along and threw brimstone and fire on my head because I dared, if you please, to explain some of the blunders of the leading members of the CNT-FAI in my statement. I consider it very unkind, to say the least of it.

You assume, dear Comrade, that I knew nothing about the Spanish movement before I came to Spain. What do you base this assumption on? You seem to forget that we had a very strong Spanish movement in America for many years, that I was connected with "Cultura Proletaria" all through the years, which Pedro Esteve was editor, that I have read nearly everything you and Hooker have written about Spain. Not only that, but I have always held the Spanish Anarchists to be a shining example of consistency, courage and fortitude. Actually, if I had not always believed in them implicitly, I should have left Spain after that disgraceful pact between Russia and the leaders of the CNT-FAI, and certainly should not have raised a finger in their aid or support. It was precisely because of my abiding faith in the Revolutionary resiliency of the Spanish Anarchists, and the certainty that they will wake up soon to the danger of their compromise that gave me courage to go out and work as I have worked in England since I returned here. I do not think, therefore, that I deserve your censure.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

901205000

[Letter] 1937 May 9 [London to] Max Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

M. Nettlau.

- 4 -

9/5/37.

25227

However, that is not the important thing - what is of utmost importance is that our comrades in Spain have had their eyes opened; that they now see the danger lurking in every corner from the Marxists, and that they are sounding out openly in their papers and Bulletins, calling the necessary alarm. The Jesuits of the Stalin brand are hard at work preparing all kinds of pitfalls for the comrades; they are hard at work in every country. In England they spread the rumour that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid. They even succeeded in influencing the "M.Guardian", as you will see by my letter of protest published in the "M.G." of April 24. In fact, their sudden discovery of Democracy as a beautiful bride is nothing else but the deliberate intention of the Soviet Government to destroy the Revolution in Spain, and and they are losing no time to achieve this. I would not be surprised if Caballero and the Communists were to make a separate peace with France, provided the latter would assure them of safety of their own miserable hides. All that should never have been given a chance to raise its head. It was done, unfortunately, through the compromise of the comrades of the CNT-FAI.

Do not lose any sleepless nights, dear Comrade. I am not writing this to others, and I would not have written about it to you had you not delivered yourself of such a ferocious attack on my poor innocent head.

I have asked you once before to write me exactly what you mean about all of us having "frittered away our libertarian ideas" and not having done enough to make Anarchism and Bakunin known? I hope you will explain it next time you write. To me it is sheer nonsense, but speaking only for A.B. and myself, I can only say that all our years were devoted to the presentation of the ideas and writings of both Anarchism and Bakunin. If we did less Bakunin's works, it is only because we did not have them in English and our work was mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, but to say that we have not done our share in popularising our teachers' works, is to be guilty of lack of understanding and appreciation of our activities.

Well,

When I am afraid we will probably not come to any understanding. You seem to feel about Federica and the Urales family as a mother does about her "chicks": nobody must touch them even remotely. I myself have admired them for years; I admire her brilliant oratorical abilities, but I can say that she has feet of clay, and I can see no reason why it should not be admitted. She has gone terribly to the right, and wearing a revolver in the belt does not make it any more left. However, I am certain that the comrades, when they come to see that politicians, whether in pants or skirts, whether Anarchists or Socialists, must be watched. They will go from the fundamental principles as they always have in the past.

As the International Anarchist Conference has been postponed until July, I am remaining here until the end of this month. I must go back to give a report of my achievements here, and also to suggest some new methods by which our campaign can be developed to spread out so as to reach greater numbers.

Fraternally and affectionately,
(in spite of our disagreements).

I can't see the necessity now of keeping the fact any of our comrades.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

267

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005270

[Letter] 1937 May 10, Jerusalem [to Emma] Goldman, [London] / Mary Feivel. — 1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

P.S. The #2-1-1 enclosed

is from her friends here. 17-1

20250
28, Gaza Street,
Jerusalem.

10th May 1937.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter. I wish I had been at the Concert and heard Robeson sing.

I don't think it would be worth your while to undertake the long journey to Palestine. True, the Jewish population here is intellectually exceptionally lively, eager, and interested in the world struggle against fascism. But at the same time, the objective political situation is very difficult. 95% of the Jewish workers, or about 100,000 in all, are organised in the local Trades Union Federation, the Histadrut. ~~MOON~~ Unless the Histadrut officially supported you, your mission would be quite valueless. Many members of the Histadrut, particularly those from Russia and Germany, are as keenly interested in Spain as any groups of workers in the world, but - and this is the decisive fact - the Histadrut is not only a reformist labour body attached to the second international, but a Zionist body. In the present ticklish political situation in the country, in which the fate of Zionism may be decided one way or another, it is out of the question that the Histadrut would do anything which might compromise it with the British Government such as sponsoring a well-known anarchist leader. Without Histadrut support, and against the opposition of the Zionist Organisation, you could not appear.

Actually, the Histadrut has already done a considerable amount - in the circumstances, of course. The labour daily newspaper Davar prints daily detailed news and articles about the Spanish workers' struggle; there are quite a few Palestinians in the international forces, and in the midst of last year's disturbances, the Jewish workers, most of whom are poor enough, managed to collect several thousand pounds to send to Spain. In the various settlements, you can see maps and charts of the War upon the walls; children have been told all about it - in short, the Jews here are as alive to issues as Jews generally all over the world. You see, there is a queer contradiction: subjectively, here, we are very free; objectively, political conditions are totalitarian. My friends and I are only a small group of politically not active people.

I hear that Robeson will soon visit Palestine (he is now in Egypt). I would love to meet him. Do you think you could give me an introduction to him?

Sincerely
Mary Feivel

The Emma Goldman Papers

861027295

[Letter] 1937 May 10, New York [to] Emma Goldman, London / Alfred A. Knopf. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2560



ALFRED A. KNOFF, Inc.
301 MADISON AVENUE
New York

May 10, 1937

Dear Miss Goldman:

Many thanks for your letter of April 30. As a publisher I am always in principle against giving publishing rights away, particularly in Holland where because of the fact that the U.S.A. is not a member of the Berne Convention, ^{Dutch} such publishers consistently and continually help themselves to American books and plays. However, the case of LIVING MY LIFE is a very special one and I am accordingly writing Mr. Eylstra as you suggest and only asking for a royalty after the sale of five thousand copies - a figure which I believe, from what you say, they are most unlikely to reach.

Your concert must have been a most distinguished affair, but I don't think you should feel too badly if you are finding it difficult to raise money for your Spanish friends. People have so many demands made on them today and I should think the average Englishman would be sufficiently hard put to meet his tax bill.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf

Miss Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington
London, W. 14

b

269

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005149

[Press release, 1937 May 10, New York to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
[Alfred A. Knopf]. — 1 p. ; 20 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

NEWS

of BORZOI BOOKS

ALFRED A. KNOPF 501 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK

-2-

UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATES READ THOMAS MANN

Because of the wide-spread interest in Thomas Mann's work which resulted from his recent visit to this country, the University of Rochester Library has been devoting its reading table during the past two weeks to books by and about Thomas Mann. The University is also encouraging bibliographical research in the periodical literature on Mann.

-oOo-

EMMA GOLDMAN MARCHES ON

Emma Goldman's autobiography, "Living My Life," has been translated into Dutch and will appear in Holland soon, she writes to Mr. Knopf. She is in London where she has been organizing concerts to raise money for the defense of the Spanish government.

-oOo-

THE LONDON OBSERVER CALLS IT "GREAT"

270

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509013

[Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 11 de Mayo de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Comité Nacional,
Sección de Información y Propaganda,
VALENCIA.

Queridos camaradas. Salud.

Otra vez nuestras cartas se han cruzado. Os escribí el 19 de Abril en contestación a vuestra grata 10 del mismo. También os llevo escrito cartas el 1º y 12 de Abril. Por ello me sorprende mucho que vuestra carta 17 de Abril, que sólo llegó a mi poder via Paris el sábado 1º de Mayo, sea únicamente en respuesta a la mia 10 de Marzo, y antes de seguir adelante he de aclarar que si he tardado un poco en contestar a vuestra citada del 17 de Abril, ha sido debido a que la traducción de la presente no ha podido hacerse hasta ahora.

Dudo que mis cartas o las vuestras se pierdan, cabiendo más bien pensar que lo que pasa es que los portadores de mis cartas para vosotros desde Paris y las vuestras para mi, se las quedan en su poder sin darles curso, bastante tiempo. Si ello es así tal negligencia es intolerable e impropia de verdaderos camaradas leales y revolucionarios. Para probar, esta carta la envío directamente a Valencia por correo aéreo; y seguramente no tardará tanto como las otras. Vosotros debéis probar también dicha vía.

Ahora por lo que se refiere a vuestra aludida carta 17 del mes pasado, yo sé muy bien que los comunistas practican su nefasta campaña contra nosotros en todo el mundo. Lo sé por experiencia propia en todos los países en que he dado mítines y conferencias desde 1922, cuando salí de Rusia. Sólo hace tres años, cuando fui admitida nuevamente en los E.U., que fui perseguida por la pandilla de Moscow en cada mitin en que tomé parte. Y lo mismo ocurrió en los países escandinavos y en Inglaterra. Pero yo tenía esperanzas de que su pretendida unidad en España pondría término a estas malas prácticas; al menos hasta que se haya acabado con Franco. Por esta misma razón había siempre tenido cuidado de nombrar a los comunistas en las conferencias de la CNT-FAI desde que comencé mi campaña en este país. Sin embargo, nada que se intente da buenos resultados con dichos individuos. Son jesuitas y han de actuar como tales. Mientras pretenden estar ocupados en la lucha contra el fascismo en unión de la CNT-FAI, en la sombra conspiran en contra de ésta todo el tiempo.

./...

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509013

[Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

...con la CNT-FAI, y la carta, que vi reproducida en el "Manchester Guardian". Como se trata del diario más liberal de Inglaterra, que al mismo tiempo se ocupa con bastante frecuencia de la CNT-FAI, le escribí a la editorial para protestar contra la infundada y aborrecible carta. El punto de controversia es si la carta fue publicada y adjunto le envío copia de la misma, que apareció en el Manchester Guardian del 23 de Abril ppdo. Confío tendréis ahí a alguien que os la pueda traducir y que pueda ser reproducida en FRAGUA SOCIAL. Igualmente he enviado copias a SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA y MUJERES LIBRES. Habréis de comprender, queridos compañeros, que no deseo sea reproducida la mencionada carta en la prensa de España por razones personales. Quiero que el pueblo español se de cuenta de la clase de ataques que algunos de sus aliados se dedican a hacer, y las gestiones que se están llevando a cabo en Inglaterra de nuestra parte, encaminadas a explicar y defender la integridad de la CNT-FAI.

Os agradecerá tener conocimiento de que pudimos conseguir tomar parte en la manifestación del PRIMERO DE MAYO en Londres. A los comunistas no le agradaba la idea de que nuestros camaradas participaran en la manifestación con las banderas de la CNT-FAI, las fotografías de Ascasio y Durruti y muchos de los carteles todavía en mi poder de los que traje de Barcelona. Fué una manifestación gigantesca. Participaron en ella mas de 60.000 trabajadores y otros tantos estaban apostados en todo el trayecto recorrido por los manifestantes. A nadie pudieron haber pasado desapercibidas nuestras banderas y pancartas. Luego tuvimos nuestra plataforma en Hyde Park, histórico sitio en Inglaterra de todas las luchas económicas, desde la cual varios de nosotros dirigimos la palabra al público, bastante numeroso. Cuando os diga que fué la primera vez desde hacía 30 años que los anarquistas habían tomado parte en una manifestación del 1º de Mayo, os daréis cuenta de la significancia del acto, siendo también la primera vez desde el 19 de Julio de 1936 que grandes masas de gente habían visto los símbolos de la CNT-FAI; oído su programa; su heroica lucha en las calles de Barcelona; vuestra intervención desde entonces y la magnífica labor constructiva que habéis venido desarrollando. Como veréis, la campaña empezada aquí en Enero, se puede decir que ha dejado más que demostrado su provecho. Por supuesto, que ninguno de los diarios de los partidos obreros como la prensa capitalista, hicieron referencia alguna a nuestra presencia en la manifestación; pero era de esperar que guardasen silencio. Nosotros haremos una reseña en SPAIN AND THE WORLD, mientras que las masas que vieron a nuestros compañeros en la manifestación no olvidarán tan fácilmente que en Londres hay anarquistas.

Mi pesar, sin embargo, es que existan tan pocos, sobre todo en quienes se pueda tener absoluta confianza: a lo sumo una docena. Mi gran esperanza ahora es que el primer partido anarco-sindicalista organizado por nosotros de fruto. Por separado os enviaré el anuncio y programa publicado por la nueva organización. Este partido es realmente el primer resultado definitivo de propaganda directa en

./...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509013

[Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain: Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

Muchas gracias a la joven camarada y la hija de una antigua
compañera americana, para que se encargaran del Partido Anarco-Sin-
dicalista. Se llama Paula Clemens y espero que pueda atender la
Conferencia Internacional Anarquista en Barcelona. Prometo ser un
buen elemento y su concurso sería valioso caso de que yo consiga po-
der ir a los E.U. por seis meses. No os he hablado antes de esto
porque no estoy del todo segura de que el Gobierno de los E.U. me
permita la entrada en aquel país. No dudo sabéis que nuestro gran
camarada Alejandro Berkman, ya fallecido, y yo fuimos deportados.
En 1934, cuando daba conferencias en el Canadá, unos amigos consi-
guieron me diesen permiso para estar allí tres meses. Estos mismos
amigos trabajan ahora activamente por conseguir se me permita ir
a los E.U., esta vez, por seis meses, y si tienen éxito podré hacer
más allí por vuestra causa en seis meses que aquí en seis años. Allí
soy muy bien conocida y las masas a las cuales puedo hacer llegar
mi voz de mucha más magnitud. Pero todo esto está lejano todavía.
El principal motivo de haber mencionado a la camarada Clemens es pa-
ra que sepáis me ocupo de preparar a alguien que pueda quedarse al
frente de la oficina en Londres de la CNT-FAI cuando yo me vaya, si
esto ocurre. De todas formas, os veré a vosotros y demás camaradas
en Valencia en Junio. Es necesario que hable con vosotros sobre pla-
nes para un trabajo más extensivo aquí por la causa de España. Ello
es imposible hacerlo por carta, con lo que creo vosotros mismos
estaréis de acuerdo.

Mucho me alegra saber, queridos compañeros, que vosotros no
creéis que yo tenga nada que ver con las desafortunadas diferencias
entre nuestros grupos. Verdaderamente tal estado de cosas sólo existe
en Glasgow, Escocia. Siento que hayáis sido molestados con este asun-
to, que si se mira bien no reviste importancia alguna. Nadie sabe
mucho acerca de dichos grupos. Su trabajo es la mar de limitado y el
único daño que causan es a ellos mismos. Desde luego, es triste pensar
pueda haber división alguna entre aquellos que se llaman anarquistas,
a la vista de la sublime lucha que vosotros sostenéis en pro de nues-
tras ideas y por el porvenir de los anarquistas en todo el mundo; pero
con gentes de poco alcance la visión es corta y nada se puede hacer
con ellos. En cuanto a mi, he tenido siempre por norma durante mi
larga vida de actividad, nunca contestar a las calumnias que se he-
chen contra mi, vengan de donde vinieren. En el caso de uno de los
grupos de Glasgow, hasta ahora ni sé el porqué de su antagonismo ha-
cia mi. Estoy demasiado ocupada en cosas más importantes y no vale
la pena molestarse, así es que lo mejor es no prestar atención como
he venido haciendo hasta ahora.

Os envío uno de los carteles anunciadores del concierto cele-
brado el 25 de Abril y también un ejemplar del programa. Musicalmente
resultó una de las mas brillantes funciones en Londres, pero financie-
ramente no produjo tanto como yo esperaba y como habría de ser en pro-
porción con el trabajo realizado. Todavía no se el resultado neto;
aproximadamente £225.- Estoy preparando una memoria detallada de to-
da la campaña, lo que se ha hecho, los gastos incurridos y el dinero
que yo he recaudado. El camarada español que me traduce las cartas

./...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509013

[Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. - 4 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

-4-

Me encargaré de traducir la memoria, la cual llevaré conmigo cuando vaya a España. Todavía me queda mucho que hacer durante el mes en curso; varios mítines que atender de la CNT-FAI, reuniones de correspondencia para MUJERES LIBRES. Estoy tratando de interesar a algunas féminas inglesas en el trabajo de nuestras camaradas en España. Recientemente ayudo a Souchy, poniéndolo en contacto con gente en Inglaterra y los E.U. en relación con la llamada que se ha hecho a la Conferencia Internacional Antifascista.

Por el camarada Vazquez quien me escribió sobre el cuestionario. Acompaño su nota y copia del referido cuestionario. Me ocupo de conseguir direcciones de organizaciones obreras, pero las invitaciones deberían ser enviadas desde España directamente. Si me dáis vuestra conformidad, llevaré las direcciones, y el cuestionario, juntamente con la carta correspondiente, podrá entonces ser despachado cuando llegue a Valencia. Así producirá mejor efecto entre los obreros.

Hablando de mi viaje a Valencia, espero que alguno de vosotros hable francés, pues mi español es muy reducido, si bien ahora lo comprendo mucho más que cuando estuve ahí anteriormente, lo mismo que leo ya con más facilidad las publicaciones en español.

Estaré en Londres hasta el 8 de Junio. Después de esta fecha, durante dos semanas, mis señas serán a/c Mollie Alperine, 23, rue des Volontaires, Paris XV.

Hasta pronto os envía un fraternal abrazo,

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509014

[Letter] 1937 May 11, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London, 11 de Mayo de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Comité Nacional,
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo,
VALENCIA.

Queridos compañeros. Salud:

Unas cuantas líneas para referirme al concierto dado aquí, según ya os he manifestado anteriormente, en el teatro Victoria Palace, el domingo 25 de Abril ppdo. Los auspicios bajo los cuales se celebró dicha función fueron con objeto de recaudar fondos para socorrer a los niños y mujeres españoles víctimas de la tragedia que hoy sufre España, habiendo todos los artistas que tomaron parte prestado su concurso gratuitamente. Ahora bien, lo que hubo de pagarse fué el impuesto sobre espectáculos, cuya devolución puede ser reclamada si se presentan pruebas al efecto de que la función efectivamente fué celebrada para fines benéficas. Así, pues, acompaño a la presente dos modelos de recibo, que suplico me devolváis a vuelta de correo, tanto el texto en español como en inglés, debidamente firmados, con objeto de obtener me sea devuelta la suma de £35.- a que asciende el impuesto en cuestión.

Os suplico no demoréis este asunto, y en espera de vuestras prontas noticias, os saluda vuestra y de la causa,

cf G

275

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005087

[Letter] 1937 May 11 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20029

11 de Mayo de 1937.

Queridos camaradas!

Hoy os he enviado por correo aereo una larga carta en contestacion a la vuestra. Dicha carta fue traducida y estaba lista para poner al correo el dia ocho pero tuve que retenerla hasta recibir la cantidad realizada en el concierto, la que solo he recibido hoy. Os he pedido un recibo por la suma de 200 libras el cual os presentare a estas auto liquidaciones de aduanas a fin de que me sean devueltas las 35 libras que cargaron en concepto de impuesto, asi que os ruego no demorais el envio del recibo en ingles y espanol, segun lempuareis incluidos en mi carta, a vuelta de correo.

Esta noche tengo la suerte de tener aqui al camarada que me hace las traducciones de vuestras cartas y las mias a vosotros, de modo que tomo la oportunidad para contestaros a vuestra carta del 27 de abril. En ella decis que no habeis recibido ninguna de las cartas que os mande por mi en mi carta 13 de abril. O puedo comprenderlo, a menos que las cartas para vosotros estan siendo interceptadas o negligentemente distribuidas por las personas a quienes se encomienda su entrega. De todas formas, he resuelto enviar todas mis cartas por avion. Confio que las recibireis con mas regularidad y sin que se pierdan.

Queridos camaradas, perdoname si os digo que vuestra forma de pensar sobre los camaradas fuera de Espana es algo fuerte y no concuerda con la realidad, porque Borghi y otros pocos aqui y alli critiquen a la CNT-FAI y las concepciones que han hecho al Gobierno de cataluna y al Gobierno central no es mucha que "todos" los anarquistas en los demas paises hacen lo mismo. A decir verdad, los camaradas fuera de Espana, han tomado una posicion definitiva con Vds. desde los dias desde el 19 de Julio, y aun cuando no puedan aprobar todos los pasos dados por vosotros, sin embargo nunca han expresado sus diferencias en publico ni tampoco han dejado de prestar en todo momento celo y devocion a vuestra lucha. Esto es particularmente verdad de nuestros camaradas en America, ellos han colectado largas sumas de dinero; han organizado grandes mitines publicos y estan publicando "Spanish Revolution". Desde Julio 19 los camaradas judios y americanos han concentrado en la edicion Espanola, siempre hablando del valor y trabajo de la CNT-FAI con exclusion de casi todos otros sujetos. Lo mismo se puede decir con respecto a Inglaterra. Aunque el movimiento aqui es sumamente pequeno y lo pocos camaradas que tenemos estan sin trabajo y son muy pobres, me han dado, no obstante toda la ayuda que les ha sido posible, en trabajo de organizacion. Si no han podido

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

276

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005087

[Letter] 1937 May 11 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

20030

hacer mas se debe a su pequen numero y a que no tienen influencia. Es, por consiguiente algo drastico de vuestra parte el culpar a los anarquistas en America e Inglaterra de tales cargos. No puedo expresar opinion acerca de Francia como puedo sobre Inglaterra y America con la misma conciencia de causa, pero se que la mayoria de los camaradas tambien han sido ardientes en su ayuda a vuestra lucha y que han hecho lo que han podido por ayudar a la CNT-FAI. Pero yo comprendo vuestra amargura. Estais en el sitio donde se batalla y estais sacrificando todo por salvar a Espana del fascismo, pero no debeis olvidar que vosotros, fuera de Espana, sois bombardeados en todos los mitines con toda clase de preguntas acerca de vuestra lucha y sobre las concesiones que habeis hecho al Gobierno central. No podemos decir de ninguna manera que estanos de acuerdo con todas vuestras medidas. No seria honesto hacia vosotros, la Revolucion o nuestra propia posicion. Solo podemos explicar, como vosotros mismos, que vuestras acciones os han sido puestas por las circunstancias. No creo que ninguno de nosotros sea culpables del resentimiento que despleais en vuestra carta. Pero no importa, queridos camaradas, yo se como esta vuestro animo, y por eso es por lo que yo no haria nada que pudiera en lo mas minimo perjudicar la CNT-FAI o su lucha.

Tengo que convenir con vosotros que estais en lo cierto en cuanto concierne a Borghi, quien hizo tan poco para parar la maquina destructora de Mussolini. Creo que deberia ser el ultimo en condenar nada de lo hecho por la CNT-FAI. Pero muchas personas tienen la idea que ellos, en lugar de otros, lo harian mucho mejor. Esta es una falta humana en general. Tambien es lastima que seais tan sensitivos a toda critica. Sobre esto debo llamaros la atencion a algo que nuestro gran camarada Peter Kropotkin. Ocurrio durante la gran guerra. Por todo lo que nosotros en America ~~ah~~ eramos su discipulos aborreciamos no estar de acuerdo con su posicion sobre la guerra, sin embargo estabamos moralmente obligados a escribir en contra de ella. Asi y todo tan grande y magnanimo era Kropotkin que el dijo "es doloroso que los discipulos de uno no esten de acuerdo conmigo, pero como anarquistas debemos reconocer el derecho de nuestros companeros a criticarnos y a no estar de acuerdo con nosotros". No creis, queridos camaradas, que vosotros tambien no deberias denunciar a los camaradas que en algunos momentos no estan del todo de acuerdo con vosotros. Como vosotros, ellos son anarquistas. Y para que existe el anarquista si no es para expresar las ideas de uno. No obstante, una sola es cierta. Ni un solo camarada fuera de Espana, cuyo trabajo yo conozca, no ha levantado un dedo en contra vuestra o ha hecho nada para entorpecer vuestra lucha. Mas bien los camaradas estan luchando en todas partes con los comunistas y sus metodos oscuros de dar malas interpretaciones a los metodos de la CNT-FAI. No debeis de olvidar esto.

Comprenderas que yo he estado en una situacion de animo muy tremendo con respecto a los sucesos en Barcelona. La prensa capitalista en esta plaza han estado llena de toda clase de mentiras, pero como no he recibido noticia alguna ni de vosotros ni del Comité Regional, no he podido desmentir todas las historias que han sido publicadas acerca de nuestras camaradas. El sabado pasado el Manchester Guardian me pidio un articulo sobre los sucesos en Barcelona,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

277

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005087

[Letter] 1937 May 11 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 3 -

20031

pero tuve que rehusar porque no tenia datos de ninguna clase. Esto ha sido una de los mayores obstaculos en mi trabajo aqui. Sin comunicacion telefonica directa con vosotros, sin telegrama, en fin nada en que poder formar una opinion en tan importante ocasion como lo ocurrido ultimamente. Esta es una de las muchas cosas sobre la que deseo hablar con vosotros cuando vaya a esa, para que mi trabajo futuro en Inglaterra resulte mas eficiente y de mayor servicio. Todavia tengo varias cosas que terminar aqui y mi correspondencia que ordenar. La proxima semana empezare una memoria detallada de todo lo que ha sido hecho, de todo el dinero colectado y una cuenta de los gastos. Alrededor del 8 de Junio ire a Paris y despues a Espana. Confio que no encontrare dificultad para hacer el viaje, si bien estoy determinada a ir, aun cuando qu tenga que saltar los Pirineos.

Cuando me escribais de nuevo, hagan el favor de decirme si teneis en esas Oficinas alguien que hable frances, ingles o aleman. He hecho algunos progresos en espanol. Puedo leer, aunque no sea todas las palabras. Y comprendo cuando se me habla, pero la lengua se me traba cuando intento hablarlo. Asi, pues, confio tendreis a alguien en Valencia que pueda actuar de interprete.

Saludos fraternales a todos los camaradas.

Escribidme aqui hasta el ocho de Junio, Despues a Roco o al cuidado de Calvez.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 12, London [to] Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20192

London May 12th 37.

Dearest Anita, dear Ann.

At last I am able to write you. Believe me I spent three mad months trying to carry out this crazy idea of mine of a theatre venture that would bring a large sum of money for the struggle of the CNT-FAI. It was a venture that needed a large organisation or at least fifty people to make it a success. I did not have a baker's dozen. And so after three months strenuous effort I brought about a very artistic affair from the musical standpoint. But all that was realized are £200. We may have another £35 if the Customs authorities will release us from the amusement tax. True £200, over twenty thousand francs of English conditions and the bitterest opposition from the Communists is not a small sum. But it does not compare with the labor and worry put into the venture. Well, it is over. That is a comfort. For, I was really getting unfit for human association.

I feel sure you were as distressed over the events in Barcelona as I, except that you may have gotten better direct news than I did. One of the most aggravating side of my campaign in London was the difficulty of getting material and information about the situation in Spain. One is ever so much more cut off from Barcelona in London than you are in Paris. It has not been quite so bad the last six weeks because I had to deal with the CNT-FAI in Valencia. At least the National Comité proved more punctual. You will not believe it when I tell you that in all the months since we left Spain I had not a word from the Comité Regional or from Carbo. I had letter more often from Soucy, and Martin wrote occasionally. But Valencia was prompt writing almost every week.

I dare say the uprising in Barcelona was ~~surprising~~ nor more surprising to you than it was to me. The events while we were still there showed only too clearly that the CNT-FAI will pay dearly for the concessions they made to the government, and even more so to Russia. True they were forced by circumstan

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005163

[Letter, 19]37 May 12, London [to] Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20193

I realized that. Yet the fact remains that one cannot hope to escape the consequences of one's acts. It giving way inch by inch from their vantage point the CNT-FAI ~~increased~~ ^{increased} the arrogance of ~~the~~ Caballero and the Communists. These politicians knew that so long as the CNT-FAI will retain their arms they will be in their way to power and to some kind of a rotten pact with Franco. Hence Caballero sent his troops to disarm the workers and take possession of the Telephone building where our comrades had taken up their position of defense. I gathered this not only from a little French Anarchist paper which seems to be very well informed, but also from an article in the Manchester Guardian of the 11th. The man writes very cautiously. Yet it is only too obvious that the Central Government in connivance with the Generalidad actually did send the assault police and troops to disarm our people. It is awful to think of such an outrage. But as I said the leaders of the CNT-FAI really have themselves to blame.

The toll of the dreadful skirmish seems to be high, among the Anasios brother whom we met at the Huesca front. I also heard that Berneri was killed. I shudder to think that he should have met with death. He was not only the bravest among the Italians but the finest head since Malatesta. I still hope it may not be true. You can imagine how distressed and grieved I feel and how I fear for the revolutionary achievement of the CNT-FAI. I can hardly wait until I can get back to Spain. I am planning to leave here the first week in June for Paris for ten days or two weeks. Then to Spain no matter by what means. I want to see the changes not for the better I fear. I have to confer with the National Comité of the CNT-FAI about my future work for Spain and I have to attend the International Anarchist Conference as the delegate of several groups in America and Canada. Lastly but not least I must get new impressions. So I am going to Spain.

Dear friends I feel very relieved that I failed so miserably with your MSS, and that my good friend Arthur Leonard Rosa did. I inclose his last letter which I did not send you because I asked him to try once more with some other publisher. But I am no longer hopeful that your MSS will be accepted. My only consolation is that it has been accepted by a French publisher. I wonder has the work appeared already?

My dears it may be difficult to find a room for me with many people coming to Paris for the exhibition. In case Mollie fails to find a room in the small hotel near her could you put me up. ~~There~~ It will not be so hard to go back and forth from your place when the weather is warm. Will you let me know? Please be quite frank about it I will understand. You may expect visitors or there may be other reasons that will make it impossible to have me. I will understand.

Write me soon please.

Auf baldigern Wiedersehn. Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519586

[Letter, 19]37 May 12 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 26 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox
and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

May 12th 37.

My dear Emmy.

I am very glad that you freed yourself of the thought that I wanted to hurt you in any way. I do not mean to say that ~~immediately~~ I was not at fault. I should have sent your post card to Auntie with greater care and I should not have written you in haste. My only excuse is my preoccupation with the Concert the worry and anxiety about its outcome. Believe me my dear for three months I spent sleepless nights from oppression that I had undertaken more than I can carry and into which I poured money for someone that was not mine. However even that was not enough to do you an injustice. I am glad indeed that you have accepted my apology and that you know I will never fail you in time of need or trouble.

Well, the Concert is over. The results was hardly worth the slavery and anxiety of three months. Still \$200 are not so little for those who are homeless and in great misery. It is much for English conditions, and even in France I could hardly have realized over twenty thousand francs from a Concert or any other affair. But I am greedy when it comes the needs of the Spanish people. I had hoped to realize at least five hundred pounds. I went to my flat after the Concert weary and bitterly disappointed. It was foolish and unreasonable I know. But one cannot help feeling battered when one plunges deeply from the heights of ones hopes and ones passionate desires. The accounts are now completely in. I am only waiting to see if the Customs will return the \$35 amusement tax which the theatre was forced to pay even before they sent me their check for the sales of tickets. If we are lucky to get that returned the Concert will leave us \$200. A complete statement had to be prepared for the Customs. That kept me busy the last two weeks. But now it has gone and I am able to turn to other matters, clearing out the mountain of American mail, darn stockings and mend my clothes and leave every thing in order in the flat.

Hollie Harris is due next Sunday. I do not think she will be satisfied or comfortable in our flat. It is very small and the beds, narrow divans are far from soft. But one cannot give more than one has. Hollie will be my guest for a week or so. Then if she wants to remain on when I leave London I will arrange with her about the flat. If not I will have to keep it anyhow because I must have a place to return to when I get back from Spain.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 12 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 26 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

You ask about my plans. For the present I mean to leave London about the first week in June, come to Paris for a week ~~or ten days or two weeks~~. Then either go direct to Spain or go down to St Tropez for a few days. It will be the last time to see Ben Spriet where I have known great and deep sorrow and also much joy. It will be the last time because my agent has found a buyer. I am waiting for Stoins authorization for his piece to close the deal. It will be with a very heavy heart to let it go. But it cannot be helped. I am frightfully hard up. I must do some thing for my brother and Mabsie. He no longer has his government job and Mabsie is herself an invalid for years and will only be able to take an occasional case of nursing. Even if my two devoted souls had not supported me for three years I should have no peace if I could not arrange to send them a little every month. Moo has been as my own child and so has Mabsie since she came to live. and of course I want to send you some money at least for a year. So Dear Emmy don't get it into your head I am selling Ben Spriet for your sake. I am doing it for all our sakes. I could never live there alone again, and I am desperately broke. So what is the use keeping it, anyhow I want to go to St Tropez for a few days. The Sandströms have offered to put me up. Then I want to go to Nice to see Sachas grave once more. Dear Monore and Nellie have gone out and have planted flowers, and there is the tablet Monore has put up for me. Of course all this is not for the dead. But in case anyone who loved Sachas should want to go out to his grave ~~they should not find it neglected~~.

My plans when I come out of Spain will depend and whether my friends in America will succeed in getting me a visa. If they do I will sail for the States in August. If they fail I will have to go back to England and resume the campaign for Spain. In any event I must keep Aunties flat until August when I will know more than I do now whether it will continue to be my home or not. Naturally, I will try to find a tenant for the flat if I go to America.

About a room in Paris, I stopped at a little Hotel near Nellie. I have asked her to see whether a room will be vacant for June 8th for two weeks. I want to live near Nellie and Sachas, ~~because~~ and it will save me eating in restaurants as I always share the food with them. If she cannot get a room in the hotel I may go to German friends of mine who travelled with me in Spain. They wanted me to stop with them last time I was in Paris. But they live in the XVII arrondissement and the weather was too beastly in the winter to go back and forth at night. Now that it is warm it will not matter so much. I am writing them to find out whether they could have me for two weeks. They may have visitors for the exhibition. I will see. At any rate you need not bother about a room for me.

This is the month of May, the one month that had meant so much in Sachas and my life and work. Pretty soon it will

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Yes, I will bring your good carbon and a ribbon affectionately.

COMMITTEE TO AID
HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

283

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109076

[Letter] 1937 May 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ollie] S[teimer]. — 3 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Paris May 12th 1937

Dearest Emma,

Roc

I just received a copy of the NEWS CHRONICLE. I presume that you were the one to send it. Thank you. The statement that it was the TROTSKYISTS who rebelled and not the Anarchists, was equally made by MOSCOW and -- to the shame of all of us -- the SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA official organ of the CNT of May 8th 1937, carried a statement which was just as bad as the ^{one} published by the french Stalinist organ de l'HUMANITE where the true revolutionaries were proclaimed, des agents provocateurs, des agents d'Hitler et de Mussolini etc. I say much worse, because of the Communist paper, one can expect nothing better. Wasn't it Moscow who gave the order to disarm and thereby get rid of the Anarchists? But, that the official organ of the CNT should become the INSTRUMENT of the Moscow manoeuvres is a terrible disgrace and the worst crime committed against the militants of the CNT who participate in the defense of the revolution. For, the fight is not altogether finished. It is still going on, whether the 'Soli' approves of it or not.

Was your reply to my letter where I criticised the attitude of the leading element in the CNT-FAI, -- you remember it was after the paper: l'ESPAGNE ANTI-FASCISTE had been closed up by the CNT -- you were not only bitter, but very unfair and I decided not to discuss with you any more the situation in Spain. For I am convinced that the time will prove to you better than any one else, that the CNT-FAI not only committed a grave error by joining the Government, but that the leading element representing these organizations in the Government machine became corrupted by the power invested in their hands, and that they have caused THE RUIN of the Catalonian revolution instead of leading it to a successful end.

However, as I said, I do not want to discuss with you now. I just consider it my duty to inform you of the following facts:

Yesterday, a comrade came from Barcelona. He said the fight started when the Government sent armed police into the telephone building to disarm the workers of whom the majority belonged to the CNT. These refused

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109076

[Letter] 1937 May 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ollie] S[teimer]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Roc

to disarm. However the police began to use force. Comrades defended themselves and their position was excellent, but they gave up due to the continued calls on the part of the CNT-FAI leaders to cease the bloodshed. That the battle in the Telephone Building was the ^{beginning} ~~beginning~~ of a general uprising against the decree of the Government to disarm the Anarchists. In the uprising participated the Libertarian youth, the Friends of Durruti, members of the CNT-FAI who do not agree with the officials, and the POUM. Federica Montseny and Garcia Oliver were in Barcelona when the fights were going on the streets. The appeals made by the CNT-FAI to stop fighting were devoid of every revolutionary enthusiasm and caused great disappointment among those who came out to give their lives for the cause of liberty. And what is more, not only didn't our official leaders help the revolt, they are even hushing up every possible injustice committed by the PSUC! All this, of course, for the sake of the "unity" that is supposed to win the war! Again, I advise you read the Soli of May 8th. You will probably not believe your own eyes. They damn everybody who still has in him the spirit of revolt against all the compromises made of late, as an agent de France!

Our great and beloved comrade CAMILLO BERNERI was assassinated by the PSUC! That is by the Stalinists! Yet the CNT-FAI did not consider it advisable to announce the ^{of the funeral} ~~day and the hour~~ of the greatest loss to the Italian Anarchist movement (and to the An. Movement in general) Camille, in order to avoid trouble.....

Berneri was - and remained to the very end - a consistent Anarchist. This is why he had to pay the price! His own letter to F. Montseny - which is the best thing written since the events of July 19th was hushed up by CNT-FAI press, and published so far, in the *Quatre Glans* the Italian paper, and the *REVUE INTERNATIONALE* (anarchist magazine).

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109076

[Letter] 1937 May 12, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / M[ollie] S[teimer]. — 3 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

 Roc

I am sending you a copy of the letter. Do read it carefully and you will understand why the enemies of the revolution killed him. Am also sending you the Radio talk of the CNT-FAI made by our dear Abe. He and his companion reached Barcelona May 30th. Of all the Radio speakers he has been (until now) THE ONLY ONE who gives facts as they are - even if these facts are against the Communists. He speaks like an Anarchist, while the others are either reading official communiques, or reading ^{published} articles written in the Bulletins long ago.

During the last week, no one spoke in the German language.

Yesterday, Senya and I spoke for over 4 hours to Meca. As the representative of the CNT in Paris, he is well informed of what goes on now. For he is in daily contact with Barcelona and Valencia. Yet, we couldn't get out a single thing from him, besides the official statements that he issues to the press! He has only one motto: "Win the war".

About the Anarchist Congress. It is doubtful if it will take place. But, in view of the growing unrest among the rank and file of Anarchists in France, the Anarchist Union has decided to ask the FAI to accept an international delegation composed of comrades representing the different tendencies in the Anarchist movement and explain to them their stand.

M.S.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001080

[Letter, 1937 May 13, London to] Abe [and] Selma [Bluestein, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 16 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Abe, dear Selma.

I have been in a sickening state of apprehension about the situation in Barcelona, and about you both. The events we had foreseen and predicted came sooner than we had anticipated. They must have come as a terrible shock to you. Perhaps it is just a shock that you came face to face with it. I wonder what is going to happen now? I wish I could hear from you. I fear your plan of remaining in Spain for a long time may not be feasible if things do not improve and our comrades do not insist on regaining their hold on the situation. You must keep me informed.

I am busy straightening out my affairs so I can leave for Paris early in ~~July~~ June. The news I had from Paris has paralysed my desire to go to Spain. Yet I will have to go to give an account of my campaign here and the possibilities for the future. I cling to the hope that the report from Paris is exaggerated. I am heart broken now.

Give my love to Martin, tell him I wrote him at length and I sent the letter by air mail. Ask him to write me soon.

With love to both of you.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001079

[Letter, 19]37 May 13 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19528

May 13th 37.

Dear Augustine.

I am really sick with anxiety about the events in Barcelona. I understand perfectly that it was difficult for you to write. Still I should have had if only a few lines. Not only because I could have disproved the lies in the press here (The Manchester Guardian asked for an article) but also for our own peace of mind I should have had something to go by. Of course the conflict did not come as a surprise to me. I saw too clearly when I was in Spain what is likely to follow. I wish our comrades of the CIT-RAI had ~~more~~ foreseen the consequences of their steps. But it is naive to act wisely and say, "I told you so". The price they paid and will yet have to pay seems appalling. It is of course easy to blame our people who are facing the whole brunt. I have steadfastly refused to do so. I have tried hard to reason with our comrades outside of Spain to help them understand the situation. But the dreadful skirmish and loss of life not to speak of the injury to the anti Fascist struggle will only go to convince them that they and not I were right. I don't give a damn for that. But I do want to be in a position to know the facts and to write about them in order to help the CIT-RAI and put them straight before the world and our European and American comrades. Please dear Augustine write me by return mail. Surely you can find a way to let me know what actually happened and who began the attack.

I still have a few dates to fill in London and the Provinces and my reports to prepare for the National Comite and for the Anarchist Conference. I wonder will it take place at all. The 8th of June I will leave for Paris for ten days or two weeks. Then for Spain. The comrades in Valencia write they will want to see me there to talk over future work in England. But first I will come to Barcelona to see you, Martin and the comrades of the Comite Regional. I understand the Socialist book shop has sold 750 copies of the Estampa album and 270 of the 19th of July. The man in charge has gone away for 2 weeks. I will then straighten out our accounts and insist that they send money as promised or give it to me. We ourselves have I am sorry to say sold very little of the albums at our meetings. And this being our only means a lot of those sent me are left over. No doubt they will be gradually sold. The comrade of SPAIN! AND THE WORLD took fifty of the Estampa. But as he had to give a discount to one of the book shops and I promised he could have half of the sales for his paper there will not be much left from his fifty for our work. But of course I will pay for their cost. He has only sold 38 copies so far. You

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001079

[Letter, 19]37 May 13 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19829

You have no idea how poverty stricken the English workers are and how little they spend for literature or such things as albums. You may ask then why did the Socialist bookshop sell so many. Because they do not depend on sales to workers only and because they have branches of shops all over England. When you consider that then 750 copies are not much at all. Anyhow we have sold very little. I will account for everything when I come.

I have just had word from Paris. I am too shocked to write. The news merely strengthened what I had feared all along. I am dumb with horror that our comrades should have gone into the trap prepared for them by the long and crushing hand of Russia. I will await word from you before I will form a definite opinion of the facts sent me from Paris.

Please give the inclosed few lines to Abe. I wonder how he and Salma are getting along.

Affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317120

[Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Net[t]lau, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
5 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London May 13th, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade,

2 weeks
ago

Your letter of violent vituperation reached me soon enough. I did not reply sooner, firstly because I was taken up with a big venture for Spain, and secondly, I did not wish to write under the impression of your attack - I might have said some unkind things, and I certainly do not want to be guilty of that, where you are concerned. So I waited until I would be rested a bit from the strenuous efforts I had to make in organising a Concert which I undertook three months ago, and which only took place ~~last Sunday~~. It was successful in a musical sense, but that would not appeal to you very much, I am afraid. I still remember when you "chaperoned" me to a Concert, though you yourself disliked the music. Financially, the affair will not bring half of what I had expected. Still, in view of English conditions and the fact that we have no movement to speak of, £200 or more are not to be deprecated. But, as I said, the result is in no way to be compared with the terrific amount of labour and anxiety put into the venture.

I confess, I do not know where to begin to answer your letter. One thing is certain: I never thought you capable of such an outbreak and such intolerance. For a man who has always stood up for the utmost liberty, even to the extent of being impatient with organisational work, your letter is certainly the most intolerant outbreak I have read in a long while. Now, mind you, I agree with you that the comrades in Holland to continue to be pacifist in the face of the grave dangers from the Fascist pest is, to say the least of it, childish, so is the criticism of some of the comrades in Toronto of the things the CNT - FAI are doing. First let me set you right about Toronto, those who denounced the entry of comrades into the Government were not Anarchists at all. Actually, the comrades we have got in Toronto are heart and soul with the Revolution in Spain and have demonstrated their solidarity in a number of ways; You are therefore doing them an injustice in lumping them together with a lot of outsiders who never were in our ranks. But even they should be granted the right to question the consistency of Anarchists who have repudiated Governments all their lives now being in the same Councils with the Government.

As to the comrades in Holland, they surely are entitled to the right of criticism; they are people who have carried on anti-military work for nearly half a century. They are the direct descendants of Donsela Nieuwenhuis's anti-military work. They are fanatically sincere and they have proven themselves of sterling quality and courage not only in speech or press, but also by many of them going to prison again and again rather than to join the army. I must protest, therefore, against your condemnation of these people, though I myself am opposed to their attitude as regards Spain. Certainly they do not deserve the "nice" names you give them.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317120

[Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Net[t]lau, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. - 5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

M. Netlau.

9/5/37.



As regards your impatience with me - to call it mildly - I can only explain it by your complete reversal of mind and feeling. It is not so very long ago - not more than 3-4 years - when you showed no understanding or sympathy with Syndicalism, when you thought it more advisable for Anarchists to ally themselves with Liberal Democratic elements rather than to busy themselves with bringing to life large economic organizations. Now you have no patience whatever with comrades who refuse to see in the leading Anarchists in Spain demigods whose actions are not to be questioned. Don't you consider this rather a plunge from your former attitude? Your former position regarding all Governments and their danger?

As to your "kindly" tribute to me for my "heinous" offense in my statement that appeared in the "Fr. Arb.St." and "Spain and The World", really, dear Comrade, you seem to have become a regular heresy-hunter, for no one else among the hundreds of comrades and friends who have read the statement have complained of a single infraction of loyalty on my part. Far from criticizing the CNT-FAI in my statement, I go out of my way to explain them to the comrades who had asked for light on what seemed to them a breach of principle and rather a useless compromise. I was astounded, therefore, to find that you charge me with "lèse-majesté".

Granted that I were guilty of that, I should consider it a sad day for the Spanish Anarchists if their comrades no longer had the right to express their opinions frankly and honestly. I am quite certain that the comrades in Spain would repudiate such a thing, and I do not think you are rendering them very great service by putting yourself up as "judge and executioner" of everyone who does not happen to approve of every step and decision taken by prominent members of the CNT-FAI. How does that compare with your condemnation of the Bolsheviks and their dictatorship? You could not make peace with them, yet you seem to be anxious to put a gag in everybody's mouth - is that not dictatorship?

Moreover, even if my article had contained criticism or condemnation, you as the ultra-Libertarian in our movement should not attack me as you have done; but I insist that unless you have become super-sensitive in regard to the least disagreement with some of our Spanish comrades, you could not possibly have found anything objectionable on my part. As I just wrote Alexander Shapiro, I am the unfortunate orphan who was condemned for what she did and condemned for what she did not. He has attacked me for going back on my Anarchist ideas, because I am not critical of the compromise in the CNT, and you attack me because I appear to have been critical. Fortunately, I have never been able to be "all things to all men". I have gone my own way, though often condemned and burnt in oil by my own comrades, and I mean to continue to my last breath to uphold what I consider right and to attack what seems to me to be wrong, which does not mean to say that I consider myself infallible, but it does mean that, in order to be true to myself, I must decide my own actions and reactions for myself.

Now, while I am heart-and-soul with the struggle of the Spanish comrades, and while I have done my utmost to plead their cause for which I would cheerfully give my life, I must insist that they are vulnerable: they have made terrible mistakes which are already bearing fruit. I hold Federica Montseny, Garcia Oliver and several others of the leading comrades responsible for the gains made by the Communists and for the danger now threatening the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI. My very first interview with these two comrades have shown me that they are on the "border-line" of Reformism. I had never met Oliver before,

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317120

[Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Ne[t]lau, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Neulau Archive.

M. Neulau.

9/5/37.



but I had met Federica in 1929. The change since the Revolution swept her forward to the highest top-notch as leader was only too apparent. I was strengthened in that impression every time I talked to her about the compromise she and the others had made. It was too obvious to me that these comrades are working into the hands of the Soviet Government. That in showing their gratitude to Stalin and his regime (though why they needed gratitude in addition to the gold Stalin received for whatever he gave in arms I do not know) dire results were sure to follow. Incidentally, it also meant the betrayal of our comrades in the concentration camps and prisons in Russia. I never saw a greater breach of faith with Anarchist principles than the joint "love-feast" of the CNT-FAI with the Russian satraps in Barcelona. It was a sight for the gods to see Garcia Oliver and the Russian Consul competing with each other in the ~~same~~ glowing tributes to the Soviet Government, or the eulogies that appeared daily in the "Solidaridad Obrera". Not a word did the paper, or Oliver, or Federica have to say about the Russian people, about the fact that the Russian Revolution has been castrated and that Stalin's henchmen are responsible for tens of thousands of lives. It was a disgraceful affair - unnecessary and humiliating! I have not written about this to anyone, dear Comrade, although I felt indignation and could have cried out my contempt of the so-called leaders in the CNT-FAI.

Granted that to save the Anti-Fascist situation arms from Russia were needed, but why was it necessary to make it more than a business deal, for which Spain paid heavily in gold and the CNT paid in the loss of much of its position and its strength? Surely, no one with any clear vision could be blinded to the motive of Russia's "sudden" interest, after three-and-a-half months of the Anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. Now the real motive is beginning to be recognized by the very people who sang hosannah to comrade Stalin; it was for no other reason than to get possession of Madrid and, if possible, to increase the armed Communist forces in the rest of Spain, in anticipation of the "happy" moment when the Anarchists can be exterminated, as they have been in Russia. By right, I should have given this to the public; I should have written about all this. My silence was not a measure of consent of the betrayal of the comrades in Russia. I readily admit that. I did not do it because I did not have the heart to expose Federica and the others in our press outside of Spain. Yet, you come along and throw brimstone and fire on my head because I dared, if you please, to explain some of the blunders of the leading members of the CNT-FAI in my statement. I consider it very unkind, to say the least of it.

You ~~as~~ assume, dear Comrade, that I knew nothing about the Spanish movement before I came to Spain. What do you base this assumption on? You seem to forget that we had a very strong Spanish movement in America for many years, that I was connected with "Cultura Proletariat" all through the years, which Pedro Esteve was editor, that I have read nearly everything you and Bookman have written about Spain. Not only that, but I have always held the Spanish Anarchists to be a shining example of consistency, courage and fortitude. Actually, if I had not always believed in them implicitly, I should have left Spain after that disgraceful pact between Russia and the leaders of the CNT-FAI, and certainly should not have raised a finger in their aid or support. It was precisely because of my abiding faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the Spanish Anarchists, and the certainty that they will wake up soon to the danger of their compromise that gave me courage to go out and work as I have worked in England since I returned here. I do not think, therefore, that I deserve your censure.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317120

[Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
5 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

M. Netlau.

9/5/37.



However, that is not the important thing - what is of utmost importance is that our comrades in Spain have had their eyes opened; that they now see the danger lurking in every corner from the Marxists, and that they are coming out openly in their papers and bulletins, calling the necessary alarm. The Jesuits of the Stalin brand are hard at work preparing all kinds of pitfalls for the comrades; they are hard at work in every country. In England they spread the rumour that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid. They even succeeded in influencing the "M.Guardian" as you will see by my letter of protest published in the "M.G." of April 24. In fact, their sudden discovery of Democracy as a beautiful bride is nothing else but the deliberate intention of the Soviet Government to destroy the Revolution in Spain, and they are losing no time to achieve this. I would not be surprised if Caballero and the Communists were to make a separate peace with Franco, provided the latter would assure them of safety of their own miserable hides. All that should never have been given a chance to raise its head. It was done, unfortunately, through the compromise of the comrades of the CNT-FAI.

Do not lose any sleepless nights, dear Comrade. I am not writing this to others, and I would not have written about it to you had you not delivered yourself of such a ferocious attack on my poor innocent head.

I have asked you once before to write me exactly what you mean about all of us having "frittered away our Libertarian ideas" and not having done enough to make Kropotkin and Bakunin known? I hope you will explain it next time you write. To me it is sheer nonsense, but speaking only for A.B. and myself, I can only say that all our years were devoted to the presentation of the ideas and writings of both Kropotkin and Bakunin. If we did less than Bakunin's works, it is only because we did not have them in English and our work was mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, but to say that we have not done our share in popularising our teachers' works, is to be guilty of lack of understanding and appreciation of our activities.

Well,

~~Well~~ I am afraid we will probably not come to any understanding. You seem to feel about Federica and the Urales family as a mother does about her "chicks": nobody must touch them even remotely. I myself have admired them for years; I admire her brilliant oratorical abilities, but I can say that she has feet of clay, and I can see no reason why it should not be admitted. She has gone terribly to the right, and wearing a revolver in the belt does not make it any more left. However, I am certain that the comrades, when they come to see that politicians, whether in pants or skirts, whether Anarchists or Socialists, must be watched. They will go from the fundamental principles as they always have in the past.

As the International Anarchist Conference has been postponed until July, I am remaining here until the end of this month. I must go back to give a report of my achievements here, and also to suggest some new methods by which our campaign can be developed to spread out so as to reach greater numbers.

Fraternally and affectionately,
(in spite of our disagreements).

*Hope you are
wound over the stand
of right wing as they are in the present
at Barcelona & see how they are*

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317120

[Letter] 1937 May 13, London [to] M[ax] Net[tl]au, [Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

to Charles command. No
of the most important of
the past movement of Berni
any of the movement of Berni
one of the dearest of men
in, and camps at one
of the lowest of people in
the anti-fascist struggle
is for the Revolution
is a great deal of
our comrades will meet
with the hope of the Russian
under the most
the Holococaust in a
names. It is heart-breaking
of the

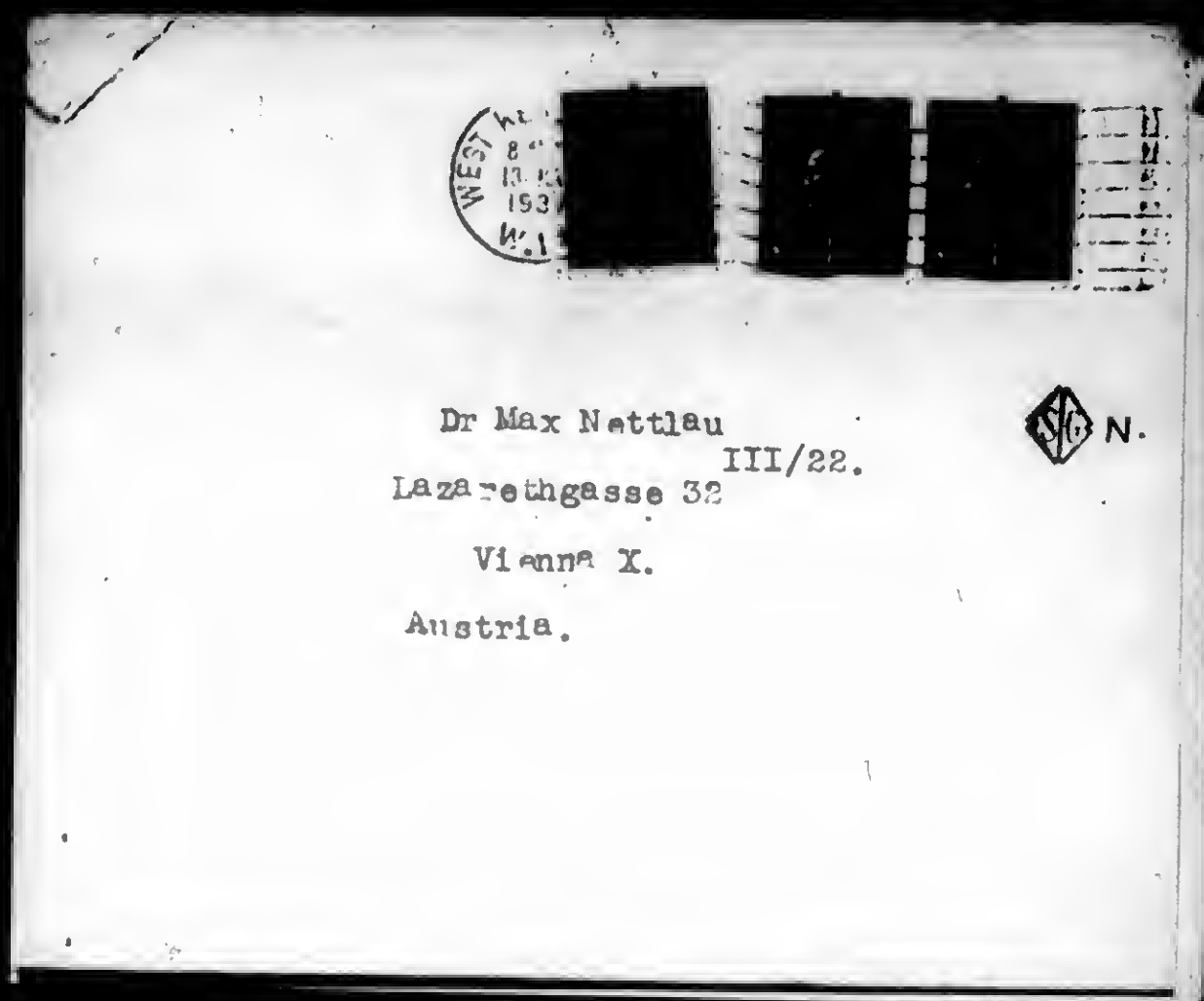
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317121

[Envelope] 1937 May 13, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.



295

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317121

[Envelope] 1937 May 13, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

83 Calton Lowen Rd
18 London N. 14
England

Wien
A-5-37

296

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109074

[Letter, 19]37 May 14, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman].— 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Roc

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London May 14th 37.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Dear Rudolf. Since I wrote you last week the frightful thing has happened. a thing most of us foresaw, only I tried so hard to explain it rather than condemn at the outset. The pact with Russia in return for a few pieces of arms has brought it disastrous results. It has broken the back bone of Montseny and Oliver and has turned them into willing tools of Caballero. I don't know whether you receive CMBAT, SYNDICALIST. I am writing Mollie to send you the current copy. You will see that the murderous Stalin gang have killed Berneri and another comrade and that they were back of the attempt to disarm the comrades of the CNT-FAI. Still more terrible to me is that Oliver and Montseny have called a retreat and have denounced the militant Anarchists to whom the Revolution still means something as counter-revolutionists.

In other words, it is a repetition of Russia with the identical methods of Lenin against the Anarchists and S.R. who refused to barter the Revolution for the Brest Litvsk Peace. You will bear me out dear

Rudolf that I have tried and tried to explain and defend the CNT-FAI leaders for entering Ministries as I have tried to explain their sudden love feast now baptised in the blood of Berneri and Barberi and a number of other comrades for the miserable contribution of arms. I have done so although I saw when I was in Spain what the dire consequences will be. I had hoped against hope that the extermination of our comrades and the emasculation of the Revolution will not come so soon. That they will be held back until Francos hords will be driven from the land. It is this fervent hope of mine which has given me strength to carry on the work here against terrible odds, which made me argue with Senia though I was willing to admit that his criticism was correct. But the death of Berneri and all the other comrades, and the cowardly stand of Montseny Oliver and the Solidaridad Obrera make it impossible for me to go on as the representative of the CNT-FAI. As you know I am not hasty in my decisions, nor do I ever come to definite conclusions unless I have fully looked into every side of an issue. I am more than ever determined to return to Spain and confront the National Committee of the CNT-FAI for their explanations of the worst betrayal of the Revolution since Russia. If I fail to get that I shall certainly give up my mandat and retire from the field of action. Better silence than be a party to the slow bleeding to death of the Spanish Revolution.

Of course, I may find that the rank and file of the CNT-FAI has retained their revolutionary zeal and fervor. I will then work for them but in no official capacity. Meanwhile I am too grieved and too shaken over Berneri's death. We are in daily communication in Barcelona. Already often

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109074

[Letter, 19]37 May 14, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

we were in daily communication and comradeship. I learned to admire his mind and love his wonderful personality. As far as comrades I found in Barcelona. It was on the day of the disastrous demonstration with the Communists ~~which was the day of the Russian revolution~~ I called a gathering in my room, ~~which was the day of the Russian revolution~~ he brought me a statement pointing out the blunders of the CNT. I still have it. But even he was against any public stand against the leaders in our ranks. Now his clear voice and strong pen are silenced, muffled in cold blood by the butchers of Moscow. It makes me shudder.

I cannot write any more. Please my dear let me hear from you as soon as possible. I hope you have sent me a reply to my last weeks letter. And the reply about the book on Anarcho Syndicalism.

With love to Milly and Fernin your heart broken comrade

Emma

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 14, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

 Roc

Since I received the inclosed account of Berneri's foul murder I got the ~~SECRET ANARCHIST~~ which contains another version. According to this several police with Communist badges came to Berneri's room which he shared with another comrade by the name of Barberi, put them under arrest, confiscated all their correspondence and dragged them off to the police station. There they charged Berneri and the other comrade with counter revolution ~~charges~~. Our two comrades were held on this charge. The next morning they were found ~~murdered~~ shot in the back in front of the Generalidad building. It is therefore obvious that our comrades were killed by the very men who arrested them. To charge Berneri or Barberi with counter revolution is as preposterous as the Soviet charge against us of counter-revolution. Yet the Solidaridad Obrera the official paper of the CNT did not find it necessary to come out in a decided protest against such villification of one of our most valiant and consistent comrades in the Italian Anarchist ranks. Worse still is the charge against them by Garcia Oliver and Fedrico Montseny. It is the old story we have reiterated thousands of times, power corrupts everybody, ~~and~~ the Spanish leaders in the CNT-FAI have proven no exception. It is a repetition of the Russian Revolution or only more tragic because the CNT-FAI was so powerful, the Anarchists in Russia never represented an organized force.

I feel crushed by this dreadful news. I see clearly that unless some change takes place in the rank and file of the CNT-FAI I will not be able to continue work for them. For I certainly will not be a party to the murder of Berneri whom I knew and admired. ~~and~~ Neither can I continue a party to the amputation of the Spanish Revolution. The beginning of this frightful process was the pact with Stalin in return for a few six pieces of arms, ~~it~~ continued ever since and it found its culminating expression in the disgraceful stand of Oliver and Montseny. More than before I must go to Spain to see matters for myself. For the present I am too disturbed and confused to make an definite step. In any event it shall not be silence, or any attempt to cover up what is crying to the very heavens.

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010329

[Letter, 19]37 May 14 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25984

XONLE HINGCELEJL

May 14th 1937
Dear Rudolf, since I wrote you last week the frightful thing has happened, a thing none of us foresaw, only I tried as hard to explain it rather than condemn at the outset. In fact with Russia in return for a few pieces of arms has brought it down upon itself. It has broken the back bone of Montseny and Oliver and has turned them into willing tools of Cabelero. I don't know whether you receive GREAT SYNDICALIST. I am writing Hollio to send you the current copy. You will see that the murderous Stalin gang have killed Berneri and another comrade and that they were back of the attempt to drown the comrades of the CNT-MI. Still more terrible to me is that Oliver and Montseny have called a retreat and have denounced the militant anarchists to whom the revolution still means something as counter-revolutionists. In other words, it is a repetition of Russia with the identical method of Lenin against the anarchists and B.R. who refused to betray the Revolution for the Great Litvack peace. You will hear no out dear Rudolf that I have tried and tried to explain and defend the CNT-MI leaders for entering into this peace. I have tried to explain their sudden love feast now baptised in the blood of Berneri and a number of other comrades for the miserable contribution of arms. I have done so although I saw when I was in Spain what the dire consequences will be. I had hoped against hope that the extermination of our comrades and the assassination of the Revolution will not come so soon. That they will be held back until Franco's horde will be driven from the land. It is this fervent hope of mine which has given me strength to carry on the work here against terrible odds, which made me argue with Berneri though I was willing to admit that his criticism was correct. But the death of Berneri and all the other comrades, and the cowardly stand of Montseny, Oliver and the Solididad Obrera make it impossible for me to go on as the representative of the CNT-MI. As you know I am not hasty in my decisions, nor do I ever come to definite conclusions unless I have fully looked into every side of an issue. I am more than ever determined to return to Spain and confront the National Committee of the CNT-MI with their explanations of the worst betrayal of the Revolution since Russia. If I fail to get that I shall certainly give up my mandat and retire from the field of action. Better silence than be a party to the slow bleeding to death of the Spanish Revolution.

of course, I say find that the rank and file of the CNT-MI has retained their revolutionary zeal and fervor. I will continue to work for them but not in an official capacity.

and too shaken
guessed
I am sure
after Berneri's death
capacity

300

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25985

With love to Killy and Fernin your heart broken comrade

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010329

[Letter, 1937 May 14 [London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond? N.Y.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 29 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20144

Since I received the inclosed account of Berneri's foul murder I got the COMBAT SYNDICALIST which contains another version. According to this several police with Communist badges came to Berneri's room which he shared with another comrade by the name of Barberi, put them under arrest confiscated all their correspondence and dragged them off to the police station. There they charged Berneri and the other comrade with counter revolution ~~charges~~. Our two comrades were held on this charge. The next morning they were found ~~hanged~~ shot in the back in front of the Generalidad building. It is therefore obvious that our comrades were killed by the very men who arrested them. To charge Berneri or Barberi with counter revolution is as preposterous as the Soviet charge against us of counter-revolution. Yet the Solidaridad Obrera the official paper of the CNT did not find it necessary to come out in a decided protest against such villification of one of our most valiant and consistent comrades in the Italian Anarchist ranks. Worse still is the charge against them by Garcia Oliver and Federico Montseny. It is the old story we have reiterated thousands of times, power corrupts everybody, even the Spanish leaders in the CNT-SR, have proven no exception. It is a repetition of the Russian Revolution only more tragic because the CNT-SR was so powerful the Anarchist in Russia never represented an organized force.

I feel crushed by this dreadful news. I see clearly that unless some change takes place in the rank and file of the CNT-SR I will not be able to continue work for them. For I certainly will not be a party to the murder of Berneri whom I know and admired. And neither can I continue a party to the assassination of the Spanish Revolution. The beginning of this frightful process was the pact with Stalin in return for a few air pieces of arms. It continued ever since and it found its culminating expression in the disgraceful stand of Oliver and Montseny. More than before I must go to Spain to see matters for myself. For the present I am too disturbed and confused to make an definite step. In any event it shall not be silence, or any attempt to cover up what is or crying to the very heavens. *Wrote*

W.C.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

302

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005132

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

have the door pushed in one's face. — But I thought if I had your man
much as I want to help you.

20128

14th May, 1937.

My dear Tom,

I am sending a copy of a letter I have written to the Vanguard kids. You will know I have been busy and could not answer your letters, both of April 5th, which reached me some time ago. Before anything else I want you to know that an additional reason for not writing you was that I was waiting for your manuscript before writing Shaw. I admit that I do not look forward to any joy of writing him. I have just written him a letter as you will see by the enclosed copy. You will gather from this that it is extremely painful to ask G.B.S. for anything. I have to smile at your suggestion that I should go to him. My dear, one does not do that in England with lesser people than Shaw, and it would never occur to me in a lifetime to just take myself to him. It would be too humiliating to have the door pushed in one's face. Besides, I just could not do it, much as I want to help you. But I thought if I had your manuscript I would write him to ask whether he would read it, and also send him your letter to Upton Sinclair. I wonder why it has not arrived yet? I simply cannot do anything without your manuscript. I actually don't know what to write Shaw nor would he reply, much less write a letter that you want, unless he knew what it was all about. So you had better rush your manuscript if you have not already mailed it.

Unfortunately I am leaving England the 8th or 10th June and unless it reaches me before that I will not be able to do anything about it, either from France or Spain. It will then have to wait until my return to England at the end of July. I am sorry there is such a delay but you will understand that it is not my fault in this case. You have evidently delayed mailing the manuscript.

I can imagine how you feel about the miserable plagiarism of the author of the Frank Harris and Oscar Wilde book. One is so helpless in the face of such an outrage. It is all very well to have some legal grants to go by, but one must have money to start a libel suit, and considerable health to stand all the machinations of solicitors and courts, and I know you dear friend have neither.

Mr. T. H. Bell,
216 N. Matthews St., Los Angeles.

303

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005132

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Now please, dear Tom, do not think I am evading my part. Much as I loathe asking Shaw for anything, I am ready to write him and plead in your behalf, but you surely must understand that a man cannot be expected to pass opinions of something he hasn't seen or read, even if Shaw were a ~~more~~ magnanimous person than he is, more willing to be of help towards those in distress, I could not ask him. So unless I can get the MS I cannot do anything about it.

Thank you, my dear, for your high opinion about my judgment in regard to Spain and other events. I wish I deserved it. While I do not mean to say that I have been carried off my feet by the truly gigantic work the CNT/FAI have undertaken in Catalonia and their great courage, I do feel that one cannot be severe with them for any blunders they may have made and make so long as Franco is at their throats. I have expressed that again in my letter to Chapiro. I am not sure whether I wrote you in a previous letter that he had sent me a letter he wrote to Borghi comprising about 35 or 40 pages, full of bitter recriminations against the comrades in Barcelona for entering ministeries and for their other compromises. I replied that, while I agreed with the things he criticised, I could not agree with his method or with the fact that he had chosen the moment most critical in the life of Madrid. I have since heard from him again and the enclosed copy of the letter in reply to his will give you details. I am also sending you a copy of the letter I have written to Rudolf Rocker. These will give you my position. Lastly, also, a letter written to the Vanguard Group which will tell you about my views of the recent uprising. You cannot complain that you are not getting enough from me to keep you reading for a day!

I am dreadfully sorry that you are so plagued by the asthma. I am hoping that the weather in California now is giving you relief, and that you ~~are~~ again able to be on deck. Please give my fraternal greetings to all the comrades. I never hear from Vaffee but, by the way, I hope he has not sent copies of your Edward Carpenter pamphlet. The sale of literature in England is terribly poor. I do not believe we should be able to sell a dozen copies. However if he has already sent them, the comrades of the Freedom Group will try to dispose of them. You have evidently forgotten how poor the British workers are and how little they care about good reading matter.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005133

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20130

14th May 1937.

My dear Tom,

I am sending a copy of a letter I have written to the Vanguard kids. You will know I have been busy and could not answer your letters, both of April 8th, which reached me some time ago. Before anything else I want you to know that an additional reason for not writing you was that I was waiting for your manuscript before writing Shaw. I admit that I do not look forward to any joy of writing him. I have just written him a letter as you will see by the enclosed copy. You will gather from this that it is extremely painful to ask G.B.S. for anything. I have to smile at your suggestion that I should go to him. My dear, one does not do that in England with lesser people than Shaw, and it would never occur to me in a lifetime to just take myself to him. It would be too humiliating to have the door pushed in one's face. Besides, I just could not do it, much as I want to help you. But I thought if I had your manuscript I would write him to ask whether he would read it, and also send him your letter to Upton Sinclair. I wonder why it has not arrived yet. I simply cannot do anything without your manuscript. I actually don't know what to write Shaw, nor would he reply, much less write a letter you want, unless he knew what it was all about. So you had better rush your manuscript if you have not already mailed it.

Unfortunately I am leaving England the 8th or 10th June and unless it reaches me before that I will not be able to do anything about it, either from France or Spain. It will then have to wait until my return to England at the end of July. I am sorry there is such a delay but you will understand that it is not my fault in this case. You have evidently delayed mailing the manuscript.

I can imagine how you feel about the miserable plagiarism of the author of Frank Harris and Oscar Wilde's book. One is so hopeless in face of such an outrage. It is all very well to have some legal grants to go by, but one must have money to start a libel suit, and considerable health to stand all the machinations of Solicitors and Courts, and I know you dear friend have neither.

Now please dear Tom, do not think I am evading my part. Much as I loathe asking Shaw for anything, I am ready to write him and plead in your behalf, but you surely must understand that a man cannot be expected to pass opinions of something he hasn't seen or read, even if Shaw were more magnanimous person than he is, more willing to be of help towards those in distress, I could not ask him. So unless I can get the MS I cannot do anything about it.

Thank you, my dear, for your high opinion about my judgement in regard to Spain and other events. I wish I deserved it. While I do not mean to say that I have been carried off my feet by the truly gigantic work the C.N.T./F.A.I. have undertaken in Catalonia and their great courage, I do feel that one cannot be severe with them for any blunders they may have made and make so long as Franco is at their throats. I have expressed that again in my letter to Chapiro. I am not sure whether I wrote you in a previous letter that he had sent me a letter he wrote to Borghi comprising about 35 or 40 pages, full of bitter recriminations against the comrades in Barcelona for entering ministries and for their compromises. I replied that, while agreed with the things he criticised, I could not agree with his method or with the fact he had

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005133

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

02102

1937 May 14

20131

of London and I believe I have a very good idea of the moment most critical in the life of Madrid. I have since heard from him again and the enclosed copy of the letter in reply to his will give you details. I am also sending you a copy of the letter I have written to Rudolf Recker. These will give you my position. Lastly, also, a letter written to the Vanguard Group which will tell you about my views of the recent uprising. You cannot complain that you are not getting enough from me to keep you reading for a day.

I am dreadfully sorry that you are so plagued by the asthma. I am hoping that the weather in California now is giving you some relief, and that you are again able to be on deck. Please give my fraternal greetings to all comrades. I never hear from Laffa, but by the way, I hope he has not sent copies of your Edward Garpis pamphlet. The sale of literature in England is terribly poor. I do not believe we should be able to sell a dozen copies. However if he has already sent them, the comrades of the Freedom Group will try to dispose of them. You have evidently forgotten how poor the British workers are and how little they care about good reading matter.

Affectionately,

Mr. H. Bell,
216 N. Matthews Street,
Los Angeles, California.

I am sorry to hear that you are so plagued by the asthma. I am hoping that the weather in California now is giving you some relief, and that you are again able to be on deck. Please give my fraternal greetings to all comrades. I never hear from Laffa, but by the way, I hope he has not sent copies of your Edward Garpis pamphlet. The sale of literature in England is terribly poor. I do not believe we should be able to sell a dozen copies. However if he has already sent them, the comrades of the Freedom Group will try to dispose of them. You have evidently forgotten how poor the British workers are and how little they care about good reading matter.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

306

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005142

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] M.M. Ernst, Garden City, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20150

14th May, 1937.

Dear Mr. Ernst,

I have received your letter of September 25th of last year ages ago. The reason you did not hear from me about "LIVING MY LIFE" is that I came back to England to concentrate entirely on a campaign for the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Confederation of Iberia and their struggle in Spain against Fascism. I did not wish in any way to the main purpose of my efforts in England, by having my book put on sale at the different meetings. I could not bear for people to think that I am making capital of my activities for the gallant fight against Fascism. That is the reason I did not order copies from you as I had fully planned to do.

Since I heard from you I also received a bill. It is not quite clear thame. I don't remember now how much money I sent you for the two copies of LIVING MY LIFE which I had ordered at the time. I am therefore not quite sure whether the £2.63 as per the enclosed bill covers the amount or whether a small surplus was left. Will you please send me six copies by return mail to the above address and send the bill. I will then forward the cheque. These copies are ordered and I would like to have them as soon as possible.

I am going back to Spain some time next month for six weeks. On my return to England I may be able to take up your offer of 100 copies. Also there is a possibility of my being permitted to return to the States for a short visit. In that case I know I could dispose of your entire stock. I have to wait and see.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. M. M. Ernst,
Garden City Publishing Co.,
Garden City, New York.

307

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005162

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20189

14th May, 1937.

Dearest Dorothy,

When I tell you that your letter of March 24th is among the first I have been trying to answer since I threw off the burden of the concert, you will know that I have not forgotten you. I am not going to take up my time or yours to give you a minute description of all the anxiety and trouble connected with the damned concert. It has taken off several months of my life and I am sorry to say that the result in no way commensurates me for the energy expended. But in view of the numerous organisations in this country who are collecting for Spain, I should be satisfied with the amount I have succeeded in raising since I began the campaign last December. The concert, including sales of tickets, collection and contributions reached only £200; very disappointing indeed. But, together with the other collections in London and the profits, I think £550 are actually raised. We are just making up our accounts and receipts and expenditure so I will be more accurate when I have the figures before me.

Well, the campaign is over. True, I still have a few dates to fill, but I will be through by the end of the month. I expect to leave London about the 8th or 10th June for a couple of weeks stay in Paris, and then go on to Spain to be there until about the end of July. What will happen after I don't know. If my friends who are trying for a visa to America will fail, I will have to come back to England and resume the work for Spain where I will leave off when I depart. I can't say I look forward to it with great cheer. True, I have met with far greater response from all sorts of people this time than I ever have before. But it is not anything what I could achieve in the States. After all, the latter has been my field for so many years I am rooted there. I suppose I am too old to take roots in England or in any other European country. However I should not kick. At least I have a certain amount of security with H.M. Government. I would not have even that anywhere else. One grows modest in one's old age and grateful for every little advantage. However, I haven't yet given up all hopes of getting to the States. If I don't it will certainly also be Canada. How I wish a little tour could be arranged in your end of the world.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005162

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20190

but that I mean not only to cities, Toronto and Montreal. I would want to go to the West of Canada, British Columbia and so on, but who is there to raise the necessary fund for a trip like that and to undertake the organisation of a tour? Do you think you might get in touch with Simkin, I mean the one from Winnipeg who has helped you with some kind of manifesto? Perhaps he would undertake to put you in touch with people in Edmonton, Calgary and perhaps also in Vancouver. I would love to undertake such a tour either when I get to America or direct from here to Canada. Let me know when you have anything tangible. If both the States and Canada cannot be relied on I will, as I have already said, continue the struggle for our Spanish comrades in this country.

Oh yes, there is another suggestion - my going to Palestine. I have three invitations to visit with friends, but of course I have never been in the position to make pleasure trips or to go on a visiting tour. Unless these friends can also arrange something of a public nature I will have to decline their kind hospitality. In any event that would not be before the winter, and we will keep in touch so that you will know exactly what my movements are.

I enclose a letter (copy) I have just dictated to the Vanguard Group which will give you my impressions on the recent events in Barcelona. I am anxiously awaiting more authentic and reliable news from the comrades in Barcelona and Valencia, than one can get from their papers which are now censored. In any event I want you to impress upon the comrades to defer their judgment until they are sure in what way the CNT/FAI were involved in the uprising. For the present the sad news comes that the brother of Ascasio was killed in the fighting, and that Berneri - one of our most brilliant men since Malatesta - was severely wounded. I am certain of one thing, that our people have not engaged in the battle lightly. There must have been a provocation enough to test the patience of saints.

I was delighted to hear of the fine success you had with the debate and that you are carrying on the work so ardently. I wish we had a few like you in every city. We would soon have quite a number in the United States. I am grateful to the Stars to have brought you into our ranks. I could not have wished for anyone more sincere and more devoted to our ideas. Keep it up my dear.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005162

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Dorothy [Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20191

2.

A letter from Martin Cudell tells me that he is now in touch with you and will send you all the material he can muster up. He is a splendid comrade and very reliable, although he does not always have the material to send.

Well, my dear, I am soon going back to Spain. You will see by the enclosed copy when I am leaving and where I will be after I depart from London. You can reach me after June 8th for two weeks care of Mollie. I will get my mail from her and she will forward it when I am back in Spain. Dear Dorothy, the credentials that have been delayed in posting reached me yesterday. I have always known that man's pockets are for the purpose of forgetting to post letters. Fortunately the Conference has been postponed until July, so the credential is quite in time. I am returning the letter of Margolis. I think his stand is scandalous and shows him up for the weakling he has always been. I am in correspondence with Starrett. I am glad he is back again and active. I am writing him to-day. I am afraid it will be somewhat disappointing about his going to Spain. You see, a very able young comrade whose name is Abe Bluestein is already in Barcelona and is a good speaker and knows English well, so he will be able to take charge of the English bulletin and any other work in England our people are doing. In that case it will hardly be worth while for Starrett to burn his breeches in America and go to Barcelona. I know it will be a blow to him but nevertheless it is well he should face the fact that under no conditions must he alienate himself from the States. It is all right if he goes for a short visit if he does not risk his position, otherwise he will have to advise him to stick to it.

Give my love to all the comrades and take a lot for yourself,

Devotedly,

310

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005292

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Eliot White, [Roselle, N.J.] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20213

14th May, 1937.

Dear Friend:

Again I had to neglect you much longer than I ever want to. Again I must give my intense activities for Spain as my excuse for my prolonged silence. The last several months have been partly crowded with work for a project which I had hoped would bring a large sum of money for the homeless and starving Spanish women and children. Alas, the net result is only £200. I have never been so avaricious in my life. Perhaps I have never known a whole people fighting so gallantly against Fascism and for the utmost freedom as my Spanish comrades are doing. That's what makes me so bent on helping them at the best of my ability and more. But the people who have money in this country are perhaps a bit too smug and self-centred to part with much, though there are exceptions, and the people who would like to give ~~their~~ are themselves wilfully poor. Nevertheless it would be unjust to deny that a great deal of money has been raised in England for all kinds of associations for the needs of Spain. The extraordinary thing, however, is that very little of all the amounts raised has gone to Catalonia. Those of us who know the inside story, that will out some day, know the reason. Some of the people in authority in Spain have been sabotaging the CNT/FAI in the most scandalous manner. More reason why some of us who believe in the great purpose and ideal of the CNT/FAI must concentrate on helping them. Considering all the odds and difficulties, I think £550 which I have raised are by no means to be sneezed at.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have written to a group of young comrades which will give my impressions of the latest uprising and the reasons for it. I know you will be interested. The letter will also tell you what my plans are for the next two months.

No, dear friend, you have never imposed your ideas about the hereafter on me. Naturally I respect your views as I do the views of anybody who is deeply sincere as I know you are and Mrs. Eliot White, but I cannot share them. I am afraid I am too much of a materialist to share in this wonderful world in the hereafter where I might meet my old comrade whose life was ended so suddenly and so uselessly. I dare say it must be a

Dr. Eliot White,

311

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005292

[Letter] 1937 May 14 [London to] Eliot White, [Roselle, N.J.] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20214

comfort to you and others to look forward to something so different from what the world is to-day, something that has been freed of all the horrors, crimes and injustices of our present system. I have tried on very many occasions to put myself in the place of friends of mine who thought as you do. I have read a great deal of their literature, especially those who call themselves theosophists and spiritualists and a lot of other such mystical names. They have always left me cold. I feel that one life is quite enough for me; actually too much at times. I agree with you that nothing is lost in the world or in nature and that love is an indestructible force, but all this is of little comfort to us who are on the firing line and at the same time lose the greatest impetus in the struggle. However, in fighting the needs of Spain I have gained back my old strength and faith so what else does one want? Of one thing I am certain— that my great esteem for you and my affection will never change, no matter how much we disagree in mythology. If there is one thing I have always prided myself on it is my willingness that my friends should have utmost freedom to go their way, live their lives, and believe in whatever they like. I can't imagine any friendship worthy of its name that does not grant the other complete freedom.

My friends in Spain are organising an International Anarchist Conference. I know you will not object to my sending them your name together with the names of other libertarians in the United States, so you may hear from them.

With affectionate greetings to Mrs. Eliot,
Cordially,

312

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
6 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13385

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

May 17, 1937

Dear Emma,

I am dictating this letter to Eleanor as I'm unable to write myself. For the reason that I've been laid up since the 1st of the month with a very bad cold which developed into an abscess in the right ear. This was lanced day before yesterday and considerable dirt and also relief was added to the situation.

Conditions are somewhat parallel to my late lamented St. Tropez, Nice experience. Except I'm having a better doctor, nurse and hygiene and better treatment all around including treatment by the one time very unobtrusive Eleanor Werner who is now as docile as a lamb and (who wishes to be remembered to you).

When you wrote me last year about an

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
6 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(2)

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

13386

authorization for the sale of my property
I went to see the French consul in order
to execute to you a power of attorney. The
Consul informed me that that sort of power
of attorney could only be issued on a
specially prepared blank or form that I
would have to get from France. By that
time you were already in Spain and Emmy
was in Czechoslovakia and I did not know of
anyone else to help me in this matter. So
here is where the matter stands.

I shall send you over the power of
att. executed before the French consul here
and in as many copies as the law requires.
I would suggest that you or the notary fill
one form out as a model for me to follow.

About the price of the property, It seems
to me that it is only fair to all concerned
that you and I stand on equally proportioned
For example if you paid 100,000 francs for your
property and I paid 20,000 for mine, that means

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. — 6 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

(3)

13387

Modest Stein
41 West Ninth Street
New York

that the original cost was 120,000 fr. If you are offered 75,000 fr. for both properties that would mean that there would be a loss 45,000 francs. Since your property was five times as expensive as mine the proportionate loss on your side would be five times as great as mine. In other words the loss of 45,000 fr. or whatever it's going to be should be divided in six parts of which you should stand five parts and I one. That would mean that if the loss is going to be 45,000 fr. you having paid 100,000 fr. for your property will sustain a loss of 37,500 fr. That is, you will net 62,500 minus whatever commission will have to be paid out.

I having paid 20,000 fr. will sustain a loss of 7,500 fr. and my property will net me 12,500 fr. minus commission etc.

Of course there are purely mathematical calculations. You may point out that you've

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
6 p. ; 25 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13388

Modest Stein
81 West Ninth Street
New York

(4.)

spent considerable money since you've been on the place but on the other hand you've had the compensation of living on the place for a number of years.

I therefore think the only factors to be considered are, the original purchase price, the price offered and the resulting loss.

However, if you have any different ideas about the matter let me know and whatever suits you suits me.

In making out the form I shall leave all the spaces referring to money blank so that you can fill them in yourself.

I was planning to be in Paris about the middle of Aug. and later go to Nice & St. Tropez. I haven't abandoned my plan but as a result of this illness I may have to rearrange my time schedule.

I sent some money to Emmy in Czechs and also found some at the Amer. Exp. in Paris.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.—
6 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13389

Modest Stein
at West Ninth Street
New York

(5.)

On her arrival there I haven't heard from her since and haven't sent any more money. Please impress upon Emmy as I've often tried to, that my shortcomings as a correspondent must not at any time interfere with whatever request she has to make of me, financial or otherwise.

As I've told you before I've had expert advice on her situation and the only way for her to get to this country is to come in on the quota. Which should not be difficult as the quota hasn't been filled or used up. She could also come in as a Jewish refugee.

If she ever gets here she'll undoubtedly be able to have good medical treatment and would probably be cured. Whether she could stay here in perfect compatibility with her inhibitions is another question. Hoping to see you soon and her's hoping will have one of your famous St. Tropez, Bon Caput dinners. With love as ever, Modest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918359

[Letter] 1937 May 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
6 p. ; 25 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Emma,

13390

Well we were all pretty worried about this ear business but it looks very favorable now. The treatment is of course entirely different and the doctors say there's not one chance in 500 of a mastoid complication. Three cheers.

Hope you're well and as happy as possible under existing circumstances. Good luck to you with your property.

Say hello to Emmy and my fondest regards to you both.

Eleanor Charles - Warner

Saw Talya several times she seems to be getting on nicely. Eddie has a lovely book shop here. Thought you might be interested.

The Emma Goldman Papers

910530000

[Letter, 1937 May 17, New York to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Eleanore Charles-Werner. — 1 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13390

Dear Emma,

Well we were all pretty worried about this ear business but it looks very favorable now. The treatment is of course entirely different and the doctors say there's not one chance in 500 of a mastoid complication. Three cheers.

Hope you're well and as happy as possible under existing circumstances. Good luck to you with your property.

Say hello to Emmy and my fondest regards to you both.

Eleanore Charles - Werner

Saw Talya several times. She seems to be getting on nicely. Eddie has a lovely book shop here. Thought you might be interested.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20152

May 18th 37.

Dear, dear Van. I know you did not doubt me because your letters, remained unanswered so long. Good intentions when one must attend to much work invariably go by the board. I can only assure you that I have tried several times to answer your letters, especially the confidential one about your state of mind, you feeling about Sadie and a lot more. You have no idea how I appreciated your confidence. Had I followed my impulse I would have written directly I got through reading it. But one always feels awkward to discuss private and intimate affairs. One hates to pass opinions or give advice, and one really has nothing to say in such a situation. That and the mountain of work when your long letter arrived made it necessary to postpone writing you. And once delayed it was difficult to take up the thread.

However I decided definitely yesterday not to ~~lose~~ lose a fast steamer, Queen Mary tomorrow without writing you. The only draw back to day is I am in a frightfully restless state about the events in Spain. Not that that the dastardly conspiracy of the Valencia and Catalan government with the connivance of the Communists has come as a surprise. You will hear me out that I have expressed my fears almost from the beginning when I arrived in Spain. True, I tried to explain the actions of the leaders in the CNT-FAI to all my correspondents and from the platform. But that did not take away my anxiety and my fears that our people will have to pay heavily for the compromises they had made, the entry into Minsitires, the pact with the Shylock Stalin. Especially the latter. For we in Spain and in Europe know that the pact for arms did not only mean good gold, and priceless campaign in return for arms. It was a stifling gag on the CNT-FAI in everything pertaining to Russia. It meant a denial of our unfortunate comrades in Stalin's prisons and concentration camps. I was therefore sure the price will undermine the strength and position of the CNT-FAI. But I had hoped the debacle may not come until Franco has been disposed of. But it did come, and it turned out to be exactly as some of us had foreseen. I am inclosing copies of letters written since the conspiracy against the CNT-FAI, was brazenly carried into action, our people taken unawares and murdered in cold blood among them one of our grandest comrades Camillo Berneri, the brother of Ascasio who fell in on the 18th of July and a number of other comrades whose names I do not

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 18 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20180

Over and above this wanton loss of life the CNT-FA have been stripped of much of their strength and position. I have been utterly distressed since the first news came out. If I did not still have a lot to do believe I leave here I should go now. For I can hardly stand the anxiety and the awful uncertainty. As it is I must remain in London another two weeks or so. You see one of the difficulties I had to content with in my work is the slackness of our comrades in Spain in supplying me with adequate news and workable material. Of late they had begun to be more punctual. But since May First everything stopped again. I had hoped when Abe Bluestein gets to Barcelona he would keep me informed. I had him and Gloria with me for two weeks and we became great friends. Yet not a word from him since he left three weeks ago. I heard him over the radio once Friday night. He was exceedingly good and I rejoiced in his being in Barcelona where the English propaganda will at last have a competent comrade to look after it. But as for us abes promise is concerned to keep me posted he has not lived up to it. I wrote him along letter to day begging him to write at last and tell me what is what. However I got considerable information from Paris, the COMBAT SYNDICALIST, and LIBERTY. Of last week had disclosed the deliberate intent of the so called allies of the CNT-FA to crush our comrades. Moreover it seems as if the conspiracy within Catalonia had the sanction and cooperation of the Powers, Russia, England France. Else how explain the rushing of war ships to Barcelona to "put down the anarchist uprising". There seems no longer any doubt that Stalin, Anzano, Caballero as well as England and France are favoring ~~some~~ with some kind of a deal with Franco so as to bring back the old rotten democracy and crush the Revolution. Certainly a dastardly combine.

Well, one good thing has come from their evil intent our comrades have left the Government, whether voluntarily or because they were no longer wanted I do not know. But they are out from the places they never should have taken. Fortunately the Spanish Anarchists never become rusticated. ~~Exceedingly~~ Certainly not the rank and file. And I would like to believe that the outstanding comrades have also begun to see that though the circumstances have forced them as they honestly believe to accept government positions this step has not served their purpose. So it may not yet be late to go back to first principles and the stand the CNT-FA had so heroically maintained in the past. They may find themselves much better able to fight Fascism than when they had such dead weight to carry as their treacherous allies who never intended anything else but to pull our comrades down and destroy them utterly.

burn your bridges behind you. Believe me I speak from bitter experience. It is a dreadful decision and you should not be hurried to it. Of course it can never be final and has it the air of breaking off a relationship of ten years. You would know better than I do that you have made a decision of this kind. I like you to decide for yourself under present circumstances in Spain. I had in mind your going for on a trial of some months. I never thought you'd want to cut yourself loose entirely. I strongly advise against it. Especially now that Abe Bluestein intends to stay two years in Spain. Even that is a long time. To many changes may take place. You can see that since the battle that took place in Barcelona. Our comrades may not get back their former strong position. Then it

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

321

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [London to W.S.] Van [Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20155

What then. Besides I do not see that there is so much ~~work~~ in the English Dept. for two people. I thought Abe came to attend the Conference only. But he told me he has given himself two years. In that case he could well fill the post for which I had you in mind. Of course Abe may change his mind by Sept. He may want to get back to the States. And the CIT-PA may again be on top. There is no need dear Van to make a definite decision now. At any rate please do not misunderstand. Do not think I have changed as regards your usefulness in Barcelona. I only fear for your future if you cut yourself loose. But as I said there is time to consider your final step and during the next couple of months many things may change for the better (I hope with all my heart it will not be for the worse) in the ~~next~~ position of the CIT/PAI.

My dear the inclosures are not for publication. Not for the present. Nor do I want the letter to Shaw made public. It is just for you and anybody you care to read it to. Of course you can also show my letter to Bettlau and Chapiro to a few comrades. I only do not want to rush into print until I get back to Spain and can send out an authentic report.

I may go to Paris a week from Friday. The Anarchist Union is holding a large meeting where Spanish comrades will report on the situation. And the Syndicalists are holding a three days conference. But I am not sure whether I can get ready until Friday. If not I will leave June 8th. ~~From~~ Write me soon address me c/o Mollie Alperine 23 rue des Volontaires Paris XV. Franco.

Give my love to Sadie and fraternal greetings to all comrades.

Affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005144

[Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20153

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Lisowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6629.

Correction second page first paragraph. Should read as follows

My dear Van I read your letters with deep interest and deep feeling. I know the difficulty and heart ache of breaking off a relationship of long standing. I know whatever decision you have made was not done lightly. But my dear you must under no circumstances burn your bridges behind you. Believe me I know from bitter experience. It is a dreadful feeling not to be able to return to ones moorings. Of course it can never be in your case as it is in mine. I cannot return to the States. You will always be able to do that. It is the bitter disappointment likely to await you if you remain permanently in Spain. I had in mind going on a trial for some months

323

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20186

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer:

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

The Hon. Secretary:

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

correction from page second last paragraph ~~xxxx~~

Believe me it is a dreadful veiling

Believe me I speak from bitter

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121033

[Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

To M. Netlau.

May 18th 1937

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of violent vituperation reached me soon enough. I did not reply soon, firstly because I was taken up with a big venture with Spain., and secondly I did not wish to write under the impression of your attack, — I might have said some unkind things, and I certainly do not want to be guilty of that where you are concerned. So I waited until I would be rested a bit from the strenuous efforts I had made in organising a concert which I undertook three months ago, and which only took place last Sunday. It was successful in a musical sense, but that would not appeal to you very much, I am afraid. I still remember when you "chaperoned" me to a concert though you yourself disliked the music. Financially, the affair will not bring half of what I expected. Still, in view of the English condition and the fact that we have no movement to speak of, £200 pounds or more are not to be deprecated. But, as I said the result is in no way to be compared with the terrific amount of labour and anxiety put into the venture.

I confess, I do not know where to begin to answer your letter. One thing is certain: I never thought you capable of such an outbreak and such intolerance, for a man who has always stood up for the utmost liberty, even to the extent of being impatient with organizational work, your letter is certainly the most intolerant outbreak I have read in a long while. Now mind you, I agree with you that the comrades in Holland to continue to be pacifist in the face of the grave dangers from the Fascist pest, is, to say the least of it, childish, so is the criticism of some of the comrades in Toronto of the things the CNT-FAI are doing. First let me set you right ~~XX~~ about Toronto, those who denounced the entry of ~~XXX~~ comrades into the government were not Anarchists at all. Actually, the comrades we have got in Toronto are heart and soul with the Revolution in Spain and have demonstrated their solidarity in a number of ways. You are therefore doing them an injustice in lumping them together with a lot of outsiders who were never in our ranks. But even they should be granted the right to question the consistency of Anarchists who have repudiated Governments all their lives now being in the same Councils with the Government.

As to the comrades in Holland, they surely are entitled to the right of criticism; they are people who have carried on anti-military work for nearly half a century. They are the direct descendants of Domela Nieuwenhuis, anti-military work. They are fanatically sincere and they have proven themselves of sterling quality and courage not only in speech or press, but also by many of them going to prison again and again rather than to join the army. I must protest, therefore, against your condemnation of these people, though I, myself, am opposed to their attitude as regards Spain. Certainly they do not deserve the "nice" names you give them.

As regards your impatience with me, — to call it mildly — I can only explain it by your complete reversal of mind and feeling. It is not so very long ago — not more than 3 or 4 years, — when you showed no understanding or sympathy with Syndicalism, when you thought it more advisable for Anarchists to ally themselves with Liberal Democratic elements rather than to bust themselves with bringing to life large economic organizations. Now you have no patience whatever with comrades who refuse to see in the leading Anarchists in Spain demigods whose actions are not to be questioned. Don't you consider this rather a plunge from your former attitude? Your ~~XXX~~ former position regarding all Governments and their danger?

As to your "Kindly" tribute to me for my "heinous" offense in my statement that appeared in the "Fr. Arb&St." and "Spain and the World", really dear Comrade, you seem to have become a regular heresy-hunter, for no one else among the hundreds of comrades and friends who have read the statement have complained of a single infraction of loyalty on my part. Far from criticising the CNT-FAI in my statement, I go out of my way to explain them to the comrades who had asked for light on what seemed to them a breach of principle and rather a useless compromise. I was astounded, therefore, to find that you charge me with "lèse-majesté".

Granted that I were guilty of that, I should consider it a sad day for the Spanish Anarchists if their comrades no longer had the right to express their opinions frankly and honestly. I am quite certain that the comrades in Spain would repudiate such a thing, and I do not think you are rendering them very great service by putting yourself up as "judge and executioner" of everyone who does not happen to approve of every step and decision taken by prominent members of the CNT-FAI. How does that compare with your condemnation of the Bolsheviks and their dictatorship? You could not make

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

N. Netlaw Page -2-

ence with them, yet you seem to be anxious to put a gag in everybody's mouth - is that not dictatorship?

Moreover, even if my article had contained criticism or condemnation, you as the ultra-libertarian in our movement should not attack me as you have done; but I insist that unless you have become super-sensitive in regard to the least disagreement with some of our Spanish comrades, you could not possibly have found anything objectionable on my part. As I just wrote Alexander Shapiro, I am the unfortunate orphan who was condemned for what ~~XX~~ she did not. He has attacked me for going back on my Anarchist ideas because I am not critical of the compromise in the CNT, and you attack me because I appear to have been critical. Fortunately I have never been able to do "all things to all men". I have gone my own way, though often condemned and burnt in oil by my own comrades, and I mean to continue to my last breath to uphold what I consider right and attack what seems to me to be wrong, which does not seem to me to say that I consider myself infallible, but it does mean that, in order to be true to myself, I must decide my own actions and reactions for myself.

Now, while I am heart and soul with the struggle of the Spanish comrades, and while I have done my utmost to plead their cause, for which I would cheerfully give my life, I must insist that they are vulnerable: they have made terrible mistakes which are already bearing fruit. I hold Federica Montseny, Garcia Oliver and several others of the leading comrades responsible for the gains made by the Communists and for the danger now threatening the Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI. My very first interview with these two comrades have shown me that they are on the "border-line" of Reformism. I had never met Oliver before, but I had met Federica in ~~XXXX~~ 1929. The change, since the Revolution swept her forward to the highest top-notch as leader, was only too apparent. I was strengthened in that impression every time I talked to her about the compromise she and the others had made. It was too obvious to me that these comrades are working into the hands of the Soviet Government. That in showing their gratitude to Stalin and his regime (though why they needed gratitude in addition to the gold Stalin received for whatever he gave in arms, I do not know) dire results were sure to follow. Incidentally, it also meant the betrayal of our comrades in the concentration camps and prisons of Russia. I never saw a greater breach of faith with Anarchist principles than the joint "love-feast" of the CNT-FAI with the Russian satraps in Barcelona. It was a sight for the gods, to see Garcia Oliver and the Russian Consul competing with each other in the glowing tribute to the Soviet Government, or the eulogies that appeared daily in the "Solidaridad Obrera". Not a word did the paper, or Oliver, or Federica have to say about the Russian people, about the fact that the Russian revolution has been castrated and that Stalin's henchmen are responsible for tens of thousands of lives! It was a disgraceful affair - unnecessary and humiliating! I have not written about this to anyone, dear comrades, although I felt indignation and could have cried out my contempt of the so-called leaders in the CNT-FAI.

Granted that to save the anti-fascist situation arms from Russia were needed, but why was it necessary to make it more than a business deal, for which Spain paid heavily in gold and the CNT paid in loss of much of its position and its strength? Surely no one with any clear vision could be blinded to the motive of Russia's sudden "interest", after three and a half months of the Anti-Fascist struggle in Spain. Now the real motive is beginning to be recognised by the very people who sang hosannah to comrade Stalin; it was for no other reason than to get possession of Madrid and, if possible to increase the armed Communist forces in the rest of Spain, in anticipation of the "happy" moment when the Anarchists can be exterminated as they have been in Russia. By right I should have given this to the public. I should have written about all this. My silence was, in a measure, consent of the betrayal of the comrades in Russia. I readily admit that. I did not do it because I did not have the heart to expose Federica and the ~~XX~~ others in our press outside of Spain. Yet you come along and throw brimstone and fire on my head because I dared, if you please, to explain some of the blunders of the leading members of the CNT-FAI ~~XXXXXX~~ in my statement. I consider it very unkind, to say the least of it.

You, assume dear comrade, that I knew nothing about the Spanish movement before I came to Spain. What do you base this assumption on? You seem to forget that we had a very strong Spanish movement in America for many years that I was connected with the "Cultura Proletariat" all through the years when Pedro Esteve was editor, that I have read nearly everything you and Rucker have written about Spain. Not only that, but I have always held the Spanish Anarchists to be the shining example of consistency, courage and fortitude. Actually, if I had not always believed in them implicitly, I

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 18, London to W.S. Van Valkenburgh, Scotia, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 36 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

to M. Netlau. -3-

should have left Spain after that disgraceful pact between Russian and the leaders of the CNT-FAI, and certainly should not have raised a finger in aid or support. It was precisely because of my abiding faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the Spanish Anarchists, and the certainty that they will wake up soon to the danger of their compromise that gave me courage to go out and work as I have worked in England since I returned here. I do not think therefore that I deserve your censure.

However that is not the important thing- what is of the utmost importance is that our comrades in Spain have had their eyes opened; that they now see the danger lurking in every corner from the Marxists, and that they are coming out openly in their papers and bulletins calling the necessary alarm. The Jesuits of the Stalin brand are hard at work preparing all kinds of pitfalls for the comrades; they are hard at work in every country. In England they spread the rumour that Catalonia is sabotaging Madrid. They even succeeded in influencing the Manchester Guardian; as you will see by my letter of protest published in the M.G. of April 24th. In fact, their sudden discovery of Democracy as a beautiful bride is nothing else but the deliberate intention of the Soviet Government to destroy the Revolution in Spain, and they are losing no time to achieve this, I would not be surprised if Caballero and the Communists were to make a separate peace with France, provided the latter would assure them of safety of their own miserable hides. All that should never have been given a chance to raise its head. It was done unfortunately, through the compromise of the comrades of the CNT-FAI.

Do not lose any sleepless nights, dear Comrade. I am not writing this to others, and I would not have written it to you had you not delivered yourself of such a ferocious attack on my poor innocent head.

I have asked you once before to write me exactly what you mean about all of us having "frittered away our Libertarian Ideas" and not having done enough to make Kropotkin and Bakunin known?. I hope you will explain it next time you write. To me it is sheer nonsense, but speaking only for A.B. and myself, I can only say that all our years were devoted to the presentation of the ideas and writings of both Kropotkin and Bakunin. If we did less with Bakunin's works, it is only because we did not have them in English and our work was mainly in Anglo-Saxon countries, but to say that we have not done our share in popularizing our teachers' works, is to be guilty of lack of understanding and appreciation of our activities.

Well, I am afraid we will probably not come to any understanding. You seem to feel about Federica and the Urales family as a mother does about her "chicks" nobody must touch them even remotely. I myself admired them for years; I admire her brilliant oratorical abilities, but I can say that she has feet of clay, and I can see no reason why it should not be admitted. She has gone terribly to the right, and wearing a revolver in the belt does not make it any more left. However, I am certain that the comrades, when they come to see that politicians, whether in pants or skirts, whether Anarchist or Socialists, must be watched. They will go from the fundamental principles as they always have in the past.

As the International Anarchist Conference has been postponed until July, I am remaining here until the end of this month. I must go back to give a report of my achievements here, and also to suggest some new method by which our campaign can be developed to spread out so as to reach greater numbers.

Fraternally and affectionately,
(in spite of our disagreements).

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918214

[Letter] 1937 May 18 [Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / I[lse Jueneman].—
1 p.; 29 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12454

Dear Emma, I received your letter which you had enclosed in Mercedes's. Thank you very much for it. Yesterday your letter with the lists of addresses also arrived. Of course the congress affairs will have to be left for a while until things are more clear. - It has been rather dreadful in Barcelona. Certainly you must not believe ~~what~~ what the ~~press~~ foreign press says about it. In a few days you will receive a complete description of the events. We were absolutely on the defensive and it is thanks to the efforts and the discipline of our comrades that not more blood was shed and that peace could be restored. Of course we are accused everywhere of having initiated - or rather some UNCONTROLLED elements of ours have - the uprising. This is not true. - The crisis of the Valencian Government and its solution, makes it all quite obvious. I am sure that you will get a letter from Souhy tomorrow. We have plenty of work at present.

Soon I shall write you more also about the woman's organisation etc.
I shall also translate your letter for Mercedes for publication.
This only in a hurry to answer your letter and reply to your questions.

Much love, I.

18th of May, 1937

I enclose an article of S's, on the tragic death of Berneri. You will have read all about the circumstances in the SOLI, I suppose.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].—
12 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Tuesday, May 18, 37 U.S. 103

Dear comrade E.G., I have read your letter and am under the impression of your last remarks by hand — the murder of Berneri by communists — I knew nothing of this and as you state it as a fact, I feel there is little room left for hope that these news may not be confirmed.

Otherwise, my conscience remains at rest, safe for my general errors, and for my regret to have been hard in my opinions on public actions of yours (that letter in P.A.S. etc.) as these — irrespective of their inner value — to me seemed ill placed now in a situation of vital stress. If I may continue to write, I believe it best to state first things as I see and see them or believe to see them.

This is such a life and death struggle, death or slavery, to all good people in Spain that to win in a decent way, in the relatively best way is more vital than absolutely everything. The opposite means that absolute slavery as in R. since 1917/18, in It. since 1922, in G. since 1933, which for 20, 15, 5 years was not challenged by any efficient liberal current, which is branded with烙 iron on every child since then, education, and which incessantly spreads poison gas —

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].—
12 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

the worship of authority, nationality, brute force, obedience — upon all other countries by means of communists, fascists, nazists etc. ruining the spiritual health, poisoning the air everywhere. To resist to this at last, as in Spain, is the vital fact of the present — and all of us, the so-called advanced people, had not been able to do this up till then. Nearly all of us had lurking tenderness for communist Russia and it took years before free words were heard — more so, communism succeeded to poison a portion of the movement in France, the Plattform gang, and the evil touched the very best, as Macdon's remonstrations with Malatesta show. If Shapiro now attacks you as not being critical, was he critical when he had settled in Russia? What I have called "frittering away our libertarian ideas" refers exactly to all these years from 1917-18 to 1936, when no real stand was made, because against capitalism all felt more or less solidary with Russia all the same. Then freedom was neglected, liberalism despised, and all felt attracted towards large and more or less authoritarian organisations — as things were ^{done} largely, on a large scale, in Russia.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p.; 22 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nominally large things, mere frame- (3
work, were dealt — the I.W.M.A.
(A.T.T.), syndicalist bodies, whilst it
would have been vital to spread
freedom, autonomy, self respect, dignity
and to repudiate every authoritarian
teaching. So the years passed —
something appeared to be done, but in
reality it wasn't — it was formal
framework, thinner and weaker
every year. Even the Argentine Fore
proved so very inefficient in Sept. 1930.
The Italians did nothing but inter-
In Berlin the syndicalists and Neitsam
could not tear themselves away from
the spell of the Räte system.
Kropotkin was sacrificed in this way
that, without verification, he was
considered irreclaimably tied up with
some statements in the Conquest of Bread
and, for these, declared to be immensely
respected, but shockingly out of date,
dead as a doornail (as Tom Bell
wrote) — and no one presented the
real Kropotkin. I tried to do so in
a long essay which I worked out
thrice: for Revista Blanca (printed) —
for Fid. St. where it was too long, not
printed: but the Ms. was then fully
printed in Russian, in the Trotskyist
of Detroit, and once for Keell, as an
essential English pamphlet; but as it
may be of 48 p., it cannot be printed. If
you were to know the texts from Krop.
quoted there, then only you could say
whether just circulating the usual

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].—
12 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

pamphlets (and even permitting to see them piled with cuttings, as in the Vanguard volume) was enough done for Keats's ideas or not. — Bakunin, in these years, had such a revival in the Spanish language, and a living continuation, up to 1932, in Malatesta, that his neglect in other countries was painful to see.

— But, as to present Spain: I feel as you may have seen in the pamphlet with the red cover (a portion of the chapters) and in the London paper up to now. — I wish I had what is primarily necessary in this serious, actual, living and vital, I should say the unique question before us: insight, the capacity to estimate situations at their real value, tact, the sense of proportions and kindness. — I wish to be deprived of prejudice, rigidity, severity, arbitrariness and micro- and macro-optic illusorability. Otherwise, I might do worthless things, may harm. I do my best, so you do. — I do not think at all that this makes me intolerant: as to certain things, I always was and am — I have no patience with those who are satisfied with authority. They cannot help it, but they are noxious, objectively, as rats are. That is what we feel about the communists and what, before their time, I felt for the social democrats. That is what my friends in Spain felt all along for the communists, not recently, but all their life. The man who strives for power or who camivores with

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

power is obvious to us, be he Mark
de Luis or Teubny or any socialist.
It is, I feel, an imagination if you
believe that these friends now feel
a whit otherwise about all this as in
1929 or ever before. The hard facts are
these: — since and after October 34 (Astoria)
a portion of the socialists (rank and file
and youth) seemed disposed to action and
since then, as in a minor degree before, all
were threatened by military-clerical-fascist
conspiracy. Since Feb. 16, 36 (election) this
was intensified and soon after July 19,
two facts were manifested — Barcelona, Madrid,
Valencia, Bilbao, Málaga on one side,
all the rest on the other side, and: no
overwhelming victory of neither section.
— Then France refused to help Madrid
— Then Italy-Germany helped the enemy
to pass over from Africa, to seize all the
west, the northeast (San Sebastian) and
to threaten Madrid
— at this juncture (sept., oct.) the danger
was immense — no hope from Fr. and
Engl.; every help given by It. and Germ. —
Then Russia was the only way out
and had to be resorted to, as an almost
ruined man applies to a money lender.
Then, as far as I know, the actual needs
(food) and the morals of poor people (deserted
by all the world) were improved by
making the most of the first Russian
ships — just as in April the British
food steamers were welcomed in Bilbao.
Is it not an insult to the appreciation of
my friends, if you consider them inferior
imagined by such spectacular events?

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Have you never made the best of any situation which enabled you to cheer up people? How many, let me say, moderately complimentary or friendly speeches and talks have you had with bolsheviks in Russia when you were already convinced yourself that they were tyrants and impostors? Why do you cherish absolute idealism from people who are in the midst of complicated situations? Were they just to shower insults on Stalin, talk of the Russian peasants and then go home disgusted to sit in a corner to spit fire or to do nothing, to eliminate themselves suicidally — or to make the best of the situation, keeping up their dignity as, as to my friends, I am certain they did? You put a friendly face on thousands of things in Russia or you would not have been able to live, nor to leave there for years. Life is complex, not simplistic — it may be so for some few who knock their heads against a wall and all is over — it was not so for you: why should it be so for others? May, 1900, Morton (that Norwegian, I mean) asked Havel: why do you say nothing? — Havel: I have nothing important to say — Morton: well, if I were to speak only if I had something important to say, I should speak for about 5 minutes and then be silent for the rest of my life — and you were the first to appreciate the joke. Pugh really G.O. or F.I. to have said to the Russian consul: you represent

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

despotism and your good should be the own (7
in the sea, and as this is not done, I
wash my hands of everything and go
home — and there is an end of it. — Such
things are not done and you cannot fail
to know this: then why recriminate?
Such recriminations, repeated and
multiplied, egged on by papers in Paris
(*Libre*) and probably elsewhere
abroad — all that has now led to the
tragedy beginning May 3, in Barcelona,
and the blood of the good, possibly best
comrades killed that week is on the
fingers of the supercritics as much as
on those of the Catalan government. The
embusque's in Barcelona and the rigorous
critics in France egged them on and a
catastrophe was provoked by their tremendous
folly. — These comrades gathered in Barc.
do not to let the city to be depleted
from militants by keeping them all in
aragon — they were quick and watchful,
that is all — their minds seem to have
been poisoned and made giddy by all that
idle embusque's talk and foreign — round
cui — criticism. This estranged them
from the main portion of the CNT, and
presented that conflicts with the local
governing forces (Catalans) might be decided
by discussions and equitable arrangements.
No — they had to be egged on, to consider
everybody their enemy, to be quite
intractable — and so, having been thus
isolated, they went into the governmental
trap; in my opinion they were led to the
shambles by the critics who now, no

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

doubt, will be hard at work to deepen the gulf and to ruin militancy & anarchism altogether. 15/50

as is Berneri, he was through all his years of exile, — since, I figure, Malatesta's direct moral influence was absent, — the active and passive centre of polemics and personalist agitations, and if he really was murdered, it is a wonder that it happened only now: he was so terribly prolific in discussions and apt to become involved into quarrels, whilst as to positive exploits he appeared to be sterile and unproductive, a moderate at heart. (His personal qualities have nothing to do with this appreciation of his published activities).

and with all this, you are still under the impression of a Congress to be held in July — that congress, from the beginning, I considered a frivolity and a wickedness unbounded. Now for ten months anarchists have every occasion, terrain and weapons, to fight directly their worst enemies — they have scope, as never before, to do local reconstructive work — they have, in every country, enormous work before them to explain and interpret the Spanish events and the libertarian ideas (so utterly misrepresented now, worse everywhere) — and all that and manifold work of help, is not good enough for some busybodies who must needs in a starving country, with daily murders by air bombs, with every one threatened by death or

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ruin, if the enemy enters, — they ^{of 1915} must in that situation proclaim that they wish to bask in the sun as an idle international congress, producing yards of resolutions and, as is well known, to be used by those of the spiteful, Thersites-type, to ventilate their grievances under the cloak of congressional immunity. That is frivolous and unworthy of anarchists, as I know them.

I believe that we need not exhibit broadly, that we have a number of eminent superorganizational persons, nor of supremely cantankerous persons hair-splitting and finding hairs in soups (even if we have no soups to eat), nor of eminent orators (as for that, every party has). We need not demonstrate that we are powerless everywhere, that we lack the ability, at present, to present our ideas to some good purpose anywhere, etc. etc. — In short, we all ought to fight, to learn, to help, to remain in the ranks — and not to crow as an idle congress. — If we could have given proper help, the Russians would not have come — if some take upon themselves the unpleasant task to have these formal contacts with Russia, I thank them, as this liberates me from this disagreeable task — exactly as I feel thankful to every scavenger who clears away the dirt which I need not touch — and if the scavenger gets soiled, shall I despise him? No, I leave that to those who profit by such unavoidable

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau]. — 12 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

help, but prefer to soar high above
instead of feel thankful to those who did
the dirty work for them.

— By all that, the present Valencia
crisis seems to mean about this, as I
see it from here:

<p>Caballero — UGT CNT — FAI <u>Independent Anarchists</u></p>	<p>} : { Azana Prieto, Besteiro and soc. polit. Republican political Catalans Basks </p>
--	---

and false provocative
Counsellors.
poison.

and to all these the
Communists wish to
insinuate themselves
all France; poison

Ida and Blum are
with these.

What did Besteiro
do in London these
last weeks?

plot

I still expect that Caballero, UGT plus
CNT, FAI will keep in check the
gang Prieto — Repubb — Azana — and
their "communist" self-insinuating sequel.

But you might see from this
that to weaken, to undermine the
CNT-FAI main current is identical
with working into the hands either
of the Prieto-gang or of Franco altogether.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870930092

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].—
12 p.; 22 x 14 cm.

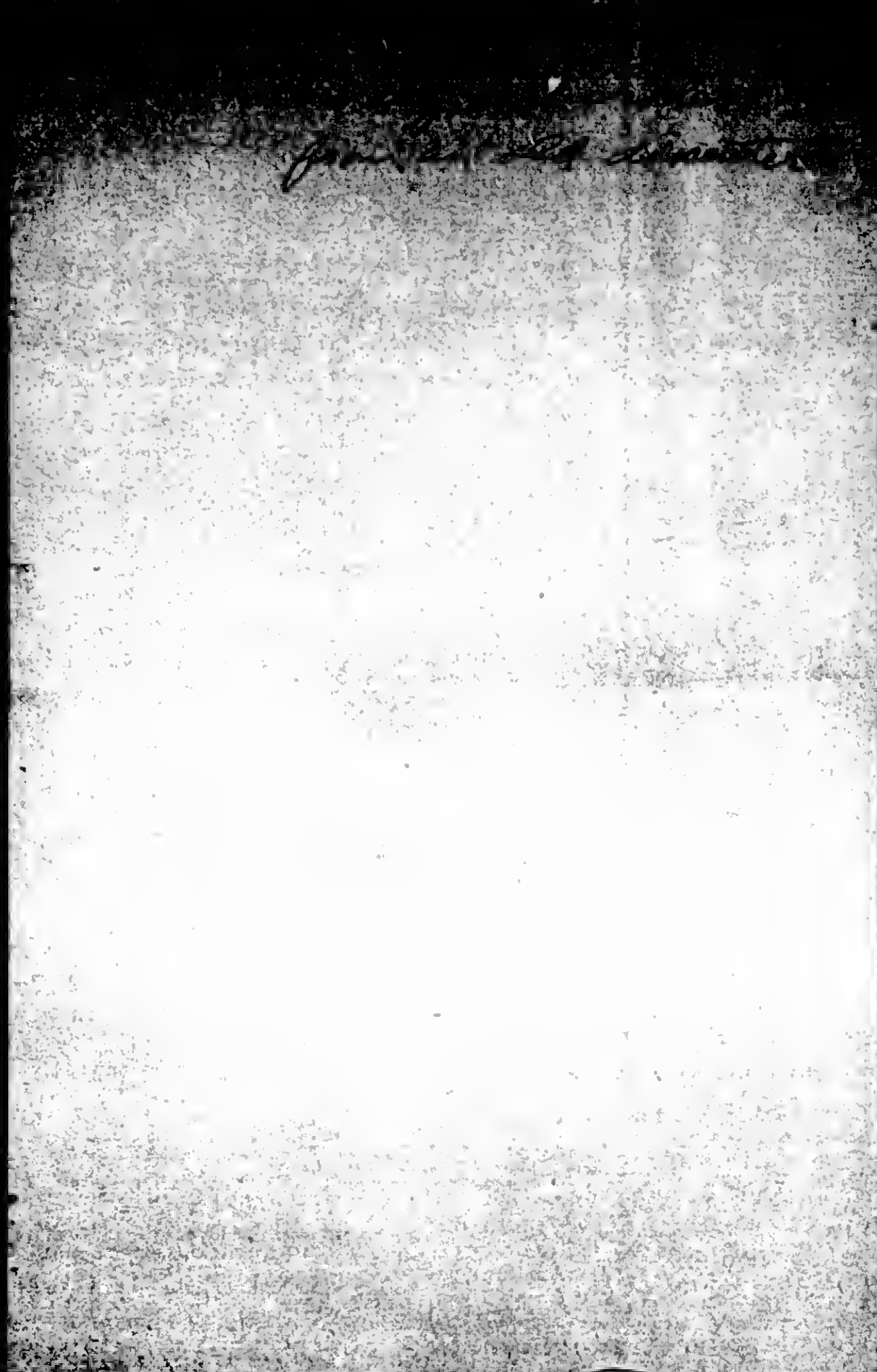
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

— It is evident to me that real life (1) is more important than doctrines which this or that thinker or we ourselves have abstracted and believe to be correct. Hence before I p. realities the programs and pamphlets and all that must give way. Our task is to learn, not to teach, which life steps in as it does since July 19. That makes me so bitter against all the system-mongering plans and criticasters. They were so utterly absent the first times, days and weeks, but after that they turned up again. I really expected to see them no more and was struck when they became visible again like moths from dust. A beset commonplace word from Fred did more good than all these antiquarianisms who seemed to crawl out from the old pamphlets. I had no patience with them, then and there, as I had none with Holland and Toronto, nor later with Paris. This is a great pity that you, that F.L.P. letter came in in-between and made me desperate. Do excuse me. — This is the event of our lives — not a matter of ours and of ever-moving ideas, but one of a people and of all peoples who are out yet prostrated in the dust. If that has made me rude in remarks which I have forgotten, forgive me. — But do tear yourself away from party-drift, congress-mongering and all that in this great cause. — We don't want to end this in ruin as things ended in Russia, Italy, Germany — nothing easier than that — are not three tragedies enough of proofs how not to do things? — We wish to do better, so let us do it and

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 18 [Vienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / [Max Nettlau].—
12 p. ; 22 × 14 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

340

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 May 19, London to Spain and the World, London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

... of life, has been or-
only are the people
war supplies on a gener-
they have also put into
system of libertarian
and they are making it
they were one of the
villages. They didn't
was to see a movie and
ad meat more than once
week. In Gelsa, now,
value and no one works
ver. Everything is col-
everyone gives his labour
in return all that he
artisans have nominated
it is his responsibility
rything is kept in repair.
d are distributed to each
ordance with its needs.
tributed equitably 20
th person. The same
atoes and other veget-
extra things, which every-
es, the Committee dis-
is, to every adult three
en from six and a half
vejoine ticket and under
a ticket. The people
are now engaged on the
of a communal laundry
it they are planning to
on plant to purify their
r. As soon as the war
hope to build a better
next village; to build an
new homes on modern
age system will be con-
all the streets paved
e developments are tak-
the state of Catalonia
Anarchists are mainly in
where the workers are
ther in the great anarchist
of Spain, with a million
members, the C.N.T. Not
Anarchists of Catalonia
quell the Fascist rebel-
ry outset but they have
while in power, a high
nstructive ability.

II. METCALFE

... a Canadian Socialist,
than three months in
as able to judge for him-
nitions prevailing. The
h reached us too late for
the last issue, was writ-
ks before the "uprising"
(Catalonia.—Eds.)



Front.

... that is why they are hated by all sides and loved by the masses whose motto
is COMMUNISMO LIBERTARIO, Libertarian Communism.

To give but two examples of the boycott against the C.N.T.-F.A.I.,
both in the Right as well as the Left Press, I submit two letters sent to
the Tory Telegraph and the pseudo-Left New Statesman-Nation.

The Editor,
The New Statesman and Nation,
10 Great Turnstile, W.C.1
Sir,

In the midst of the dreadful silence of
the British Press in regard to the place
and importance of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., it
is heartening to come across a few excep-
tions. Few indeed, since it is only The
New Statesman and Nation and the Man-
chester Guardian who are liberal enough
to do justice to the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I
was therefore interested to read the
article of Mr. Cyril Connolly in your
issue of February 20th. I met him in
Barcelona and without seeming boastful I
wish to say that I gave him the first
interview for the C.N.T.-F.A.I., which
he used for his first article in your pub-
lication.

My comrades in Barcelona at that time
had had so many unpleasant experiences
with newspaper men they hesitated to be-
lieve that Mr. Connolly would make an
exception. His ~~straightforward~~ ^{straightforward} proved them
was fair and sympathetic. As a result he
has since received every courtesy and all
the data from the C.N.T.-F.A.I. for his
further work. On the whole, Mr. Con-
nolly has been objective and just. But I
was sorry to see in his last article that he
considered it important enough to repeat
nucleous gossip and whisperings picked
up from people on the streets. These
dreadful human habits are unreliable
enough in time of peace. In a situation
like the present in Spain it seems a pity
to give them credence.

A case in point is the opinion given Mr.
Connolly by an "English Communist".
Is it possible that Mr. Connolly does not
know of the "love" every Communist
feels for all Anarchists? Else it would be
difficult to understand how he could
repeat the charge made by his informant
that it was an Anarchist who killed
Buenaventura Durruti. Actually
nothing but hatred can conceive of such
an utterly mad accusation.

In point of truth, no other Anarchist
in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. was so trusted,
loved and admired as Durruti. It is
therefore fantastic to assume that any of
his comrades would have taken his life.

The reason given Mr. Connolly by the
English Communist for his utterly absurd
accusation was that the Anarchists were
"jealous of his friendship with the Rus-
sians," and that "his views were very un-
popular." Permit me to say that there is
not a word of truth in this. Actually
Durruti never entertained "friendship
with the Russians." He was absolutely
and irrevocably opposed to Dictatorship.
Of course he stressed to the need of unity
with the Spanish Communists as the only
means of conquering Fascism; but he
was only too well aware of the ideological
differences between Communists and An-
archists, and the difference between their
tactics, to ever become enamoured with
the Soviet regime. A man of such convic-
tions and of such abiding faith in the
strength of the ideal of Liberty could not
possibly entertain "friendship" for a
régime which rests on the very opposite
conception.

I am not a Marxian and not in accord
with the P.O.U.M. But, in justice to this
party whose men are fighting heroically
at every front, I cannot but point out that
it is scandalous on the part of the Com-
munists to charge them with Fascism.
That is just the trouble with the Com-
munists. In their Jesuitical belief that
"the end justifies the means" they will
stoop to every method, no matter how
reprehensible, in their dealings with their
opponents. However, that is an old and
painful story which those who flirt with
Communism have yet to learn.

I congratulate Mr. Connolly on his
understanding and appreciation of the
role the Anarchists have played in the
lives of the Spanish workers. It speaks
for Mr. Connolly's ability to observe the
actual facts in Catalonia. I only wish
more people who go to Spain would show
is much fairness. For no one with a
sense of justice can possibly fail to see
the extraordinary constructive work the
C.N.T.-F.A.I. has begun, almost imme-

diately after the 19th July, 1936. To be
able to continue such an experiment as
the collectivisation of the industries and
the land, in the face of danger and death,
is proof positive that they are the only
true revolutionists who still believe in
Liberty intensely, to fight and die for it
if need be. For the rest, the Anarchists
will survive the charge of being "either
visionaries, half-wits or quacks."

Yours sincerely,

EMMA GOLDMAN

The Editor,
The Daily Telegraph,
135, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
Sir,

In your issue of Friday, January 19th,
I found an article by Yves Uren (Cor-
respondent in Perpignan, regarding riots
of the Languedoc against the Government
at Valencia. The writer states that he
had learned "from reliable informants
that a serious rising against the Valencia
Government had broken out among the
farmers in the surrounding country." To
write about the world-stirring events in
Spain from the vantage point of a French
border town is superficial enough. But
to base one's knowledge on mere hear-
say seems to me to be the height of in-
justice, even to those whose cause one
deprecates.

It happens that I have been in the very
parts near Valencia your Correspondent
refers to; that I have travelled the length
and breadth of Catalonia, Aragon and the
Levante. I have visited dozens of vil-
lages and, being out of Spain but
recently, I can emphatically state that
there is no truth in the report of the in-
formation your Correspondent transmitted
second-hand. Far from any "uprising"
I found singular goodwill and sympathy
on the part of those peasants who are
working the land collectively; they are
heart and soul with the Revolutionary
forces now engaged in an heroic battle
against Fascism.

No doubt there is a shortage of food,
but that is entirely due to the so-called
"Democratic" Governments, who by
their stand of Neutrality have delibera-
tely worked into the hands of Franco
and his worthy supporters, Hitler and
Mussolini. They have thereby sabotaged
the rights of the Spanish people to defend
their lives and their liberty. Had they
not been interfered with, they would have
been able to continue the normal supplies
of foodstuffs.

But with tens of thousands of Fascist
victims to care for now, it is not sur-
prising that there should be some shortage.
However, at no time was this sufficient to
impel the farmers to rise in revolt against
the Anti-Fascist forces, with whom they
are so absolutely in accord. No impar-
tial observer who has visited Anti-Fascist
Spain will deny that whether the average
farmer agrees with the various Ideologies
represented in the United front or not,
he loathes Fascism as much as the most
Left Revolutionaries. It is this loathing
of the Spanish people in every station of
life for Franco and his hirelings that pre-
cludes any rising or revolt so long as a
single Fascist will continue to disgrace the
fair name of Spain.

May I inform you that it is this oppo-
sition and hatred of Fascism which explains
the failure of France to crush the Liber-
tarian struggle? Franco has all the arms
he wants and now also a great many
men, so generously supplied him by the
two ultra-humanitarian rulers, Hitler
and Mussolini.

The other side has, in addition to large
numbers and considerable arms, also a
sideline ideal and courage. These have
been known to move mountains and they
will help to remove Fascism from Spain.

Whether you agree or disagree with
the Anti-Fascist Cause, it would be well
for your readers to obtain your informa-
tion from a Correspondent stationed in
Spain, rather than from one comfortably
and safely watching the heroic Spanish
social panorama from afar.

Sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029111

[Letter, 19]37 May 19, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence.

4124

19/5/37

Dearest Emma.

My typewriter is entirely out of action so I will not impose a long written screed on you to decipher.

Things are quiet. The weather has been bad. Today we are all on edge because a strong breeze is blowing. I am just going to Nice to meet Nellie to fix up things she wants me to do. She hopes to leave on Saturday.

There is a lot in your letter I would like to answer but I am afraid they must wait.

With all this new - old - trouble in Spain - new Government & what not - I am wondering how it is going to affect your going - what you have decided to do - whatever your move - wants, I know you will fix up some -

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Explained this to her before.

Also, I think, when you go through
cheque you find a me. You perhaps forget
that in all £20 was paid for fares
the first cheque was not for furniture -
but for my fare to London. I thought
reached this was £9.16 - (I always
thought of it as £10 - to make figures easy) for furniture

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029111

[Letter, 19]37 May 19, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 3 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2126

2 When I left - you thought I believe £5 -
But please dear Emma arrange it -
according to the 'top' of your cheque book -
This - for the most satisfactory way for
both of us. Since I started this I have been
to Nice - Nellie it seems, can get no
Couchette before Tuesday - or even, she says
a seat on the train - so is leaving on that
day. She is anxious to get away.
When I wrote - "not my affair" on the head
bill I thought you understood that whilst I
did the housekeeping I used to draw
cheques on my own account for the house
expenses - these cheques paid for things
due + current necessities. I had drawn
£8-16-0 - according to my cheque book
lines, you gave me the last cheque on
Feb. 6th the money had paid for our keep -
plus £1-8-0 for beer + soda from Cullen
this was for your meeting at the
~~Conway Hall~~ Conway Hall & report
up to that time afterwards.

Over

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005131

[Letter] 1937 May 22 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20124

22nd May, 1937.

Dear Mary Feivel,

Thank you for your letter and the £2 enclosed for my fund. I suppose you have been doing a little "propaganda" on your own in getting your friends to contribute. Keep it up my dear for there is no end to the needs of the Spanish people. Thank you also for your very clear description of the situation in Palestine. I quite agree with you, the official labour organisation there would never have Emma Goldman even if they were not now politically involved. I am too disreputable for them. You will be amused when I will tell you that I tried every possible means to be of help ~~to~~ to the Trade Union during the general strike. A very close comrade of mine who has been in the Trade Union movement for 30 years or more, and who had built up the Public Assistance Union, went to see the leader of the Union last Tuesday to submit my offer to them of help in any capacity they should need from me. The answer they gave was "we cannot afford to have Emma Goldman mixed up with the general strike or the Trade Unions". So you see my dear that I have been and continue to be the red cloth to the bull; with all apologies to the bull because he has backbone which is more than can be said for the official Trade Unions and labour parties whether in England, Palestine, United States or elsewhere. Nevertheless, I have not yet given up all hopes of Palestine. It takes more than one difficulty to disappoint E.G.

I understand from some friends of mine that there is a gentleman from Palestine here who is connected with a more radical organisation - non-communist I think. I am to see him and find out just what he thinks about my chances in your part of the world. Just at present he is ill and I have not been able to get hold of him but I hope to do so very soon. I will let you know what he has to say.

In any event this is not the thing for the present. In the first place I am still hoping against hope that I will be granted a visa for America; in that case I would first go there in the autumn. In the second place I understand that the best time to go to Palestine is the winter. For the present I am winding up affairs to return to Spain. I expect to leave about the 8th or 9th June for Paris for a week or so, and then proceed to Spain, Barcelona.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005131

[Letter] 1937 May 22 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

A.C.

20125

I don't know what the papers you are receiving had to say about the recent anti events. The papers here have as usual blamed it all on the anarchists. The responsible papers for this new villification of my comrades in Spain is entirely that of the Communists. They have not only spread the rumour; they have openly charged the anarchists and of course the scapegoat of Stalin, who are the Trotskyists, for the uprising and the bloodshed. I hope you have reserved your opinion on the matter until you will receive a more authentic explanation. I am quoting here from a letter which I wrote to a friend of mine about what actually happened in Spain:

"The events in Barcelona the last two weeks have demonstrated how foolish were some of our comrades of the CNT/FAI to believe that Stalin has begun to send arms to Spain out of revolutionary solidarity, or that there ever can be a unity between fire and water. Aside of the fact that Stalin waited 34 months, the most critical period of the Spanish revolution and the anti-Fascist war, before he began sending arms should have proven to our comrades and to all thinking people that the man was waiting for the decision of his allies - France - and that he cared little for the sacrifices daily made in Spain in the anti-Fascist struggle. It also should have proven to them that Stalin sent arms in return for good gold and that he imposed conditions on the CNT/FAI which have unfortunately fettered both organisations to a very large extent. One of the conditions was that no anti-Soviet criticism or propaganda should be continued in the anarchist press. The other that Soviet emissaries should have full control of the procedure of the defence of Madrid. Of course they never would have succeeded had it not been for the fact that Durutti was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Barcelona that he was put out of the way by a Communist. But from the events of the last two weeks I am beginning to think that there was more truth than fiction in this rumour. Durutti was too astute a strategist and absolutely consistent with his ideas and he would never have submitted to any political deal with the Communists. The Communists were not slow in taking advantage of these conditions. They not only increased in numbers sometimes 2000 a week, who arrived in Spain but a great deal of the arms sent for the defence of Madrid went to the headquarters of the Communists for the arming of their comrades. The next step dictated by Stalin was to change the slogan of the defence of the revolution to the defence of democracy, the kind of democracy which the old reactionary police officials and the reactionary middle class wanted to bring back in order to destroy the constructive work of the CNT/FAI and to crush the revolution. There is no doubt that his 'great dream' of Stalin was shared by the other powers who are all in favour of some kind of a deal with Franco in order to establish 'peace'.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

346

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005131

[Letter] 1937 May 22 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman]. - 4 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20126

2.

Otherwise it is difficult to explain how it happened that British and French warships should be rushed to Spanish waters almost at the identical moment when this well prepared plot in Spain was brought to a head, namely the attack on the telephone building - the most strategic point of Barcelona - by armed forces. Incidentally, at the same moment the same attack took place in Terason and Lerida, 250 kilometres from Barcelona. Naturally our comrades ~~also~~ defended their position. They could not be expected to do anything else. They realised that they have already given way far beyond what they should have done. In other words the anarchists were not the originators of the attack. To have done otherwise than defend the position would emasculate them and the revolution.

The originators of the plot ~~was~~ did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their documents and material, they put them under arrest and supposedly were to take them to police headquarters. The next day both were found dead, shot in the back, exactly as the many victims of Mussolini and Hitler were found. One of these comrades, Camillo Berneri, was one of the most distinguished anarchists in Italian ranks. Before Mussolini he was Professor of economy and literature in the Florence University. He had been victimised by Mussolini while he was still in the country and then pursued him to France where the life of Berneri was made impossible. From the very first ~~moment~~ moment of the Spanish revolution, July 19th, Berneri rushed to Spain and put himself and his abilities at the disposition of the CNT/FAI. He organised the first Italian column. He fought at many fronts and he was the spirit of all the Italians in the rear. I had occasion to meet and know Berneri and I found him one of the kindest and sweetest personalities, besides being one of the most brilliant. The Communists, together with the Fascist forces, have murdered Berneri because, like Durutti, he was in their way. He was too outspoken, too consistent and his vision was clear. He saw what was coming and he warned the leading comrades against it."

You will see, my dear, that the events have not contributed to my peace of mind or my rest. In fact I have been in a frightful turmoil. Here reason why I should go into Spain and find out not only the published data but everything that is hidden underneath. Mail will reach me here until the 15th June. After that c/o Madame Nellie Alperine, 23 rue des

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

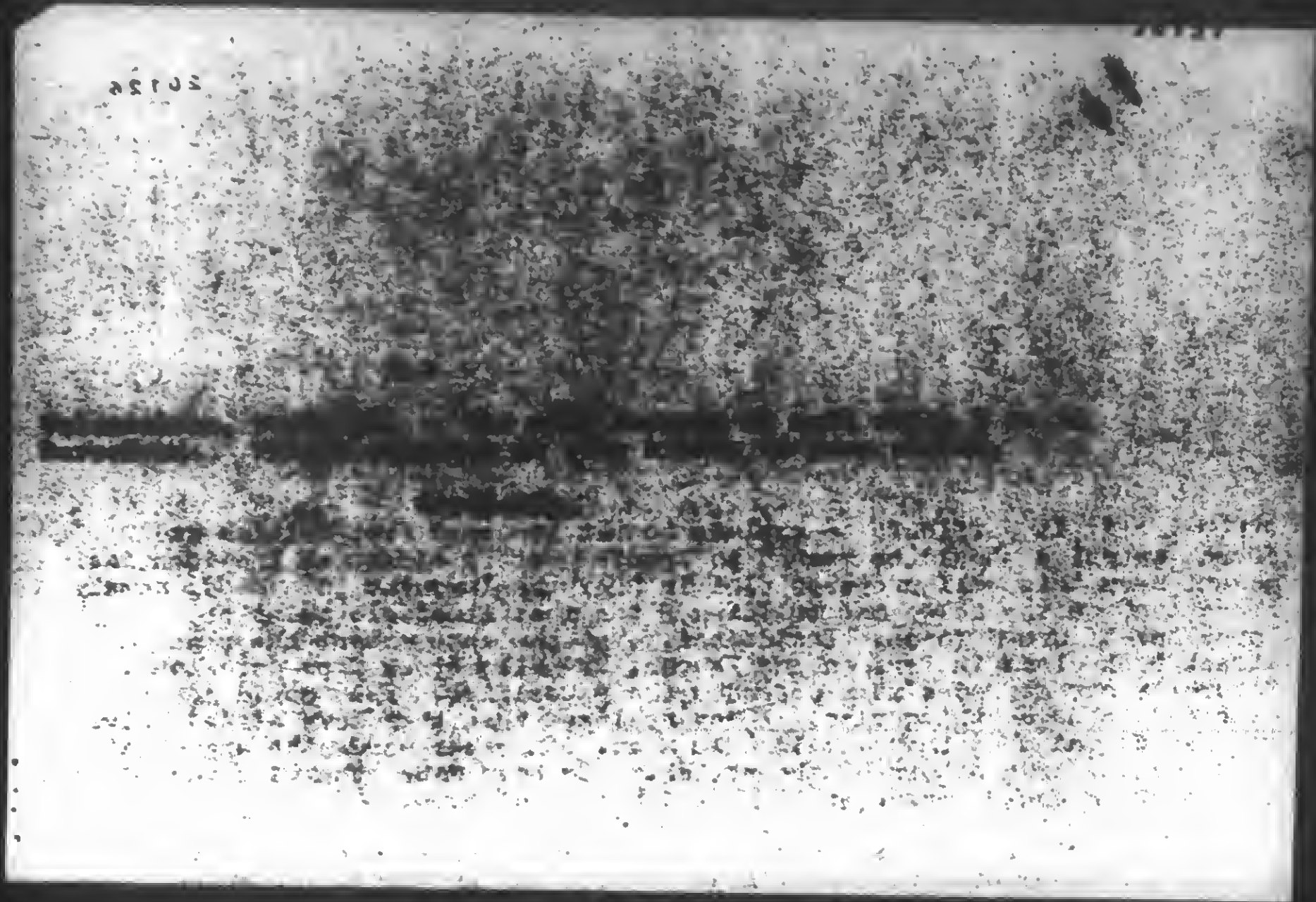
347

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005131

[Letter] 1937 May 22 [London to] Mary Feivel, [Jerusalem] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

348

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918215

[Letter] 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Gol[d]man, London / David Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Comité Nacional



SECCION INFORMACION Y PROPAGANDA

Grabador Esteve No 4 Teléfono 10 1 68

Valencia 22 de Mayo de 1937

A la compañera Emma Goldman.

Londres.

Querida compañera: Contestamos a la tuya, fechada en esa el 11 de Mayo de los corrientes. En realidad, como tu señalas en la tuya, hay algo de anormal en nuestras relaciones. Y decimos que hay algo de anormal porque no se explica como puede suceder que falte ese principio de filvanación en nuestra correspondencia. Ciertamente todo ello es posible que obedezca a las perturbaciones de toda índole que trae aparejado un movimiento tan vasto como el que desde hace unos meses vive España.

Y ahora hablemos un poco de nuestra situación actual. Por la prensa te habrás informado de la grave crisis política por que ha atravesado España hace unos días. Para que tengas informes fidedignos, con el objeto de poder dar la tónica necesaria a tus campañas por ~~anti~~, y para que, al mismo tiempo, conozcas como anarquista y revolucionaria este grave hecho, en sus menores detalles, te explicaremos, con alguna minuciosidad lo acaecido.

No creemos que hubiese escapado a tu fina percepción los manejos de determinados sectos es llamados antifascistas, en relación con la plutocracia internacional, contra la C.N.T. y su obra. Precisamente, y esto no es si no u a faceta más del vasto plan, en tus cartas has venido señalando los turbios manejos de los marxistas en el extranjero. El plan había sido cuidadosamente elaborado. Pretendíase desplazar a la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, y al camarada Francisco Largo Caballero, del seno del Gobierno.

Esto se logró hace unos días. El matiz revolucionario del citado Gabinete, y sobre todo su coraje y decisión para acometer con bríos la empresa revolucionaria, tenía aterrorizada a la pequeña burguesía y a sus aliados de París, Londres y otros lugares de Europa y América.

Lo curioso del caso es que los comunistas, por mandato de Rusia, constituyeron desde el primer momento en ardientes defensores de esta cruzada contrarrevolucionaria; A estos furibundos demagogos ya nos les interesa el que en España triunfen los postulados sociales, que hicieron posible el alzamiento popular el 19 de Julio. A los fines de su política interesa que en España no se vaya más allá, en la lucha contra el fascismo, de los límites que requiere la defensa de una República parlamentaria y democrática. ¡A esto ha quedado reducida la terrible piqueta demoleadora de los furibundos revolucionarios moscovitas...!

¡Es lo que nos faltaba por ver, en este guisado anti-

349

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918215

[Letter] 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Gol[d]man, London / David Antona. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

fascista, que es el frente popular español!

Ya está la C.R.T. fuera del Gobierno. La U.G.T. tampoco colabora con el mismo. Las dos grandes centrales sindicales, orgullo del proletariado revolucionario español, han quedado fuera del Gabinete Negrián, por mandato exclusivo de las grandes democracias occidentales.

Ahora veremos la ruta que ha de seguir el Gobierno, en relación con la revolución y la guerra. En unas declaraciones hechas por el Jefe del actual Gabinete se habla ya de la protección a los pequeños comerciantes. Es la contra-revolución que se alza con todo el vigor y toda la astucia inherente a la misma. Precisaros mucho tacto, y sobre todo una política de serenidad y honradez, para contrarrestar los efectos de esta original ofensiva.

La prensa extranjera ha rendido pleitesia al nuevo Gobierno. El acentuado carácter revolucionario del anterior no convenía a los piratas de la finanza internacional. Era, si, la representación genuina de la España revolucionaria; de los millares y millares de muertos en las barricadas, de los que, aun hoy, siguen empuñando las armas en los frentes y las herramientas en la retaguardia. Era, en fin, el símbolo real de la Nueva España.

Para contrarrestar los efectos perniciosos de esa campaña sinuosa que por doquier realizan los burgueses, y sus agentes los comunistas, hay que desplegar una actividad insospechada. Hay que hablar claro. No puede tolerarse que a la U.G.T. y a la U.N.T., por haber sabido mantener muy alto la enseña gloriosa de la Revolución Española, se las desplace aterramente del seno del Gobierno. Hay que airear todo esto, dándole el colorido necesario, y empleando la energía que requieren las circunstancias.

La acción de este Gobierno llegar tan pronto como nosotros sepamos hacer conocer a las masas del mundo entero que se pretende, por unos y otros escamotear las conquistas populares, logradas en las gloriosas jornadas de Julio.

Nos parece innecesario recomendarte que redobles tu actividad. Sabes tan bien como el que más a que se debe el colapso sufrido por nuestra revolución y habrás de aplicarle a tus campañas la tónica requerida.

No vuelvas a enviar la correspondencia via Valencia, pues la censura nos abre todas las cartas. Hazlo por el procedimiento utilizado hasta aquí.

Te repetimos que puedes disponer del dinero que has recogido, para tus campañas, trayéndote para acá el resto cuando vengas a Valencia.

Sin otro particular quedamos tuyos y de la Revolución



Por el Comité Nacional
Sección Información y Propaganda

David Antona
David Antona.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929440

[Receipt] 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / David Antona. — 1 p. ; 8 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20648

We have received from Emma Goldman Colton the sum of
\$200. realized at the benefit concert for Spanish homeless
women and children, held at the Victoria Palace in the city of
London, the 25th April, 1937.



Valencia...of.....1937.

(Firmado)
David Antona
David Antona.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

351

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].— 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12457

1 100 100 100
He is not to be seen. He is not to be seen.
Consequently, as you know, there is something
new in our relations, communications,
and we cannot meet. And we are
consequently in a very difficult and
interrupted. It may be that this is
due to the upheaval in which Spain
has been living for the last few
months.

And now let us talk about our
own position at present. Through the
Press you will be informed of the
grave political crisis in Spain
recently. In order that you may have
a true account of the events and
thus enable you to speak with
authority in your statements in
connection with the campaign in England,
and so that at the same time you
as an anarchist and revolutionary know
the gravity of this case, we will

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

352

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 19]37 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].— 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

try to relate what has happened.

We know that it has not escaped your fine intuition the plotting of certain sectors calling themselves anti-fascists, in relation with international plutocracy, against the C. R. T. ^{and} its work. Precisely, and this only confirms that vast plan, you have called our attention in your letters to the underground intrigues of the marxists abroad.

The Uplot had been carefully prepared. The intention being to oust the C. R. T. and contrade Caballero from the Government. And this was accomplished a few days ago. The revolutionary learning of the said cabinet, and about all its courage and desire to decisively undertake with determination the revolutionary task, had struck terror.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

353

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 1937 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].— 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

12459

into the petit bourgeoisie and their allies in Paris, London and other places in Europe and America.

The curious part being that the communists, as alleged from Russia, constituted themselves from the very beginning in ardent defenders of this anti-revolutionary crusade. To these demagogues no longer is of interest that the social conditions which made possible the popular rising in July 19th should triumph. For their political ends it is necessary that in Spain, the struggle against fascism, should not go beyond the limits required for the defence of a democratic and parliamentary Republic; to this has been reduced Moscow's revolutionary fury! This is what

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

354

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 19]37 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. — 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

62351

12460

has been left for us to see in the anti-fascist mass pot called the Spanish Popular Front!

So the C. R. T. is already out of the Government and the U. G. T. does not collaborate with either. The two great syndicalist unions, pride of the Spanish proletariat, have been left out of the Quegou cabinet by special command of the great Western democracies.

Now it remains to be seen the path which the Government will follow in relation to the revolution and the war. In a statement already made by the Premier protection for small business has been mentioned. It is the counter-revolution rising with all the vigor and cunning inherent in it. We need great tact, and above all a policy of severity and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

355

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 19]37 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona].— 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

18451

12462

honesty to counteract the effects of this offensive. The foreign press have given their approval to the new Government. The accentuated revolutionary character of the old one did not suit the interests of the international financiers in high financial circles because it was the genuine representative of revolutionary Spain; of the thousands upon thousands of dead in the barricades; of those who even today continue holding the fronts and handling the tools behind the lines. It was, in conclusion, the real symbol of the New Spain. To counter the pernicious effects of this campaign that everywhere it is carried on by the bourgeoisie and their agents, the communists, it is imperative to display a tremendous activity.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

356

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918216

[Letter, 19]37 May 22, Valencia [Spain to Emma Goldman, London] / [David Antona]. — 6 p. ; 23 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

88157

12461

It is necessary to speak with bluntness. It cannot be tolerated that the U. G. I. and C. N. T., because they knew how to hold high the glorious banner of the Spanish Revolution, should be displaced from the posts they occupied in the Government. The overthrow of this G. will arrive as soon as we are able to tell the masses that their conquests during the glorious days of July are in jeopardy.

We do not consider it necessary to request you to redouble your activity. You know as well as we know to what is due the cause suffered by our Revolution and you will apply to your campaign the required tone. Do not send any correspondence via Valencia as it is all censored. Do so by the way used hitherto.

We repeat that you are at liberty to use whatever money you need from the funds collected, bringing the balance when you come over.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

357

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001262

[Letter] 1937 May 22, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fenner Brockway. — 1 p. ; 25 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19852

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Chairman: J. MAXTON, M.P.

Hon. Treasurer: F. W. JOWETT

Telephone: Central 3196
Telegrams: Ilper, Lud, London



Secretary: A. FENNER BROCKWAY
35 St. Bride Street
London, E.C.4.

22nd May, 1937.

Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Road, N.14.

[This is a letter dealing with old matters]

Dear Emma,

I immediately took up the matter of the mistake of the receipt and I hope it has now been put right. I hope you also got the "New Leader" and appreciated it. I will send you a copy of my pamphlet as soon as it is published.

I am overtaking arrears in correspondence and find a letter which you sent prior to May Day. I am glad that it was possible for your organisation to use the I.L.P. permit for a platform in Hyde Park. I am returning the letter from the Office of Works. It was certainly a gross discrimination to exclude you.

As you will have seen, we have taken over a country house in Street, Somerset to house Bilbao children. I have told Reg Reynolds that you were ready that we should use a list of your names for the foodship project and have suggested to him that he should approach you to allow him to use them for our effort on behalf of the children.

With very best wishes,

I am,

Yours fraternally,

Fenner
Secretary.

358

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001263

[Letter, 1937 May 22, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Fenner Brockway]. — 1 p. ; 24 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Telegrams:—
"TRAVAUX, PARL, LONDON."

Telephone Number:—
WHITEHALL 9444.

21C/3938/37.

Any reply to this letter should quote
the above number, and must be
addressed to:

"The SECRETARY,
H.M. Office of Works,
Westminster, S.W.1."

H.M. OFFICE OF WORKS,



STOREY'S GATE,

WESTMINSTER,

S.W.1.

27 April 1937.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 15th April, I am
directed by the First Commissioner of His Majesty's Works
etc., to inform you that it is regretted that the Board
are unable to grant permission for your Group to hold a
meeting in Hyde Park on Saturday next, the 1st May.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

W. R. R. Ockers.

The Secretary,
Freedom Group,
106, Coningham Road,
W.12.

Mumby
3832

359

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001257

[Letter, 19]37 May 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski]. — 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5, RUE DELAIZEMENT - XVII
Tél. : ÉTOILE 33-77

19844

22-5-37

Liebste Emma,

wenn Sie nach Paris kommen und bei uns wohnen wollen, sind Sie uns selbstverständlich herzlich willkommen. So sehr wir uns freuen würden, Sie zu sehen, möchten wir Ihnen allerdings entschieden abraten, nach Barcelona zu fahren. Wenn man Sie überhaupt hineinlässt, - und Sie könnten von spanischer Seite vielleicht noch grössere Schwierigkeiten haben als von der englischen und französischen - wissen wir nicht, was Sie dort Nützliches tun könnten. Hingegen würden Sie sich einer grossen Gefahr aussetzen. Denn es ist leider kein Zweifel, dass in Barcelona bereits gegenrevolutionäre Zustände herrschen. Sie haben wahrscheinlich ebenso wenig genaue Nachrichten wie wir, aber es ist offenkundig, dass eine grosse Zahl von Revolutionären verhaftet ist, und wieviele von denen, mit denen wir dort zusammen waren, mögen tot sein?

Dass Der Barkrott der anarchistischen Politik so rasch und so gründlich erfolgen würde, konnte man beim grössten Pessimismus nicht voraussehen. Das Schlimmste dabei ist, dass diese furchtbare Niederlage durch den Verrat der eigenen Führer zustande gekommen ist. Wir ha-

360

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001257

[Letter, 19]37 May 22 [Paris to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Anita [and Hanns-Erich Kaminski].— 2 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19845

ber uns nur vorzuwerfen, diese Leute bei allem Misstrauen noch viel zu günstig beurteilt zu haben.

Der 3. Mai war wahrscheinlich die letzte Chance, die Lage zugunsten der Revolution zu ändern. Die anarchistische Führung hat diese Chance zerschlagen. Und nun geht die neue Regierung mit Riesenschritten auf die Verständigung mit Franco los. Wahrscheinlich wird es noch zu blutigen Aufständen kommen, aber nach dem, was geschehen ist, sind die Erfolgsaussichten leider sehr gering. Es ist schrecklich!

Wir haben neulich die Bekanntschaft von Shapiro gemacht, in dem wir einen wirklich klugen und realistischen Menschen fanden.

Was uns angeht, so arbeiten wir fleissig. Wir sind jeden Tag mehrere Stunden in der Bibliothek, aber natürlich sind wir durch den Gang der Ereignisse sehr deprimiert.

Dass Koss das Manuskript zu drucken will, ist ganz richtig. Bitte danken Sie ihm in unserm Namen für seine Bemühungen. Die französische Ausgabe erscheint nächste Woche, - leider auch viel zu spät, um noch Erfolg haben zu können.

~~Schreiben Sie bald~~ Schreiben Sie bald, ob und wann Sie kommen und seien Sie vielmals herzlichst gegrußt

von Ihnen

Anita + Hanns

The Emma Goldman Papers

870926100

[Invoice] 1937 May 24, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company. — 1 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

INCORPORATED
GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

18260
No. C 8164
DATE MAY 24 1937
ORDER NO.
DEPT.
TERMS: 30 DAYS NET, NO CASH DISCOUNT.

AG/14
SHIPPED VIA

SHIPPED VIA

SHIPPED TO

SAME AS SOLD TO IF NOT FILLED IN

SOLD TO
EMMA GOLDMAN
MR R BARR
106 CANNINGHAM RD
LONDON W 12 ENGLAND

AUTHOR

ALL CLAIMS MUST BE MADE WITHIN FIVE DAYS AFTER RECEIPT OF SHIPMENT. GOODS NOT TO BE RETURNED WITHOUT OUR WRITTEN PERMISSION.

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	DISCOUNT	S. C. PUB.	SUN DIAL	TOTAL
6	LIVING MY LIFE	49	40	5 36		
			TRANS	1 00		
						6 44

"BOOK MERCHANDISING HEADQUARTERS"

362

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 May 25, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Evelyn [Scott]. — 1 p.; 21 × 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

66, Perry Street,
New York City. May 25th, 1937.

My dearest Emma:

During the last year, as Stella Ballantine may have written you, life has, so to speak, gotten out of hand, and between the near tragedies in personal affairs, the intensive labour and pressure about livelihood, I have simply dropped interchanges of correspondence with even my dearest friends. Theoretically I now have five weeks of respite from writing before I go to Colorado for a summer job in the University; but it is being lost to me for letters because I have developed neuritis in my arms (a complaint of stenographers I hear) so that even this wretched note is an effort — a pen is little better in effect. . . And so . . my dear, I must seem to fail you indeed, ironically, just when I am most admiring and would be most voluble (did it not all have to be written) about your courage and decision and the impetus you have given the Spanish cause. Surely, surely with so much active accomplishment this year, there must be a rennaissance of your belief in your own importance to all of us! . . I have not followed the newspapers as I should during this hectic winter, but enough to get general trends. I know victory for the loyalists will be no end of struggle, but rather the real commencement of vital decisions. . . And no one in the world has been better prepared by experience than I am to grasp a bit of your problem in England. It is the problem here, also. This blind failure to perceive the dictator as just that, no matter what his slogans. You, Emma darling, will be thought of in the future as one of the rare people who kept her vision clear. By god, the raiding thing is that what you see in this instance is really obvious — or should be! — but the blinding of passions can make even the moderately wise limitlessly obtuse. And the pity is the "noble" passions may blind equally with the base.

To think your letter came so long ago that you refer in it to "the latter part of April" as a long way off. And here it is nearly June 1st! I had a lovely and enjoyed lunch with Stella Ballantine, and again for the nth time have lost her address. I would prefer to send this through her, for you may be far from London by now; but I shall have to trust to London forwarding. She, I believe, must have written you of Jack's hard time; and that he is in England again without me, which I hope will work out for the best. Jig sends you his warm remembrances. He is more of a prop for me than I should allow.

And don't, Emma dearest, ever, ever feel you must send apologies for lack of letters, when your own life is fullest of all of everything most harrowing as well as fine. Just take it, as I do think is true, that we trust each other and could begin where we left off last year at a moment's notice any time — and that this holds good for all our lives. Blessings on you and immediate success to your brave efforts in London and elsewhere, and my very devoted love, always, Evelyn

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029112

[Letter, 19]37 May 27 [Vence, France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2785/37

Dearest Emma,

Since I wrote the foregoing I have got my typewriter back - thank goodness- I felt lost without it. Many thanks for your letter. So far as I am concerned our little exchange of pleasantries is over. FINIS forgotten. And that's that.

I can imagine how worried you are with the state of things in Spain, I feel thoroughly depressed about it all. There is no doubt about what you tell me with regard to the recent events in Barcelona, ~~many~~ people coming from there recently have told me the same. One meets people here, men especially, also one or two women refugees who give one inside information. One thing is certain, nearly everything printed in the papers is garbled and distorted. But when is it all to end? One man told me who came from Madrid that 50,000 of the population had been shot or butchered within recent times for political reasons. It is all too hideous. I shall look forward to hearing from you when you arrive in Paris, then I hope you will wander this way, really you should go and see how things are at St Tropez then come along here and we will have a talk over everything. I am looking forward to seeing you. I don't think I gave you the idea I was so very seedy, I have not quite got back into form since I returned. I have had such a lot to do alone, with no proper help, the girl I have now is hope-less and I am going to change her as soon as possible. This has all made things hard for me. Business is never anything during the first part of June, but we are expecting plenty of people later, if all one hears comes about 10,000 motorists are coming to Nice and all kind of preparations are being made for a big influx of visitors. I have had quite a bit of business since I returned which has helped me to straighten out my affairs and ease my mind. Nellie will tell you she will be with you now, I am hoping her mission is going to be a successful one. This week I have spent most of my time with Theofil Paraske arranging my room so as to have an exhibition of her pictures. It really looks most attractive ~~xxx~~. What we need now is some rich buyers.....

Do you remember my telling you of a Canadian man who came to the exhibition and asked me if he could not get some things to Canada, if I would see they got there. I think you sent the address to me in one of your letters. I am feeling rather anxious about them. ~~xxxxx~~ Where are the things? I would not mind paying for the postage if someone could roll them up and send them away. I don't want to bother you with the job. If I knew where the things were I might ask Barnett to do it for me. Let me know when you write I return the address. Miss Davis left it I believe.

My best love to you dear Emma, don't lose heart with all this setback in Spain, it is hard not to despair one sees no end to all the horrors. I still wish I could take a child. The chemist here Guocourd has taken two from Barcelona.

Remember me to Barr., I hope you have a bumper meeting at the Conway Hall. Wish I could be there. affectionately,

Emma

Emma Goldman's address given by Canadian

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

364

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005097

[Letter] 1937 May 27, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T. I.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

20052

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14931

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

SECRETARIA {

Barcelona 27. Mai 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton

18 Castletown Road

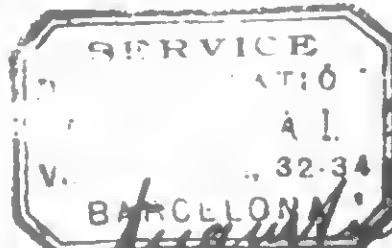
West Kensington, London W 14

Liebe Emma,

Wir haben beschlossen eine Broschuere in englischer Sprache ueber die tragischen Ereignisse in Katalonien herauszugeben. Wir werden 5000 Exemplare in englisch drucken lassen. Sei so gut und teile uns mit wieviel wir etwa in England verkaufen koennen. Ausserdem moechten wir gerne wissen von den Vertrieb in England uebernehmen soll. Sollen wir es wieder an den Socialist bookshop senden oder lieber an SPAIN and the WORLD oder an den Londoner Komitee? Wir wollen in unseren Bulletins auf diese Erscheinung aufmerksam machen und bitten Dich daher uns umgehend ueber die Vertriebsstellen und auch den Preis den wir in England fordern koennen, Bescheid zu geben. Die Broschuere wird ungefaehr 48 Seiten stark sein und einen farbigen Umschlag haben.

Dein Telegramm haben wir bekommen. Heute geht Dir das Manuskript der Broschuere zu aus dem Du Material fuer Euer Meeting entnehmen kannst. Sicherlich wird es noch zur Zeit ankommen.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen



Augustin Souchy

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005148

[Letter] 1937 May 28 [London to] Alfred A. Knopf, New York / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20163A

28th May, 1937.

Dear Mr. Knopf,

Thankyou very much for your reply to my letter about the Dutch publication of 'Living my Life'. I think your offer is fair, but I am writing my friends to tell them to go ahead with their publication.

Yesterday I received the News sent out by the Borzoi Books. I see among other items that 'Emma Goldman marches on'. I was surprised to find that I am 'working for the Spanish Government' and that I am in London 'organising concerts to raise money for the defence of the Spanish Government'. It is quite true that I have organised the concert, but that was not my only purpose in coming to England, nor was it the defence of the 'Spanish Government'. I came to England as the accredited representative of the National Federation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iburia, and I have been working for them ever since. In other words, I am not in any way commected with the Spanish Government, except that my comrades in Spain represent the foremost force that has cleared Catalonia from the Fascists and has been working against Fascism ever since. I wonder if you will be good enough to have this corrected. I should not like my friends in America to think that I have suddenly discovered love for the Spanish or any other Government, or that I am spending my time on concerts, much as I love music. It was only one of the many undertakings to raise funds for the destitute and homeless Spanish women and children, and also to counteract the many fantastic stories in the British press about the two Anarchist organisations in Spain.

I am going to Paris on the 9th June. Mail will reach me there c/o The American Express Company, 11 Rue Soribo.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf,
730 Fifth Avenue,
New York City, U.S.A.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890128001

[Letter] 1937 May 28, Paris [to] Emm[a] Goldman, London (fragment) / [Mollie Steimer]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

Paris May 28th 1937.



Dearest Emotchkka,

I just got your letter of yesterday, the 27th. You say you are anxious to hear from Abe or Martin about the events in Spain. Dear, dear! Don't you realize that they cannot write you any more than what is given in their press? I had a letter from Abe dated the 12th of May. Would you believe it, he is asking us what do we think of the Barcelona events??? Not ONE WORD OF WHAT HE THINKS!! As for Martin? He is now the official representative of the CNT in the foreign propaganda office. No use to expect of him any more news than what you find in the Bulletins. However, read these carefully, and you will get a thorough understanding of what was and what is going on. Tomorrow morning I will send you another package of printed matter (if I will only get the time I may run over to the post office today), you will find lots of extremely sad details which we didn't know of until now.

You say you "will not be able to take a decisive stand until you hear from there or have gone to Spain to investigate the situation". Well, that's your business. From all the material we have about the events there, it is clear that: The Communists provoked these events in Catalonia and Valencia in order to rid themselves of the Anarchists. That the Anarchists could have been the masters of the situation in Catalonia, but that the LEADERS of the CNT-FAI stopped the militants in time to let in the Government troops that came from Valencia, and to give the Communists the chance to wipe out all that is true to the revolution in the CNT-FAI later on. It is a fact that the most active and valiant members of the CNT-FAI are being murdered one by one and in some cases in whole groups! In spite of this, our organizations still keep on calling for "unity", though every body knows that the word "unity" is worse than a farce now! And the calling for unity between the CNT & U.G.T. has no sense either because the U.G.T. is the nest of the Communists and when the murderous gang came to the house of Berneri they came out of the U.G.T. headquarters!!!! Yes, the more information you get, the more one gets puzzled and astounded by the attitude of the leadership — mind you I say THE LEADERS. The rank and file militants of the 2 organizations seems to have a much clearer point of view of things than those who lead them! It's enough to read the manifestoes of the FRIENDS OF DURRUTI and the LIBERTARIAN YOUTH to see this. And if I speak about the necessity to protest, it is against the stand of the LEADERS OF THE CNT-FAI and not against the organizations as such!

I am mailing you the COMBAT where you will find Sanyal's second article. Strange as it may sound, he is the only one so far who has the courage to say what he thinks openly and frankly. In a few days, TERRE LIBRE will come out, I think they too will be very definite. For, when it has come so far that the P.S.U.C. and U.G.T. are daily deliberately killing and torturing our comrades, when the CNT-FAI radio is being censored by the Government(!) when they can no longer write or speak freely, when the bearing of carrying of a photo of Durruti has become a crime, then there is time to protest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029113

[Letter, 19]37 May 29 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4128

May 29th 37.

Dear AUNTIE.

You will know from Nellie's letter that she arrived safely. There was a mixup in the time of her arrival. She wrote me it will be six o/c. And her train arrived at 5.12. I got to Victoria at 5.25. Of course I determined to wait for whatever trains will arrive from France, there were two more I was told. In between I searched for Nellie in every lady's waiting room and tea room. Then about 6.40 as I was leisurely strolling to the platform I heard Nellie's voice calling me. The poor thing was quite distracted not finding me.

Well, all that ends well is well. Nellie is here and as MAGUE AS ~~AS~~ as ever. In one thing she is quite definite, she cannot live alone she tells me. She evidently got the idea I would remain in London though why she should have done so I cannot imagine. I am almost certain I wrote her that I will have to leave for France and Spain. Another thing, as you suggested Nellie tells me ~~living~~ living in your flat would be too expensive for her, rent, even if the same amount as I pay, Vinnie, electricity, etc. Anyway, Nellie will find herself a place she tells me. But she will remain in the flat until July First. I myself may not leave until then. I am not sure.

The fact of the matter is the events in Spain have completely shattered me. As I had feared all along my poor unfortunate comrades had made too many concessions. Now reaction is again in the saddle and is ruling with an iron rod. I have received letters from France begging me not to think of going to Spain, that my life would be in danger if I were admitted at all. Many of the Spanish Anarchists are in prison, and many have been killed. It is the same old story the Anarchists always being used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and then be left to nurse their own wounds. I don't know what's going to happen. If the reactionary forces in Spain succeed they will do their damndest to crush the Revolution and exterminate the Anarchists. And the magnificent constructive effort will be destroyed. For it is certain that with the reintroduction of a so called Republic the old bourgeoisie will return and demand their property back. As I said I have foreseen the inevitable result of the concessions the CNT FAI have made. But I clung to the hope it will not come until Fascism is slain. ~~Unfortunately~~ Unfortunately the collapse came sooner. The CNT FAI now has France in front of them and the Powers including Russia in back of them, and only heaven knows if they will not be crushed in between.

For the present all my hopes and plans are thwarted. Of course

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4120

HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Mellie is as sweet and charming as ever. She is very lovable indeed. I dread to think of her future. I asked her why she did not suggest to you some kind of an arrangement that may give her something to do and at least a living. She said she would if she finds nothing here. Poor dear. But then I am in the same boots. How long will I be able to live on the few francs that the sale of Bon Escrit will bring. What with the sahrre Stein is expecting and the 5/00 for the agent. It will be little indeed. And there is Emmy. However, I cannot think of anything else now. Spain has all my thoughts and all I am capable of feeling. Please dear reply by return mail. With my old love.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001258

[Letter, 19]37 May 29 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19846

It is a very serious situation in Spain. I am not sure if I can stay in Paris for some time. I will try to find a small apartment. But I still hope I may get into Spain. I realize that it may be impossible. But if there will be one chance in a thousand I will take that chance. "danger" to my life. Well dear comrades I am not so sure I want to go on living if the Revolution has been crushed. Anyway, I will make a desperate effort to get to Barcelona. I simply must bring my work begun when I landed here to a logical conclusion. I must give the National Committee an account of what I have achieved and the money I have raised.

May 29th 37.

I have written Rosa to send back the letter. I am delighted to know you are well. I am sure you will be successful in your work.

My dear, gracious Friends.

Thank you for your readiness to give me hospitality. I promise not to abuse it for long. If I must remain in Paris for some time I will try to find me a small apartment. But I still hope I may get into Spain. I realize that it may be impossible. But if there will be one chance in a thousand I will take that chance. "danger" to my life. Well dear comrades I am not so sure I want to go on living if the Revolution has been crushed. Anyway, I will make a desperate effort to get to Barcelona. I simply must bring my work begun when I landed here to a logical conclusion. I must give the National Committee an account of what I have achieved and the money I have raised.

You will remember dear friends that I was not blind to the results of the compromises made by the CNT FAI and their leaders. I said in my very first statement written for the Anarchist Press in England and the States that the comrades will probably have to pay a heavy price for their cooperation with the Government and for their pact with Russia. But I hoped the reckoning will not come until Fascism would be conquered. Alas, it came sooner than I had expected. But unlike Chapiro I am still not so sure that the Revolution is lost. The Spanish Anarchists have come out on top so often regardless of all the persecution, imprisonment and oppression I cannot so readily condemn them in Bausch and Bogen as my comrade Chapiro does. I must wait until I get back to Spain and see for myself just what reasons had induced them to call a retreat and why. It may well be that the leaders knew all along that the CNT FAI is not really so strong as it was made to appear and that if our militant comrades had persisted in the fratricide they would have been ~~whipped~~ whipped off the soil of Spain. I do not mean to say that I would not rather have preferred that for myself than the collapse of the Revolution. But on the other hand I can see the reasoning and feeling of the leading comrades in the CNT FAI who have gone through a thousand fires. I can ~~visualize~~ visualize what it must have meant to them to face the possibility of the annihilation of the CNT FAI. Anyhow I must wait with my final stand until I have been back in Spain.

Yes, Chapiro is well informed and "ein kluger Kopf". And yet I had to disagree with him in his attitude to the CNT FAI. I have come to the conclusion that no one really knows what he would do in the place of another. One thing is certain to me neither Fedrica nor Oliver can have changed so much in the short period of ten months as to be charged with betrayal of the Revolution. Bad judgement yes, nationalist emotionalism above their revolutionary tradition, perhaps

The Emma Goldman Papers

871001258

[Letter, 19]37 May 29 [London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19847

But not treachery. It is preposterous to charge them with that. But what ever it is the situation is tragic. It came as a staggering blow to me because Spain had gone into my heart and all my hopes for my own future usefulness was wrapped up with Spain. Now I feel as stranded as I did when my old friend and coworker ended his life.

I do not know yet the date of my departure from England. I will know soon and let you know.

I have written Ross to send back the MSS. And have thanked him for you and myself. I am delighted to know your work has appeared in French.

With affectionate greetings to both of you.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

LONDON, W14

WEST KENSINGTON

18 CASTLETON ROAD

London

May 17th 37.

F.A.I.

A.I.T.

C.N.T.

371

The Emma Goldman Papers

880325001

[Letter] 1937 May 29, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Wales.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 29th May, 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear friend,

You know the saying line "the day is done, the ship is swept". The work undertaken in England last December has been brought to a logical conclusion. To a large extent it was "much ado about nothing"; I mean as far as the material or moral result is concerned; but one can do no more than one is capable, and I cannot boast of great success in working in England. As you justly said in your letter, it would take a proust and a Henry James to analyse the English character. As I am neither, I cannot hope ever to succeed.

I have been extremely distressed over the events in Spain early this month; not that they have come as a surprise. I saw clearly that entering any ministries and making concessions to various political parties would bring dire results to the National Federation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia, but I do hope that the collapse will not come until Fascism has been driven out of Spain. Unfortunately in the ranks of some of the so-called allies of the two anarchist organisations we are not so particular about under-mining the anti-fascist struggle. You will be able to gather what it is all about from the attached which I have written to a friend in Palestine. I admit that the leaders in the ranks of the Anarchists must carry some of the responsibility for the tragic events. The only excuse I can make for them now, and did in the very beginning, is that they had Franco at their throat and the Soviet power in the back. They had little choice in acting true to what they had proclaimed all their lives, and for which they had paid heavily in persecution and years of imprisonment, but that does not change the matter that their magnificent work of socialisation and their heroic battle in driving Fascism out of Catalonia may now be destroyed by the advent of the reactionaries and fascists in Spain.

I am leaving for Paris about the 9th June, where my address will be c/o the American Express company, 11 Rue Scribe. I am afraid it will be almost impossible to carry out my original plan to go back to Spain. I understand that reaction is rampant and that Government troops at the Spanish border are making it impossible for anyone to enter. Also I have been informed that my life would not be safe. The very elements that foully murdered Berneri may do the same job in my case, but of course I will make an attempt; I do not consider my life so very important in these best of our worlds to go out of my way to protect it.

372

The Emma Goldman Papers

880325001

[Letter] 1937 May 29, London [to] John Cowper Powys, Corwen [Wales] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Wales.

frankly, if the revolution should prove ~~itself~~ lost, life will hardly have further meaning. It is not sentiment at all on my part, it is merely facing issues. However, I still cling to the hope that all is not lost in Spain, the CNT-FAI ~~is~~ proving time on end that they are indistructible - prison, persecution, confiscation of their press, suppression of their meetings - all these have been tried on them and they have always come out victorious. I therefore believe passionately that they may prove themselves on the heights again.

I have no idea what is being done about the international anti-fascist Conference; I am afraid it may not be held unless some change takes place in Spain, but if the preparatory work for it goes on, you will probably hear from the secretary. I know that it will be impossible for you to attend, but if you do get an invitation will you write something for them?

You know of course that I am always very happy to hear from you.

Cordially

Emma Goldman

Mr. John Cowper Powys,
7, Cae Coed,
Corwen, Merionethshire.

373

The Emma Goldman Papers

860522002

[Letter, 1937 May 29, London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales (enclosure, fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[fragment]

I don't know what the papers you are receiving had to say about the recent events. The papers here have as usual blamed it all on the anarchists. The responsible papers for this new villification of my comrades in Spain is entirely that of the Communists. They have not only spread the rumour; they have openly charged the anarchists and scapegoat of Stalin, who are the Trotskyists, for the uprising and the bloodshed. I hope you have reserved your opinion in the matter until you will receive more authentic explanation. I am quoting here from a letter to a friend of mine about what actually happened in Spain.

"The events in Barcelona the last two weeks have demonstrated how foolish were some of our comrades of the CNT/FAI to believe that Stalin has begun to send arms to Spain out of revolutionary solidarity, or that there ever can be unity between fire and water. Aside of the fact that Stalin waited 3-1/2- 3 1/2 months, the most critical period of the Spanish revolution and the anti-fascist war, before he began sending arms should have proven to our comrades and to all thinking people that the man was waiting waiting for the decision of his Allies - France - and that he cared little for the sacrifices daily made in Spain in the anti-fascist struggle. It should also have proven to them that Stalin sent arms in return for good gold and that he imposed conditions on the CNT/FAI which have unfortunately fettered both organizations to a very large extent. One of the conditions was that no anti-Soviet criticism or propaganda should be continued in the anarchist press. The other that Soviet emissaries should have full control of the procedure of the defence of Madrid. Of course they would never have succeeded had it not been for the fact that Durruti was foully murdered. I did not believe the rumours while I was in Barcelona that he was put out of the way by a communist. But from the events of the last two weeks I am beginning to think that there was more truth than fiction in the rumour. Durruti was too astute a strategist and absolute consistent with his ideas and he would have never have submitted to any political deal with the communists. The communists were not slow in taking advantage of these conditions. They not only increased in numbers, sometimes 2000 a week, who arrived in Spain but a great deal of the arms sent for the defence of Madrid went to the headquarters of the Communists for the arming of their comrades. The next step dictated by Stalin was to change the slogan of defence of the revolution to the defence of democracy, the kind of democracy which the old reactionary police officials and the reactionary middle class wanted to bring back in order to destroy the constructive work of the CNT/FAI and to crush the revolution. There is no doubt that this "great dream" of Stalin was shared by the other powers, who are all in favour of some kind of deal with Franco in order to establish "peace". Otherwise it is difficult to explain how it happened that British and French warships should be rushed to Spanish waters almost at the identical time when this well known plot in Spain was brought to head, namely the attack on the telephone building - the most strategic point of Barcelona - by armed forces. Incidentally, at the same moment the same attack took place in T.ragon and Lerida, 250 kilometres from Barcelona. Naturally our comrades defended their position. They could not be

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

374

The Emma Goldman Papers

860522002

[Letter, 1937 May 29, London to John Cowper Powys, Corwen, Wales (enclosure, fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

expected to do anything else. They realised that they have already given way far beyond what they should have done. In other words the anarchists were not the originators of the attack. To have done otherwise than defend the position would emasculate them and the revelation.

The originators of the plot did more than an open attack. They raided the rooms of a very distinguished Italian anarchist who shared them with a comrade; they confiscated all their documents and material, they put them under arrest and supposedly were to take them to police-headquarters. The next day both were found dead, shot in the back, exactly as many victims of Mussolini and Hitler were found. One of these comrades, Camillo Berneri, was one of the most distinguished anarchists in Italian ranks. Before Mussolini he was Professor of economy and literature in the Florence University. He had been victimised by Mussolini while he was still in the country and then pursued him to France where the life of Berneri was made impossible. From the very first moment of the Spanish revolution, July 19th, Berneri rushed to Spain and put himself and his abilities at the disposition of the CNT-FAI. He organised the first Italian column. He fought at many fronts and he was the spirit of all the Italians in the rear. I had occasion to meet and know Berneri and I found him one of the kindest and sweetest personalities, besides being one of the most brilliant. The Communists, together with the Fascist forces, have murdered Berneri because, like Durruti, he was in their way. He was too outspoken, too consistent, and his vision was clear. He saw what was coming and he warned the leading comrades against it.

375

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918217

[Letter] 1937 May 29, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12463

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

CASA C. N. T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA
OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:
CENTRALITA 14731
SECRETARIA (44)
SOLERA SEPAREL 28
SOLERA FERRER 28
SOLERA MARRAS 28
SOLERA ALBA 28
SOLERA FERRER 28
SOLERA FERRER 28

Barcelona 29 de Mayo 1937

Emma Goldman-Colton
18 Castletown Road
L O N D O N W 14

Liebe Emma,

einliegend findest Du einen Brief fuer die verschiedenen
Gruppen. Sei so gut und richt es so ein, dass Du zu der Konferenz
kommen kannst. Eventuell auch Herr.

herzliche Gruesse

Augustin Souchy

376

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918218

[Letter] 1937 May 29, Barcelona [to Emma Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA IBERICA

12464

COMITÉ PENINSULAR

COMISIÓN ORGANIZADORA DEL CONGRESO
INTERNACIONAL ANARQUISTA

Barcelona, May 29th, 1937

Dear comrades,

You certainly are informed about the last tragic events in Catalonia during the first week of May. It was a counterrevolutionary movement against the revolutionary conquests of the Spanish and Catalan proletariat.

The FAI did not provoke this movement and did not want to be involved in a brother war between the antifascist Spanish proletariat that is fighting the fascist enemy. The republican Spain united with all bourgeois democratic forces, national and international, in order to weaken our anarchist movement and to prepare the ground for a political manoeuvre together with the League of Nations against the Spanish proletariat.

At present we are in a situation that demands the service of all our forces throughout the country in order to fight the growing reaction. For these reasons we have no time to prepare an International Anarchist Congress that would be a worthy expression of our movement. So we decided to put off the congress and hold an International Anarchist Conference instead on June 13th-14th.

The agenda of this conference will be:

- 1.) report of the Peninsular Committee of the FAI about the revolutionary development in Spain and about the last events in May in Catalonia.
- 2.) Discussion of the above informations.
- 3.) Spanish experiments of the international anarchist movement.
- 4.) Struggle against fascism and attitude towards political parties and united front.
- 5.) International Anarchist movement and Spanish Revolution.

We beg you to send your delegates to this conference, and to arrange for them to arrive here not later than June 12th.

With anarchist greetings

Augustin Souchy

FEDERACIÓN ANARQUISTA
IBÉRICA

Secretaría de Relaciones
Exteriores

377

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 31 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13391

May 31st 37.

Dear Modest. I was shocked to learn that your old ear trouble of St Tropez days has come back. I only hope the immediate attention and care have really helped you without a new operation. It would be awful to have to go through another again. I shall be most uneasy about you until I hear that you are again on deck and freed from ~~Spain~~ pain.

On receipt of your letter I have at once written Sandström to go after the notaire, have him make out one of the official sheets you need and send it together with two blank sheets to you if possible by the fast sailing of Queen Mary which leaves Cherbourg the 2nd of June. I am certain that S. will attend to the matter and that you will probably receive it when this letter reaches you. When it does I hope you will have recovered and that you will be able to go to the Council and mail it back. It will of course be a delay and the client of my agent may back out if he has to wait too long. But it is alright since you could not possibly bother about the authorisation since you were when my letter reached you, besides not having the damned official document. The French are terrible in matters of property, I think more so than other European governments. The moral is that an Anarchist who holds an outstanding position should have no property.

The recent events in Spain have smashed all my plans for the future. I cannot begin to tell you what an inspiration Spain had been to me and how it revived my spirit and my hopes coming as it did after the blow of Sasha's death. I felt as if I had returned to a long dreamed of home where I can still put my remaining years to good and useful account. I hated to leave Spain and the wonderful comrades whom I had found at the helm. I had a sort of premonition that if I leave I may not be able to return. But the CNT FAI begged to go to England for them and plead their cause. I returned here for only two months. But I found so much to do and of such importance to the struggle of the comrades I stayed on fully determined to return to Spain early in June.

Well, the recent events in Barcelona killed all my hopes and intentions. The plot which you will gather from the enclosed statement I have sent out has ended in black reaction. The new government represents the old bourgeoisie and the alignment of

378

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 May 31 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13392

2.

of the powers to crush the Spanish "revolution. The ~~main~~ clamor for a so called truce between Franco and the Anti-fascist forces is nothing else but a deliberate plan to crush the Revolution and to exterminate the CNT FAI. Already reaction runs rampant in Spain. The ~~main~~ the censorship is rigid the borders manned with the old reactionary civil guards and the entry to Spain made impossible for those who are with the CNT FAI. The latest news from Paris is to the effect that I will probably not be admitted, and even if I am my life would not be safe. For what would it matter to the ~~Spanish Cheka~~ Spanish Cheka to do with me what it has done with Berneri? Well, I am not so sure I should want to go on living if the Spanish revolution were crushed as the Russian was crushed. Then there was at least Sasha to live for. Now he ~~is~~ is no more and my life holds damned little hope for work and activity to ~~make~~ give it meaning.

Of course I still cling to the hope that the CNT FAI will triumph. I cannot get myself to believe that the Spanish Anarchists and Syndicalists whose history and traditions have been one long incessant struggle against their foes, who have been driven underground time on end, sentenced to many years prison and deportation to the wilds of Africa and hounded like wild beasts at home will or can be destroyed. But for the present they have lost their strategic points. Unfortunately they themselves, or rather their leaders have unwittingly helped to bring about the tragic events. Their entry into the Ministries, and their concessions to Russia made ~~the results~~ the results only too obvious. It is only too true that the Anarchists had little choice what with Franco at their throat and Russia in back of them. I certainly am not the one to condemn them ~~for~~ for what they did. I either could I close my eyes to what was coming. I only hoped the accounts would be closed when Franco and his hordes had been conquered. Alas, the debacle came earlier than I expected. I don't know what will happen next. I only know that the plot has pulled the bottom from under me. I don't know what to do or where to go. I simply must get to Spain no matter what might happen to me. I must see the comrades and get from them the exact facts how their entrenched position could have been so weakened. And I must see for myself how far their marvelous constructive work has suffered. Also I must get the money I have raised for them, about 550 pounds. But if I should fail to reenter I will be left with ~~no~~ out purpose or direction.

379

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918360

[Letter, 19]37 May 31 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
4 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13393

3

see I cannot bear to live in England, nor could I live in Bon Esprit alone as I so often had to do before. Besides ~~that~~ are too many memories to haunt me. On the other hand, if I sell the place it will soon leave me without a son and without a home. Frankly I am at a loss what to do. I only know that I cannot and will not end my life in a daily routine of nothingness. If only I could return to the States for six months or so. Between you and me and the lamp post I belong nowhere so completely as I do there. Do you think your connections might do something in this matter, secure a visa for me for six months. My memory may serve me false but I believe you once told me your son-in-law might do something. Will you talk to him and let me know? Naturally I do not want any publicity on the matter. Sufficient unto the day when the visa is granted. Also I should like him to see Roger Baldwin. He was going to try and it would be unwise to work crossways. If necessary I would go to Canada, I have always maintained it is easier to obtain permission from there than from England or France. Anyway, have a talk and let me know.

If you were coming over for the whole summer I might not sell Bon Esprit so soon. But if only for a month it would not be foolish to lose the chance though 75,000 francs are a ridiculous price for the place. Especially now when the garden has been turned into a perfect dream. You see shortly before I left St Tropez I discovered a Provençal comrade and his wife who are great farmers and gardeners. They undertook to revolutionize Bon Esprit and from what May and the Sandströms have written me they must have succeeded admirably. Anyhow, Bon Esprit is worth very much more than the sum offered. But I really have no choice. I am strapped for money and as I am not going to live there it is useless to hang on.

therefore I never knew you were such a mathematician. I certainly should never have been able to figure out my share and yours to such exact figures as you have. You are right my dear when you say my part of Bon Esprit has cost more than ~~than~~ the purchase price. The improvements have consumed a fortune, certainly another twenty five thousand francs. My loss is therefore very considerably more than yours. You are also right that we have had the benefit of the place which you did not. That does not alter the fact that after I have paid the agent and sent you your share I will have only half left of what was put

380

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918360

[Letter, 19]37 May 31 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

13394

4
into the same spirit. But that is not your fault. The one thing that worries me is Emma's condition. I have planned to let her have some money from the sale. But I will be able to do much for her.

X 10 dollars a month. But what is that? You, I know you have told her and you have told our Sasha to let you know if they need help. But you should understand dear Modest that it is not very pleasant to ask. If only you could give her a small monthly allowance it would free Emma from uncertainty and it would take a load off my heart. I feel Emma's poor health and lack of means for even a frugal living much more now than when Sasha was alive. But I have so little to look forward to myself, and the years keep piling, 68 next month I really don't know what to do about Emma. I am hoping you will make some kind of an arrangement to help her along without waiting until she asks you. About A. for K. it is no use for her to try without money and ~~without~~ without much faith for life in the State as to getting cured. I wish there were hope. But there is not I fear. Anyhow one needs money to get to the States and help from people who live there. Her own sister is rotten I think though E. would tear my head off if she knew I wrote you that I refused to even get her an affidavit. Awful people the small middle class, worse than the real bourgeoisie.

I expect to leave for Paris the 19th of the next month. I do not know how long I will remain there. It all depends on my chances of getting back to Spain. If that should prove altogether impossible I will go down to St. Tropez, to see Ben Esprit once more for the last time. And I shall also go to Nice to see Sasha's grave. I have had a tablet put up with my own inscription. Of course it is ~~not~~ I know it could mean nothing to Sasha. But I wanted those who knew him and who might come to Nice to find his grave.

What I will do after that I do not know. A change may take place in Spain when the freedom that existed while I was there may again make Spain the new hope of the oppressed world. Then I will go back. If not I may sail for Canada though what I should do there I have not the remotest idea except that Canada is near the States and I will at least be able to have Stella, others of my family some of my friends and comrades occasionally. You have no idea how out off I feel.

Dear Modest, please do not delay the authorisation, and will you please see your son-in-law in re my return. Better write me c/o Melbie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires Paris XV.

Thank Eleonore Werner for her greetings and give her mine.

I am now the most of the world with me. I am in the state of mind of trying to write.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

381

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918219

[Letter] 1937 May 31, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin Souchy. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
FEDERACION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

12465

CASA C.N.T. - F. A. I. - AVENIDA BUENAVENTURA DURRUTI, 32 Y 34 - BARCELONA

OFICINA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

TELÉFONOS:

CENTRALITA 14731

SECRETARIA

SOLISTAS ESPAÑOL

SOLISTAS FRANCÉS

SOLISTAS ITALIANO

SOLISTAS ALEMÁN

SOLISTAS INGLÉS

SOLISTAS RUSOS

Barcelona 31 de Mayo 1937

Liebe Emma,

Ich schicke Dir hier einen Artikel, den Du nach Möglichkeit in
einer sympathisierenden Zeitung unterbringen sollst. Es kommt
nicht darauf an, dass der Author genannt wird, vielmehr darauf, dass
der Artikel wirklich erscheint. Tue also bitte dein Möglichstes
ihn zu lancieren.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Augustin Souchy

382

The Emma Goldman Papers

880330003

[Letter, 1937 June? London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

2.

vulnerable yet I cannot conceive of revolutionists of such courage, heroism and consecration as demonstrated all through the years in the Spanish anarchist struggle by our outstanding comrades would so easily have become a prey to the lure of government position.

I hold no brief for the foolish belief that in entering ministeries, anarchists could hope to affect the course of the Spanish revolution. Or that by accepting the paralyzing conditions of Stalin would hasten the triumph of the anti-Fascist cause. Much less do I defend the weak stand taken by the leaders of the CNT-FAI in the tragic battle of May 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th. I certainly consider it an extraordinary reversal of the proud revolutionary stand always defended by the CNT-FAI to turn the other cheek, to call a retreat and to hold back the pent-up feelings of the rank and file by passive resistance. All this does not imply that we should be silent or not criticize. On the contrary we should definitely state our disagreement and we should frankly and honestly call these comrades to account. However, I feel that anarchists should be more careful than any other social groups to shout anathema against those who have served their cause all their lives or to crucify them at the first display of inconsistency.

Is there anyone of us who can truthfully say that he has always remained faithful to his ideas? For example our beloved comrade Peter Kropotkin. By his stand on the war he was guilty of a breach of principle. His defence of the allies, his statement that if he were younger he would muster a gun, were diametrically opposed to anarchism and to everything our great teacher has taught us about war as capitalist conquest and loot. We who were opposed to the world slavery criticised our comrade and condemned his stand but it never occurred to anyone of us to charge Peter Kropotkin with treachery or corruption. And what about ourselves? We were against the world war and some of us went to prison for our opposition to it. Yet, we immediately rallied to the support of the anti-Fascist war. We did so because we consider Fascism the most frightful menace in the world, the poisonous cancer which disintegrates all political and social life. The Fascist countries as well as the Russian Dictatorship certainly prove this. One can still breathe in democratic countries, little democracy though they may have. One can still raise one's voice against every political abuse and social iniquity. One still has a certain amount of security to one's life and limb. All this is obliterated by Fascism. May it not be, therefore, that the comrades now held up for scorn and all kinds of cruel charges, acted as they did because they felt and feel that everything must be concentrated on winning the anti-Fascist struggle? For it must be obvious to all thinking people that the Revolution and all else would be lost unless Fascism is defeated. We outside of Spain, we who do not face starvation and danger, should at least try to understand if not to excuse, the motivations of the concessions and compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

383

The Emma Goldman Papers

880330003

[Letter, 1937 June? London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

3

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemn lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia; but what they objected to was the unnecessary humiliation and lick a little demonstration to Stalin. Actually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this, the same Moscow had in the plot against the C.R.T.-P.A.I. has quite convinced of us what we had seen at the time.

You object to criticism because of the menace of Fascism and in the same breath you admit in that you consider dictatorship as great a menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have truck with the banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside of Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-Fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of truth, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades in Spain. They could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse, went so far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realized the eminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the Anarchist Conference. You seem to think that I have been at the back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew there would be differences, clashes and even useless recriminations. Nevertheless, I considered such a conference of moral importance to the anarchist movement outside of Spain; but we need not quarrel about it any more. The deadly plot against the C.R.T.-P.A.I. and the revolution has done away with the chances of an anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel so grieved if that were all that the plot had accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the C.R.T.-P.A.I. until 3rd May. I wonder whether you realize now how much the C.R.T.-P.A.I. have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get into it or out of it - all that in the small span of time of six months. What a tragedy! To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life was then saved by the Spanish revolution. I wanted nothing but to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going so anxious because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realized, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were, my life would be in danger. As if there could be any meaning in life, if the Spanish revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it; but I still cling, like a drowning man, to a straw that our Spanish comrades will find.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

384

The Emma Goldman Papers

880330003

[Letter, 1937 June? London to Max Nettlau, Vienna (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

4.

themselves, their old strength, and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they, will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict of the part the leaders in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the communists and their reactionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the revolution and the extermination of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Montsenoy to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew the C.N.T. is after all not so strong as it pretended to be, and that it would go down in blood bath. As I cannot go to Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchists who stood foremost in the world for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. What I could not have done better. That part of the manuscript I do not want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

Is the war now to continue only to bring back the old regime? If so I see no reason to support it. I have come to prefer for the time being on war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti-fascist war it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the social revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet clarified my own position; but whatever it will be, you need never fear that I will lose faith in the rank and file of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., or that I will refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the Bolsheviks when I already saw the decline of the revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical of the regime. Some of them subsequently lost their lives, or are still being arrested from concentration camp to concentration camp. Besides I am just as willing to have friendly talks with Garcia Oliver and Frederic Montsenoy or any of the other comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I certainly will have these talks with them, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach me c/o Mollie Alperine, 23 Rue des Volontaires, 75011.

I enclose an article from the new testament. It was sent me by my very dear comrade Mollie Steimer. She was right when she wrote that the article is more penetrating of the situation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. than any of our own comrades have produced. Please send it back.

With my old affections.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE


385

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317126

[Envelope, 1937 June? London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 11 × 13 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

Dr. Max Nettlau.  N.
Wien X
Engelgasse 32. III / 22
Austria

386

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 1937 June? London to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 11 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

Re New: Staleman and Nation.

May 15. 1937

London M. Oak

(Andre's Nin's

month piece!!

*24/6 —; 21/6
cutting
returned i 2 p
letter.*

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519597

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Copy.

June, 1937.

The Editor,
Manchester Guardian.

Sir,

May I again ask the hospitality of your paper. I know it is the only one in England willing to hear the other side of every issue and the other side in this case, the National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. They have so far received the most outrageous misrepresentations throughout nearly the entire English press without a chance of being heard in their own behalf.

That Anarchism and Anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who possess the banner bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are by far less capable of independent thinking than the masses. The gravest offence to-day is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They worship at its shrine. They justify every crime committed in its name. Anarchism and Anarchists still adhering to the "old-fashioned" idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous in the world. Small wonder Anarchism and Anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

The incredible reports of the recent tragic events in Barcelona demonstrate once more to what extent most scribes will go to pervert news when it concerns Anarchists and their cause.

I enclose a copy of a document that came to me from Barcelona sub rosa. I am well aware that an editor of a daily paper cannot be expected to read a long account no matter how important. Still I take the liberty to submit it to you in the hope that you may care to give it your leisure hour, if only to go over the most salient points describing the amazing plot against the National Confederation of Labor, and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. That there was a deep laid plot hatched for months you will, I am sure, see by the disclosures contained in the document. You will no doubt be surprised to find that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain, but that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

388

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

2.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade" we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the CNT-FAI will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the original doing of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of men made them scorn the idea that the Communist idol and his blind followers could or would play them false. I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish Revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia, the CNT and the FAI. It would show your readers how very naive and trusting the Spanish Anarchists are and will probably continue to be always. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. But I dare not impose on your liberality too much. Perhaps, when you have found a moment to glance through the story you will care to comment yourself. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the change of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These Anarchists ever reviled, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction, these men and women all through the four days armed attacks, cautioned peace and order and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organisations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the moving down of their comrades by Communist and other reactionary forces. That is passive resistance with a vengeance. Verily, Mahatma Gandhi could have done no more.

Nevertheless the misrepresentation goes merrily on. Thus, a gentleman writing from Spain for a London liberal weekly does not hesitate to speak of "gun-men", in Anarchist ranks. True, he pays tribute to the CNT - I suppose because they were willing to be killed rather than to kill. "If only the gun-men were all in or from the Anarchist organisation, all would be well," the author assures us. It is obvious that the writer obtained his information from his Communist friends. They are past masters in putting facts on their heads. They are the loudest to cry "hold the thief" while they make their own get away.

While I myself believe that situations in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action, I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the CNT-FAI by the enemies of the Spanish Revolution presented such an emergency. But whether it did or not the fact remains that the Anarchists and Syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty (too much so I fear) to the anti-Fascist unity, and that they called a halt to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

389

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519597

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] The Manchester Guardian, Manchester [England] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 26 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

3.

freedom, and not their assailants.

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the amount of political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly as far as it is possible to enjoy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the CNT-FAI numerically and morally the most important part. Standfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. When their attention was called to the abuse of freedom on the part of their allies, to the open and secret preparation to undermine their position and destroy their magnificent constructive efforts, their reply used to be "We will be ready when such moment arrives. Better abuses of liberty than dictatorship. The value of liberty only comes with the exercise therefore. Dictatorship turns everybody into abject slaves, barren of feeling for, or appreciation of physical, mental and spiritual freedom."

The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods. That they naively underestimate the perfidity of their enemies. That effect can peaceful methods and the call to retreat mean to people who have for years waded in rivers of blood and have heaped up mountains of human lives for the sake of their power? It is childish to expect anything but reaction for such methods. But then, the naivest and most confiding people in the world are not the hard-boiled realists. They are the idealists, the romantics, and visionaries as the Anarchists are called by our well-wishers. I suppose I am one of these incorrigibles. For I have abiding faith in the resiliency of the Spanish people. Execution, prison, torture, suppression of their movement, their publications and their works, they overcome everything. They rebounded with new strength and new determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph. I am certain that this will again happen in the near future despite all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social edifice the CNT-FAI have become in the glorious revolutionary days of July 1936.

Yours faithfully,

Sgd. Emma Goldman.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

390

The Emma Goldman Papers

860521195

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] St. Louis Post Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo. / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

June, 1937.

The Editor,
The St. Louis Post Dispatch,
St. Louis Mo., All U.S.A.

Sir,

Though far removed from my erstwhile country I have never lost contact with it. I know pretty much what is going on in the States, by no means only through the American Press. And I also know that your paper has been writing of the events in Spain. I cannot say it has always been accurate or friendly. Especially is this true of the uprising in Barcelona in the early days of last month. Since the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have been charged with having caused the uprising, perhaps you will be willing to hear their side.

That anarchism and Anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who pose as the banner bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are by far less capable of independent thinking than the masses. The gravest offence to-day is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They worship at its shrine. They justify every crime committed in its name. Anarchist and Anarchists still adhering to the "old-fashioned" idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous in the world." Small wonder anarchism and Anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

The incredible reports of the recent tragic events in Barcelona demonstrate once more to what extent most scribblers will go to pervert news when it concerns Anarchists and their cause.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

391

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] St. Louis Post Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo. / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

2.

I enclose a copy of a document that came to me from Barcelona sub rosa. I am well aware that an editor of a daily paper cannot be expected to read a long account no matter how important. Still I take the liberty to submit it to you in the hope that you may care to give it your leisure hour, if only to go over the most salient points describing the amazing plot against the National Confederation of Labor, and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia. That there was a deep laid plot hatched for months you will, I am sure, see by the disclosures contained in the document. You will no doubt be surprised to find that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain. But that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade" we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the CNT-PAI will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the criminal delay of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of men made them scorn the idea that the Communist idol and his blind followers could or would play them false. I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish Revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia, the CNT and the PAI. It would show your readers how very naive and trusting the Spanish Anarchists are and will probably continue to be always. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. But I dare not impose on your liberality too much. Perhaps, when you have found a moment to plance through the story you will care to comment yourself. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the charge of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These Anarchists ever reviled, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction, these men and women all through the four days armed attacks, cautioned peace and patience and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organisations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the mowing down of their comrades by Communist and other road army forces. That is passive resistance with a vengeance. Verily, Mahatma Gandhi could have done no more.

Nevertheless the misrepresentation goes on. Thus, a gentle writing from Spain for a London liberal weekly does not

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

392

The Emma Goldman Papers

860521195

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] St. Louis Post Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo. / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

3.

hesitate to speak of "gun-men", in Anarchist ranks. True, he pays tribute to the CNT - I suppose because they were willing to be killed rather than to kill. "If only the gun-men were eliminated from the Anarchist organisation, all would be well." the author assures us. It is obvious that the writer obtained his information from his Communist friends. They are past masters in putting facts on their heads. They are the least likely to hold the thief while they make their own get away. I believe that situation in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action. I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the CNT-PAI by the enemies of the Spanish Revolution presented such an emergency. But whether it did or not the fact remains that the Anarchists and Syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty (too much so I fear) to the anti-Fascist unity, and that they called a halt to fratricide, and not their assailants.

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the amount of political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly as far as it is possible to enjoy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the CNT-PAI numerically and morally the most important part. Steadfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. When their attention was called to the abuse of freedom on the part of their allies, to the open and secret preparation to undermine their position and destroy their magnificent constructive efforts, their reply used to be "we will be ready when such moment arrives. Better abuses of liberty than dictatorship turns everybody into abject slaves, barren of feeling for, or appreciation of physical, mental and spiritual freedom."

The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods. That they naively underestimated the peridity of their enemies. What effect can peaceful methods and the call to retreat mean to people who have for years waded in rivers of blood and have heaped up mountains of human lives for the sake of their power? It is childish to expect anything but reaction from such methods. But then, the naivest and most confiding people in the world are not the hard boiled realists. They are the idealists, the romantics, and visionaries as the Anarchists are called by our well wishers. I

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

393

The Emma Goldman Papers

860521195

[Letter] 1937 June [London to] St. Louis Post Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo. / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

...of the Spanish people. Persecution, prison, torture,
suppression of their movement, their publications and their work,
they overcame everything. They rebounded with new strength and new
determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph.
I am certain that this will again happen in the near future despite
all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social
edifice the CNT-FAI have begun in the glorious revolutionary days of
July 19th.

Yours faithfully,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

394

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937 June, London to Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Paris (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I regret exceedingly that I never succeeded in doing for you what I wanted so intensely to do, and that is to help you get your books published in this country. But something has always come between, though I have tried very energetically.

As we shall meet soon I will not take time to write you a long yarn of all the horrible things that are happening in the world. As I have already stated, I will arrive in Paris on the 26th.

With love to Fun and yourself,

The Emma Goldman Papers

840306079

[Letter] 1937 June [between 1 and 10] London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York]
/ Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.



London Office :

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

June, 1937.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

Dear Arthur,

✓ Forgive my long silence. My life here has been extremely ~~active~~ *redec* since I came back from Spain and there was little time to invite one's soul or to keep in touch with the friends one cares most about.

Now the strain has let up, in fact my work has come to a complete stand-still. This is due to the tragic events that transpired in Catalonia. You will know what I mean by the enclosed copy of a statement I have sent to a number of my correspondents. It is terrifying to find how a myth will perpetuate itself. Even the so-called intellectuals are not exempt from its mesmerising effect. Never before has the Bolshevik myth demonstrated its far-reaching devastating ramifications as it has in Barcelona the first week in May. Twenty years ago Lenin and his comrades held up democracy, ~~as~~ represented by Karensky, to scorn and condemnation as the vilest political institution in the world. Nor would they rest until they exterminated everyone who dared to speak in behalf of democracy. To-day, the followers of Lenin with Stalin at the helm are celebrating the love feast of democracy and they are trying to exterminate all those who have come to see that bourgeois democracy is a ~~harmless~~ perpetuation of the capitalistic class. Though sworn to a United Front with the anarchists and other political bodies for the purpose of exterminating Fascism, the Communists in Barcelona have joined a deliberate conspiracy to destroy the anarchists and crush their constructive revolutionary efforts. They are guided in this by the iron hand of Stalin whose imperial designs have chosen democracy as their beloved bedfellow. Yet the so-called radical world ~~goes on in the~~ *of* the myth, shouting from the housetops the revolutionary character of Stalin and his régime, misrepresenting and lying about everyone who will no longer be blinded by ~~them~~ *it*.

I need not tell you what a shock the recent events in Barcelona has been to me. Actually it left me in the same depleted condition as did the untimely death of A.B. Then, too, I felt the ground pulled from under me,

396

The Emma Goldman Papers

840306079

[Letter] 1937 June [between 1 and 10] London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York]
/ Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office :

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London ... 2.

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

life robbed of its meaning. It was the Spanish Revolution that revived my spirit. I rushed to Spain with a song in my heart and while there felt that I had come home and never wanted to go anywhere else. I complied with the request of my comrades to go to England and plead their cause, though I had a strange disturbing feeling that I may never be able to return to Spain. It now looks as if that premonition is to become a fact. For the present, reaction runs rampant in Catalonia. The borders formerly free to everyone who wanted to come are now closely watched by reactionary guards. I am assured that I will probably not be readmitted and if I should get there my life would probably be in danger. I can readily believe this because the Communists have old accounts to settle with me and where could they find a better opportunity than in Spain where they have already killed so many in the dead of night. Well, that is not exactly what bothers me. If the Spanish Revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian Revolution it will hardly be worth its struggle. My concern is whether I can get back to Spain and for the present this is very problematical.

As you say, I am in the same position to Spain as I am to the United States only I would not have to fear for my life in the latter. Roger Baldwin has so far made no attempt in re a visa. I have approached one or two of the labour people who seem to have some influence in Washington. I have not yet heard from them. I wonder what you could do ? I know that you would help if there is the slightest possibility. I should like to know. I have a feeling that as long as I will be so far away from the States it will be difficult and perhaps altogether hopeless to induce Washington to move. Do you think the chances would be better if I were in Canada ? My comrades there would be only too willing to raise my fare. Will you tell me your candid opinion.

Now to something which is in a measure a plunge from the sublime to the ridiculous. It concerns Bon Exprit. Your generous contribution has helped to purchase the place for me. I feel that you should know that it is about to pass out of my hands. I have come to the last of my tatters

397

The Emma Goldman Papers

840306079

[Letter] 1937 June [between 1 and 10] London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York]
/ Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London ... 3.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

materially, and I simply must dispose of the place; an equally important reason for its sale is that there are too many memories connected with the years in San Tropez that would make my living alone there impossible. So what is the use of hanging on? The trouble is that the value of property in France has dwindled to half its original stand. The offer I have for Bon Esprit actually constitutes (francs 45,000 or 50,000) less than its original cost. The trouble is that the money I am offered for it will not last very long - as you once said, Emma cannot keep money. In other words I will soon find myself without Bon Esprit and without means of a livelihood. It occurred to me that you might be able to suggest some form of investment that would not necessitate eating up the puny little capital. I have lived away from the commercial world all my life and I know no more about it than a new-born babe, but I know that I could rely on your suggestion. Will you write me, my dear.

I was afraid that the manuscript of my friend Dr. Kaminski will be out of date if not published at once. They asked me to thank you for your trouble. Please send back the manuscript direct to them: Dr. H. E. Kaminski, 5 rue de Laizement, Paris 17.

I had intended to leave London the 10th of this month, but I may not be able to get away so soon. However you may address me there care of Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des Volontaires, Paris, 15.

Give my love to Matty. I understand that she is devoting a lot of time to my poor unfortunate sick niece. It is splendid of her to do so. Remember me also with love to Belle. I wonder if you know whether the Starks are remaining in Montreal for the summer? If I should decide to go to Canada I would like to get in touch with them before I sail. This would not be before August or September.

Always devotedly,

Emma

Kind greetings
your Sarah

398

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726026

[Letter] 1937 June 1, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper]
 Powys. — 2 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

completely new
 experiment in
 human evolution
 such as has never
 been tried before ...
 but of course the very
 fact that your heads
 are much stancher
 idealists makes it
 harder for them against
 the "opportunists" and
 "realists" of the moment;
 and the very fact that
 they do hold so fast by
 the personal liberty of
 each individual among
 the masses makes
 them less easy to organize
 into a clear-cut
 disciplined unit, such
 as I suppose war is
 a very nature
 exacts.
 The dear! I can see how
 and you must feel
 about it; & now

Today we get this new news of Rapin's etc etc
 I don't know what to say!
 Well - let's leave a line, old friend, when
 you are in Paris, and things have moved on, in one direction or in another, as
 they must do. I hope you're off by the 9th!
 I think now will soon be

Corwen, Merionethshire
 North Wales

June 1st 1937

My dear Emma Goldman

How good of you
 to write to me so
 fully who have nothing
 really to help; but
 I can assure you
 treasure your personal
 friendship as one of
 the precious things
 & most notable experiences
 of my life.

I had divined pretty well
 from your heads' bulletins
 what was going on.
 Ah! my dear friend it
 must be heart-breaking
 to you to see all this
 & feel so helpless to
 turn the tide of events.

The thing is that you
 & your staunch comrades

The good invisible
 power - of the
 human mind - is
 the only power
 of the future.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726026

[Letter] 1937 June 1, Corwen, Wales [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / John [Cowper]
Powys. — 2 p. ; 22 x 28 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

have a knowledge of
life & politics or I
should say of life
above politics that
is a hundred years
before the time.

Human experience of
the value of real personal
individual liberty for
the real actual living
persons among the
masses of the workers
must in the end
and at "long last" (as our
poor Edward III said
when he gave ~~us~~ ^{us})
prevail, by that deep
necessity that Matthew
Arnold called so well
"the instinct of self-preservation
in the human race"

21370
but evidently the
human race only learns
its value by long & terrible
experience -- whereas the
crude obvious material
value of dictatorship by
force whether in the
name of the privileged
or in the name of
the unprivileged
is something so blatant
~~and~~ and so brutally
apparent that it appeals
instinctively to the
stupid & unintelligent.
I certainly had begun
to hope that with your
friends in the majority
in Catalonia the
world would see
(whatever happened
to the rest of Spain)
at least there in
Catalonia a

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029105

[Invoice] 1937 June 1, Garden City, N.Y. [to] Emma Goldman, London / Garden City Publishing Company — 1 p. ; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

DAVENPORT MAY 4 1937

STATEMENT

DATE JUN 1 1937

GARDEN CITY PUBLISHING COMPANY
INCORPORATED
GARDEN CITY. NEW YORK

Emma Goldman
c/o Mr R. Barr
106 Springfield Road
London W12 England

DATE	ITEM	CURRENT MO.	PREVIOUS	CREDITS	BALANCE
1936					
Aug 11	Cash			340	
Dec 16			263		
May			644		
			907	340	
					567

401

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121035

[Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher
Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare
Books and Special Collections.

COPY.

Albert de Jong

June 2nd 1937

Dear Comrade,

I wanted so many times to write you; but my efforts for the struggle of the C.N.T.-P.A.I. consumed all my time. That however is no indication of indifference about you and the work you are doing. I hope you understand that dear comrade.

Enclosed please find MSS sent me by Augustine Souchy together with a long account and explanation of the tragic events in Barcelona. They quite stunned me. Not that they came as a surprise. I foresaw as did comrade Chapiro and other foreign comrades the dire results of the compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-PAI. But I clung to the hope that the reckoning with the Communists and other enemies of the Spanish Revolution would come after fascism has been slain. Unfortunately, our Spanish comrades suffer from an overdose of naivety and childish faith in the sincerity of their so called allies. They seemed to have learned nothing from the Russian Revolution nor of the unscrupulous and hypocritical methods of the Soviet people. A child-like character is very lovable. But for men and women engaged in the defence of the Revolution it is perilous. And that was and is the trouble with our Spanish comrades. Being innocent of heart they refused to believe that Stalin in giving them arms to fight Franco was at the same time putting a noose around their necks. The price for their ignorance of the Soviet beast has already been terrific, and there is no saying how much more our comrades will have to pay.

If I had any envy in me I should envy the comrades in Spain their indistructable belief in themselves and their optimism. A comrade who arrived from Valencia last night looked at me in surprise when I asked him how much ground of their strategic position the CNT-PAI had lost. And how he could explain the champions of direct revolutionary action to complete passive resistance? As I wrote our comrade Neitleu, a Gandhi could not have done better. I doubt whether he would have urged his comrades to keep cool and peaceful while the criminal Communist gang and their reactionary allies were butchering his comrades. Yet that is precisely what Garcia Oliver and Montseny did. I cannot explain this phenomenon except that they knew that the CNT-PAI had not entrenched themselves in the mind and heart of the workers as we outside Spain had been given to understand. Or that they feared the powers whose worship had been rushed to Barcelona would drown the CNT-PAI and the Spanish masses in a river of blood. It is easy to make the charge that Oliver and Montseny had become corrupt by power. I do not believe that. Not because I think them different clay than other people to whom power is like strong wine. But because these two comrades and the other Ministers had not been in government positions long. And also because I knew while there they wielded very little influence. For it is certain if they had really played an important part of the slow process of the emasculation of the Spanish Revolution, the militarisation, the statification of life in Catalonia could not have taken place.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

402

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121035

[Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p.; 26 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

2

I cannot tell you what the Spanish Revolution had meant to me. It came in the saddest time of my life, the untimely end of my old comrade Alexander. It seems there was nothing more to live for. The call from the Spanish comrades to join them in their work came like a ray of light from the black sky. Every day of the three months with the comrades meant a new inspiring experience, a new consciousness that what I had propagated all my life was being enacted before my very eyes. I hated to leave Spain for England as the comrades suggested. I had a premonition that I might never be able to return. The advent of the reaction after the fratricide of last month has shown me how very real my anxiety had been. From what I learn it will not be possible for me to reenter Spain. Or if I get in I am told my life would be in danger. I can readily believe that; for why should the same gangsters who murdered Berneri not also close their account with their arch enemy E.G.? However, I am not afraid of that. If the revolution should not survive the conspiracy of its enemies inside and out of Spain my life will have lost the new inspiration and will hardly be worth while. It is all so terrible and so sad.

However, I have not lost faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the CNT-FAI. I refuse to believe that men who have fought so incessantly and gallantly all their lives facing cruel persecution imprisonment and death of so many of their comrades can or will be wiped out. Nor do I believe they will permit the revolution to slip out of their hands, and so long as I have this faith in the CNT-FAI I will not be among those who point their finger of scorn and condemnation at our comrades.

Just at the present I do not know what I am going to do, or where I will go. It was to be Spain of course. That being out of the question now, I am at a loss to decide anything. There is just a very slight possibility that friends in A may get a visa for me for six months. I will then sail for the States, or I may go to Canada. In any event I mean to leave London in the near future perhaps for Paris for a while; but you can write me here, 18 Castletown Rd, London, W.14. I am enclosing a short statement that might interest you, and a letter I had in the Manchester Guardian.

Please give my kind greetings to your family and fraternal regards to all comrades.

Faternally,

Emma Goldman

403

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127111

[Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Albert de Jong

COPY.

ROC

June 2nd 1937

Dear Comrade,

I wanted so many times to write you; but my efforts for the struggle of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. consumed all my time. That however is no indication of indifference about you and the work you are doing. I hope you understand that dear comrade.

Enclosed please find MSS sent me by Augustine Bouchy together with a long account and explanation of the tragic events in Barcelona. They quite stunned me. Not that they came as a surprise. I foresaw as did comrade Chapiro and other foreign comrades the dire results of the compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI. But I clung to the hope that the reckoning with the Communists and other enemies of the Spanish Revolution would come after fascism has been slain. Unfortunately, our Spanish comrades suffer from an overdose of naivety and childish faith in the sincerity of their so called allies. They seemed to have learned nothing from the Russian Revolution nor of the unscrupulous and hypocritical methods of the Soviet people. A child-like character is very lovable. But for men and women engaged in the defence of the Revolution it is perilous. And that was and is the trouble with our Spanish comrades. Being innocent of heart they refused to believe that Stalin in giving them arms to fight Franco was at the same time putting a noose around their necks. The price for their ignorance of the Soviet beast has already been terrific, and there is no saying how much more our comrades will have to pay.

If I had any envy in me I should envy the comrades in Spain their indistructable belief in themselves and their optimism. A comrade who arrived from Valencia last night looked at me in surprise when I asked him how much ground of their strategic position the CNT-FAI had lost. And how he could explain the champions of direct revolutionary action to complete passive resistance? As I wrote our comrade Bettlau, a Gandhi could not have done better. I doubt whether he would have urged his comrades to keep cool and peaceful while the criminal Communist gang and their reactionary allies were butchering his comrades.

Yet that is precisely what Garcia Oliver and Montseny did. I cannot explain this phenomenon except that they knew that the CNT-FAI had not entrenched themselves in the mind and heart of the workers as we outside Spain had been given to understand. Or that they feared the powers whose warship had been rushed to Barcelona would drown the CNT-FAI and the Spanish masses in a river of blood. It is easy to make the charge that Oliver and Montseny had become corrupt by power. I do not believe that, not because I think them different clay than other people to whom power is like strong wine. But because these two comrades and the other Ministers had not been in government positions long. And also because I knew while there they wielded very little influence. For it is certain if they had really played an important part of the slow process of the emasculation of the Spanish Revolution, the militarisation, the statification of life in Catalonia could not have taken place.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

404

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 2 [London to] Albert de Jong, [Amsterdam?] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

2

 RoC

I cannot tell you what the Spanish Revolution had meant to me. It came in the saddest time of my life, the untimely end of my old comrade Alexander. It seemed there was nothing more to live for. The call from the Spanish comrades to join them in their work came like a ray of light from the black sky. Every day of the three months with the comrades meant a new inspiring experience, a new consciousness that what I had propagated all my life was being enacted before my very eyes. I hated to leave Spain for England as the comrade suggested. I had a premonition that I might never be able to return. The advent of the reaction after the fratricide of last month has shown me how very real my anxiety had been. From what I learn it will not be possible for me to reenter Spain. Or if I get in I am told my life would be in danger. I can readily believe that; for why should the same gangsters who murdered Berneri not also close their account with their arch enemy E.G.G. However, I am not afraid of that. If the revolution should not survive the conspiracy of its enemies inside and out of Spain my life will have lost the new inspiration and will hardly be worth while. It is all so terrible and so sad.

However, I have not lost faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the CNT-FAI. I refuse to believe that men who have fought so incessantly and gallantly all their lives facing cruel persecution imprisonment and death of so many of their comrades can or will be wiped out. Nor do I believe they will permit the revolution to fall out of their hands, and so long as I have this faith in the CNT-FAI I will not be among those who point their finger of scorn and condemnation at our comrades.

Just at the present I do not know what I am going to do, or where I will go. It was to be Spain of course. That being out of the question now, I am at a loss to decide anything. There is just a very slight possibility that friends in A may get a visa for me for six months. I will then sail for the States, or I may go to Canada. In any event I mean to leave London in the near future, perhaps for Paris for a while; but you can write me here, 18 Castle-town Rd, London, W.14. I am enclosing a short statement that might interest you, and a letter I had in the Manchester Guardian.

Please give my kind greetings to your family and fraternal regards to all comrades.

fraternally,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

405

The Emma Goldman Papers

910723000

[Letter] 1937 June 2, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Fredric J. Warburg. —
1 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

MARTIN SECKER AND WARBURG LTD

22 Essex Street, London, W.C.2

Publishers

June 2, 1937.

Miss Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington
W. 14.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for your letter of June 1 telling me that you have approached Rudolph Rocker in connection with a short book on Anarcho-Syndicalism. The sort of terms we have in mind for a book of some 30 to 40,000 words are: an advance of £25 on account of a royalty of 10% to 5000 copies and 12½% thereafter. The book to be published at 3/6 or 5/- net.

T

Yours sincerely,

Fredric J. Warburg

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005150

[Letter] 1937 June 3 [London to] Emma Goldman, [London] / W. Farrer.—
1 p.; 20 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20165
ANARCHO - SYNDICALIST UNION

Secretary,

W. FARRER.

Hon: Treasurer,

SONIA CLEMENTS.

All Communications To:-

4, GOLDHAWK MENS,
DEVONPORT ROAD, W.12.

June 3rd, 1937.

Emma Goldman,
12, Castletown Road,
W.14.

Dear Comrade,

Of those present at our Group Meeting last night the following Comrades, viz; Comrades Jack White, Sutton, Burke and Menks, requested me to invite you to a Special Meeting of the A.S.U. at your convenience, to state to the Group your objections to Comrade Jack White's speeches and especially his speech in Hyde Park on May-Day.

Yours Fraternally,

W. Farrer

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317123

[Letter] 1937 June 4, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.



London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 4th June 1937.

Dear Comrade,
TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

I am not sure that it is worth while to continue our argument. You either cannot or will not see that your objections to criticism of the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. from comrades outside of Spain place you in the same position with the Bolsheviks in the early period of the Revolution. They too, kept stressing the fact that they were engaged in a "life and death struggle", that they were surrounded by many counter-revolutionists, and that they had to continue their compromising methods.

You will reply that Lenin and his comrades were building a State machine while our comrades in Spain are working for a free society. That is not the point, dear comrade. The point is that you not only criticised but also condemned unreservedly the compromises of the Bolsheviks, while now you justify similar compromise of our comrades. You forget, of course, that the Russian revolution at that time was as much in danger as the Spanish revolution is to-day. I insist that if we are willing to be critical of our opponents we should be even more critical of our own comrades. I admit it is harder to find fault with our own than it is with our enemies. But is not this the principal trait of Anarchism which differentiates us from other political groups? Imagine a Max Nettlau writing that the young comrades of the F.A.I. have been "egged on" by the critical attitude of the French and other comrades! Really my dear, old comrade, it is ridiculous to make such a charge. Do you mean to suggest that no Spanish anarchist has enough mentality to see where the concessions that have been made by the leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. will lead?, and if the anarchists had not been "egged on" they would have continued in the face of many mistakes made by their elders?. I should give very little for the revolution if I shared such opinion of the Spanish anarchist youth or of the F.A.I.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw this statement in your letter. Your contention that the comrades in France or Berneri have caused the tragic events in the first days of May in Barcelona is on par with the charges made in Russia against Maohno and the Russian anarchists who had dared to point out that the Revolution was being emasculated by the Communist State. Lenin also considered it the height of treason to be criticised by his political opponents.

As to your explanation of Berneri's death, I confess I was shocked. How can you of all people say that it was surprising that

408

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317123

[Letter] 1937 June 4, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
4 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

2

Berneri had not met such an end before because he was so critical and faultfinding?. I certainly never expected such poor logic from you. What if Berneri was critical?. What if he was a stickler for consistency?. Is that enough to damn him, and even use this as a plausible cause for his murder?. I agree that this is crime enough in the eyes of the Communist zealots; but why should it have surprised you?. Of course, I do not agree with you for a moment that Berneri was "moderate at heart" or that he had nothing "Positive about him". I considered Berneri the most brilliant mind since Malatesta; among the most courageous, and of extraordinary ability to work with large groups. It was he who organized the Italian anti-fascist column. It was he who managed the supply of food, clothing and arms. It was Berneri who fought with them at every front and raised their spirit when he saw signs of discouragement and pessimism. In other words, Camilo Berneri was one of the finest types of comrades, I have ever come across in the anarchist movement and no sane human being free from hatred and fanaticisms could possibly have found reason to kill Berneri. But of course he was uncompromising and relentless with the Communists. Bravely he wrote in his paper pointing out that the revolution was sailing between two dangerous cliffs - Burgos and Moscow. How very prophetic his words the dreadful days of May in Barcelona proved.

I see you are still harping on my offence in my article in "Spain & The World". I can only repeat what I wrote you in my last letter. Only one hunting for heresy in every word could possibly find the least objection to the article. In point of fact I wrote against by better conviction when I tried so hard to defend the comrades who compromised right and left. I saw only too soon that they were leading the revolution right-and-left to a precipice. I now realise that I should have said so in print. Instead, I defended their actions on the grounds that they had no choice. Yet you go on reiterating that I had criticised them. It is no use going on with this part of your letter.

Your question "what should the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have done with the foodstuffs sent them from Russia. Should they have refused the food and gone home sulking". Forgive me comrade when I say these are childish questions. No one had suggested such a thing. What I could not see was why the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in a bargain with Russia should have found it necessary not only to pay in kind but to fairly go on their knees before the Soviet Deity. A bargain is a bargain whether entered into with the capitalist merchants or the monster merchant of the Communist State. Spain should have paid in gold as it actually did, besides 10,000 bottles of the best champagne. But Spain through the C.N.T.-F.A.I. went out of its way to sign the praise of "our dear comrade Stalin". Garcia Oliver side by side with the Russian Consul in Barcelona competed with him in proclaiming the glory that was Stalin's. Frankly, I never hoped to live to see such scandalous breach of faith as was demonstrated in the exhibitionism between Oliver and the Consul. Last but not least were the columns of SOLI filled day after day with the psalm song of the Soviet Government. It was sickening, and what is more to the point it was completely unnecessary.

409

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317123

[Letter] 1937 June 4, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

3

N.

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemn lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia; but what they objected to was the unnecessary humiliation and lick spittle demonstration to Stalin. Actually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this, the hand Moscow had in the plot against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. has quite convinced of us what we had seen at the time.

You object to criticism because of the menace of fascism and in the same breath you maintain that you consider dictatorship as great a menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have truck with the banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside of Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of truth, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades even though they could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse, what seemed so far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realised the eminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the Anarchist Conference. You seem to think that I have been at the back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the Call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew there would be differences, clashes and even useless recriminations. Nevertheless, I considered such a conference of moral importance to the Anarchist movement outside of Spain; but we need not quarrel about it any more. The dastardly plot against the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the Revolution has done away with the chances of an Anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel so grieved if that were all that the plot had accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. until 3rd May. I wonder whether you realise now how much the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get into it or out of it — all that in the small span of time of six months. What a tragedy! To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life was then saved by the Spanish revolution. I wanted nothing but to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going to England because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realised, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were, my life would be in danger. As if there would be any meaning in life, if the Spanish revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it; but I still cling, like a drowning man, to a straw that our Spanish comrades will find

410

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317123

[Letter] 1937 June 4, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
4 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

4.

N.

themselves, their old strength, and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they, will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict of the part the leaders in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the Communists and their re-actionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the Revolution and the extermination of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Montseny to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew the C.N.T. is after all not so strong as it had pretended to be, and that it would go down in blood bath. As I cannot go to Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchists who stood foremost in the world; for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Ghandi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

Is the war now to continue only to bring back the old regime? If so I see no reason to support it. I have gone to prison for my stand on war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti-fascists it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the Social Revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet clarified my own position; but whatever it will be, you need never fear that I will lose faith in the rank and file of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., or that I will refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the Bolsheviks when I already saw the decline of the Revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical of the regime. Some of them subsequently lost their lives, or are still being dragged from concentration camp to concentration camp. Besides I am just as willing to have friendly talks with Garcia Oliver and Frederica Montseny or any of the other comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I certainly will have these talks with them, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach me c/o Mollie Alperine, 23 Rue des Volontaires, Paris 15e.

I enclose an article from the New Statesman. It was sent me by my very dear comrade Mollie Steimer. She was right when she wrote that the article is more penetrating of the situation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. than any of our own comrades have produced. Please send it back.

With my old affections.

So much the more I regret that I cannot go to Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchists who stood foremost in the world; for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Ghandi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

The article I referred to in my letter, if I can get it I will send it to you. Sorry.

411

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010215

[Letter] 1937 June 4 [London to Max] Nettelau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25176

Nettelau

4th June 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am not sure that it is worth while to continue our argument. You either cannot or will not see that your objections to criticism of the leaders of the CNT-FAI. from comrades outside of Spain places you in the same position with the Bolsheviks in the early period of the Revolution. They too, kept stressing the fact that they were engaged in a "life and death struggle", that they were surrounded by many opponent-revolutionists, and that they had to continue their compromising methods.

You will reply that Lenin and his comrades were building a State machine while our comrades in Spain are working for a free society. That is not the point, dear comrade. The point is that you are not only criticised but also condemned unreservedly the compromises of the Bolsheviks, while now you justify similar compromises of our comrades. You forget, of course, that the Russian revolution at that time was as much in danger as the Spanish revolution is to-day. I insist that if we are willing to be critical of our opponents we should be even more critical of our comrades. I admit it is harder to find fault with our own than it is with our enemies. But is not this the principal trait of anarchism which differentiates us from other political groups? Imagine a Max Nettelau writing that the young comrades of the FAI have been "egged on" by the critical attitude of the French and other comrades. Really, my dear old comrade, it is ridiculous to make such a charge. Do you mean to suggest that no Spanish anarchist has enough mentality to see where the concessions that have been made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI will lead?, and if the anarchists had not been "egged on" they would have continued in the face of many mistakes made by their elders? I should give very little for the revolution if I shared such opinion of the Spanish anarchist youth or of the FAI.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw this statement in your letter. Your contention that the comrades in France or Berneri have caused the tragic events in the first days of May in Barcelona is on par with the charges made in Russia against Kachno and the Russian anarchists who had dared to point out that the revolution was being emasculated by the Communist state. Lenin also considered it the height of treason to be criticised by his political opponents.

As to your explanation of Berneri's death, I confess I was shocked. How can you of all people say that it was surprising that Berneri had not met such end before because he was so critical and faultfinding ~~is that thought to damn him~~ I certainly never expected such poor logic from you. What if Berneri was critical? What if he was a stickler for consistency? Is that enough to damn him, and even use this as a plausible cause for his murder? I agree that this is crime enough in the eyes of the Communist zealots; but why should it have surprised you? Of course I do not agree with you for a moment that Berneri was "moderate at heart".

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

412

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010215

[Letter] 1937 June 4 [London to Max] Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

that he had nothing "positive about him". I considered Berneri the most brilliant mind since Malatesta; among the most courageous, and of extraordinary ability to work with large groups. It was he who organized the Italian Anti-Fascist column. It was he who managed the supply of food, clothing and arms. It was Berneri who fought with them at every front and raised their spirit when he saw signs of discouragement and pessimism. In other words, Camilo Berneri was one of the finest types of comrades I have ever come across in the anarchist movement and no sane human being free from hatred and fanaticism could have possibly have found reason to kill Berneri. But of course he was uncompromising and relentless with the Communists. Bravely he wrote in his paper pointing out that the revolution was sailing between two dangerous cliffs - Burgos and Moscow. How very prophetic his words the dreadful days of May in Barcelona proved.

I see that you are still harping on my offence in my article in "THE GOLDEN AGE". I can only repeat what I wrote you in my last letter. Only one hunting for heresy in every word could possibly find the least objection to the article. In point of fact I wrote against my better conviction when I tried so hard to defend the comrades who compromised right and left. I saw only too soon that they were leading the revolution to a precipice. I now realize that I should have said so in print. Instead, I defended their actions on the grounds that they had no choice. Yet you go on reiterating that I had criticised them. It is no use going on with this part of your letter.

Your question "what should the CNT do with the foodstuffs sent them from Russia. Should they have refused the food and gone home sulking". Forgive me comrade when I say these are childish questions. No one had suggested such a thing. But I could not see why the CNT-FAI in a bargain with Russia should have found it necessary not only to pay in kind but to fairly go on their knees before the Soviet deity. There is no bargain whether entered into with the capitalist merchants or the monster merchant of the Communist state. Spain should have paid in gold as it actually did, besides 10,000 bottles of the best champagne. But even through the CNT-FAI I went ~~off~~ its way to sign the praise of "our dear comrade Stalin". Carol side by side with the Russian Consul in Barcelona connected with him in proclaiming the glory that was Stalin. Frankly, I never hoped to live to see such a scandalous breach of faith as was demonstrated in the exhibitionism between Oliver and the Consul. But not least were the columns of GOLD filled day after day with the hymn song of the Soviet Government. It was sickening, and what is more to the point it was completely unnecessary.

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemn lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia; but what they objected to was the unnecessary humiliation and lick spittle demonstration to Stalin. Actually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this, the hard Moscow had in the plot against the CNT-FAI been quite convinced us of what we had seen at the time.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

413

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010215

[Letter] 1937 June 4 [London to Max] Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

25170

You object to criticism because of the menace of fascism and in the same breath you maintain that you consider dictatorship as great a menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have truck with banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of fact, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades, even though they could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse, what seemed so far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realised the eminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the anarchist conference. You seem to think that I have been at the back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew there would be differences, clashes and even useless recriminations, as at Athens. I considered such a conference of moral importance to the anarchist movement outside of Spain; but we need not quarrel about it any more. The deadly plot against the CNT-FAI and the revolution has done away with the chances of an anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel prieved if that were all that the plot had accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the CNT-FAI until 3rd May. I wonder whether you realise now how much the CNT-FAI have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get in or out of it - all that in the small span of time of six months. What a tragedy. To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life is tied on a sword by the Spanish revolution. I wanted but to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going to England because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realised, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were, my life would be in danger. As if there would be any morning in life, if the Spanish revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it; but I still cling, like a drowning man to a straw, that our Spanish comrades will find themselves, their old strength, and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they, will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict of the part the leaders in the CNT-FAI have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the Communists and their reactionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the revolution and the extermination of the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Montseny to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew the CNT is after all not so strong as it had pretended to be, and that it would go down in a blood bath. As I cannot go to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

414

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010215

[Letter] 1937 June 4 [London to Max] Nettlau, [Vienna] / [Emma Goldman].—
4 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25179

4

Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchist who stood foremost in the world for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Gandhi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

Is the war now to continue only to bring back the old regime? If so I see no reason to support it. I have gone to prison for my stand on war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti-fascist war it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the social revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet clarified my own position, but whatever it will be, you need never fear that I will lose faith in the rank and file of the CNT-F.I. or that I will refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the Bolsheviks when I already saw the decline of the revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical of the regime. Some of them subsequently lost their lives, or are still being dragged from concentration camp to concentration camp. Besides I am just as willing to have friendly talks with Garcia Oliver and Frederica Montseny or any of the other comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I certainly will have these talks with them, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach me c/o Mollie Alperine, 13 Rue des Volontaires, Paris 15e.

I enclose an article from the New Statesman. It was sent me by my very dear comrade Mollie Steiner. She was right when she wrote that the article is more penetrating of the situation of the CNT-F.I. than any of our own comrades have produced. I am sending it back.

With my old affection.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

415

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726339

[Letter] 1937 June 4 [New York to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] / [W.S. Van Valkenburgh]. — 1 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4 June 1937

24034

Dearest Emma:

Yes, indeed, I was just a little concerned about the belated reply to my letter for in an instance when such a matter is concerned one's mind seems automatically to develop illusions on the dark side and I was beginning to imagine all sorts of things that you were thinking about me. To make matters worse, I have never heard from Souchy either. That in itself, is not important now that I have heard from you. Souchy does not know me from Adam, for one thing, and then he is probably involved in much more important things than the wailing of an old sentimental fool in the midst of daily massacres. Your letter therefore, was a great relief. I cannot begin to say how much I appreciate your understanding, Emma! I know my own little trials are so infinitesimal and I realize that their magnitude just increases in proportion to my uselessness in the movement - or on the face of the earth for that matter. It is well that Bluestein went - whatever I may finally decide. He is young, intelligent, sincere and ambitious. It is a wonderful opportunity for him to witness things from an orchestra seat and I am sure he will be an asset to the comrades in Barcelona. I will continue to contribute my little mite here as always. We have had a number of meetings here and have raised some little money. Next week we are to have a meeting at Irving Plaza. Carlo Tresca will speak in Italian, Frank Gonzalez in Spanish and Sidney Solomon and I in English. The theme will be the murder of Berneri into which we will work such as we consider dependable information about the May 3rd events.... Your trouble with the lassitude of the Spanish comrades in furnishing information is also our trouble here. They are not indifferent, of course, neither are they hostile, but they seem unable to understand the importance of broadcasting so much of the information they receive through devious channels into English. We just have to keep right on their necks all the time. Carlo seems to have settled down into the anarchist niche after all these years of vacillating and working with and against the socialists and communists. He has completely broken with Allegri and he has some of his people attend all our group meetings. He still is able to bring out a goodly element of the Italians not in the individualist camp - but he is showing his years and is not possessed of the youthful spirit my beloved EG carries on high.

Please EG just forget the incident of my private woes - there are so many other worth while things to occupy one and life is of such a fleeting duration after all! But thanks a million for your sympathy and understanding. Time does ease things up and soothe the hurts we are prone to think can never be assuaged. We must be thankful for that.

About these inclosures. I presume the one to Sania is to Shapiro and the one without address to Wettlau. EG - the world will never know what it has missed in its stupidity of gagging you. How you can analyze things! Really, rather than flatter, I usually offend, as you have so given me to understand on more than one occasion - but I have never known you to be wrong, either in predicting an outcome nor in analysing a result. Your opinions anent the Spanish situation is almost uncanny - as they have been through all the years. Perhaps, if one wanted to be mean, some fault might be found with your unbounded enthusiasm and limitless praise of the Bolsheviks 20 years ago when all the world was crazier than it seems to be now - but in your later observations about Russia, Germany, the growth of Fascism, the demoralization of liberal movements and, it seems to me, everything upon which you touched, were as though they had come out of the unerring gazing into the Crystal ball of future events. Your letters, much more than Dr Eliot's 5 foot shelf of books - are in themselves a liberal education. I am sorry indeed that Shapiro does not appreciate them.

How tragic that all these internecine controversies must rage at every stage of the struggle against our common bete noire! What a pity our egos drive us to such extremes just when all our abilities should be being bent to but a single purpose --- well, what a tragedy is life, altogether!

Please don't forget to let me have copies of any letters you can spare, for I read and re-read them over and over again and ever find in them something new I had overlooked before. Above all things, please keep me informed of details in Catalonia. Our sources here are very limited and dependable. You understand or course that most of our Spanish comrades are quite illiterate and even in their own language

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029115

[Letter, 19]37 June 5 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4130

June 5th 37

Dearest Auntie. I wrote you aist Saturday to the effect that Nellie does not want to remain in the flat and that I would therefore have to take steps to sublet it furnished or unfurnished. I asked you for an imaid into reply. And here it is a week since I wrote and no reply. I hope it is not illness that has prevented you from writing. If I did not have the habit of always writing my return address on letters I would think mine got lost. Anyhow, here I am writing again. What suggestions have you to make in regard to the flat? For all I hear of Spain the conditions are such that I will probably not be permitted to get into it. What I will do then is also very doubtful. I have heard nothing from A. in reference of a visa. I cannot just hang around in France nor can I do anything in England during the summer. In short I am at sea as I have not been for a long & long time. In other words I must do something about the flat. If it cannot be let furnished the stuff will have to be sold. It will fetch very little I know. Perhaps I can let it furnished for three months. During that time something definite may come for me to do. I may sail for Canada in Sept. There would still be time to sell the stuff and try to let it for you on a lease. I certainly do not want to let you down. Nor have I the ~~means~~ the means to keep it indefinitely. Anyway I want to know your suggestions. Please Auntie write me by return mail. I am very anxious.

Nellie has so far achieved nothing. Her would be great friend has not even replied to her letter. She maybe away of course. But even so Nellie should have heard from Mrs Cochran ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ AS she must have left a return address. Heaven only knows what will become of Nellie. I introduced her to Clovelly. We had lunch with him Thursday in the Cafe Royal. He said he would give her a trial. I dread it because he will be disappointed in her voice and will not be able to do anything for her. Clovelly had of course forgotten all about his promise to give Betty a trial. I will remind him again after Nellie has seen him. I must rush off to the Koldsfakys. He was in a hospital for a week. No improvement. So he was taken home again.

Please, please Auntie dearest write at once. I cannot send the rent to day as I am out of checks will do so Monday.

With love.

Nellie sends love.

he letter is so needed. I just paid a lot of money for repairs

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

417

The Emma Goldman Papers

880207007

[Letter] 1937 June 5, Sneek [The Netherlands to] Emma Goldman, [London] / P. Fijlstra. — 1 p. ; 29 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

P. FIJLSTRA
Wassenberghstr. # 25
Sneek (Holland).

24340

Sneek, 5th June 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I just came home from a short trip and found your letter of 29th May. I am very glad to tell you that I received word from Mr. A. A. Knopff, that he willingly permits us to publish your book "Living My Life". I thank you and Mr. Knopf (I answered him already) very much and I hope when the book appears and you have received a copy, the translation and the printing will satisfy you. I will do my utmost.

I would ask you: Was your German teacher, in Königsberg, a he-teacher, or a she-teacher? You know, we speak about an onderwijzer and an onderwijzeres. It is not necessary to answer directly. Perhaps I have to ask some ☐ more questions. But if you have to write something, will you kindly pay attention to my question?

Yes, the situation in Spain is terrible sad. All the Powers in the world conspire to crush the Revolution and our comrades of the CNT. and FAI. When it comes to build up a real socialistic society all these powers will unite to crush these efforts.

It's horrible to think that Durutti and Camullo Berneri should have been murdered by communists. But why should n't they do it? They murdered in Russia so many of our brave comrades, why shouldn't they do it in Spain and everywhere, if it only serves them to get in power?

To day I met a comrade, who came back from Barcelona two or three weeks ago. "If you write Emma Goldman warn her from going to Spain," he said. "It's very dangerous in Spain, the more when he or she is a Russian and an opponent of Stalinism, as E: G: is. They, the Stalinists, have murdered Durutti, Berneri and many other comrades. They will not hesitate to murder E: G: if she is in their way." So, be careful, dear comrade. It is more satisfactory to perish in the struggle against kapitalism, than by the hand of a communist assassin.

*F for a
freemason
anarcho-
syndicalist*

I send a copy of this letter to Paris. Will you kindly remember me to Mollie Steimer?

With the kindest regards,

Yours

P. Fijlstra.

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005141

[Letter] 1937 June 7 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20148

7th June 1937.

Dear Harry.

No use giving you a lot of excuses why I have not written. You have known me long enough to understand my silence. True, my work for Spain was finished early this month; but the tragic events that happened there the first week in May was such a shock that I have been in a stupor ever since. Worse luck, except for the newspapers and the Bulletin it is impossible to get direct word. I have written, I have wired; but no reply. I am particularly disappointed in A. Bluestein. He promised faithfully to supply me with almost daily material for my work in England. It's true it must be difficult now with censorship to get letters through; but it is possible because we have seen letters sent out by a Scotch woman anarchist and since the bulletin arrives every day so could letters; but I haven't gotten anything and I am simply worn out with anxiety and restlessness.

There is a possibility of Spanish delegates coming to a conference in Paris called by the I.W.O.A. for June 11th. So if they do I will go to Paris. Besides Paris is near Spain. I may get some direct news from there. Here I am completely cut off and I cannot stand the dreadful suspense of not knowing what is going on there.

You will bear me out, dear Harry, that I was not blind to the compromises made by the Leaders of the CNT-FAI. I wrote repeatedly to other comrades that I foresaw the danger. I saw that the CNT-FAI will have to pay heavily for the compromises, especially with that Shylock Stalin, who will not content himself with only one pound of flesh. I had hoped that the reckoning would be postponed until fascism had been conquered. Well, the plot came sooner than I expected. You will see by the enclosed quotation from a letter that I wrote to a friend in Palestine. The plot was deliberate on the part of the Communists and the re-actionary republicans. It was to crush the revolution and exterminate our comrades. It is tragic indeed that the leaders found it necessary to call a retreat. It may have been the only chance for our comrades to rescue their great constructive achievements.

I enclose copy of a letter I wrote to Alan. You may think it somewhat sharp; but my dear the man has simply lost his balance. I know he feels deeply about Montseny. It is hard for him to see her criticised. I myself cannot raise my hand against her or the others, at least, not until I have been back to Spain. Until I have seen what it is all about. For the present I feel broken up. I have not the remotest idea what to do or where to go. The Revolution in Spain saved my life. I wanted nothing better than to remain there and to take my stand to the bitter end. Now it seems as if there will be no such end for me.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

419

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005141

[Letter] 1937 June 7 [London to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20149

For you will understand, dear Harry? that if I find that the CNT-FAI had actually called a retreat, and had paralysed the one chance our comrades had to defend our stronghold, I will not be able to continue our work as representative of the CNT-FAI. I would go on just the same, doing my utmost for the rank and file.

Mercedes. Rogers does not seem to have made a step. What about John Elderman. Roschelle before she left promised me to have a talk with him, and Sonia told me to-day that she had written to him. A personal talk is more important. I therefore beg you Harry to get in touch with Harry John and see whether there is any possibility of getting a visa. If he thinks it would be useful if I were in Canada I would go there. I must have some definite thing to go by. Will you see about it and write me to Paris o/o Mollie Alperine. Sonia told me over the phone that the letter from her mother stated that while Aniuta is feeling badly she is not in any immediate danger. I hope it is true.

Dear Harry it is futile to argue what would have happened if Malatesta had complied with the request of the comrades to take charge of the factories and declare a dictatorship. In the first place I cannot imagine Malatesta fitting into the straight-jacket of a dictatorship or to proceed to put the same straight-jacket on all his other comrades. In the second place I am certain it would have ended the same as in Russia. After all, there is no difference between Fascism and Communism. There is however this difference, at least for myself. I would rather go down under Fascism than betray my ideas and the movement in taking active part in a dictatorship - a thousand times rather death. I therefore cannot see your argument at all dear, nor can I see the logic in what you say about co-operating with the "devil" if need be in order to fight fascism. All the recent events in Barcelona prove you wrong. Our comrades have co-operated with the devil and look where it has landed them. Compromise with governments, bringing before Stalin's throne and all the other machinations are so completely remote from what we have preached, they could only lead to the strangulation of the revolution.

Well the situation is heartbreaking; but until I can get back to Spain I do not propose to condemn or speak. For the rest you will find what I have to say in my letter to Nettlau.

Affectionately,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713092

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London to Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1464

4th June 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am not sure that it is worth while to continue our argument. You either cannot or will not see that your objections to criticism of the leaders of the CNT-FAI. from comrades outside of Spain places you in the same position with the Bolsheviki in the early period of the Revolution. They too, kept stressing the fact that they were engaged in a "life and death struggle", that they were surrounded by many opponents-revolutionists, and that they had to continue their compromising methods.

You will reply that Lenin and his comrades were building a State machine while our comrades in Spain are working for a free society. That is not the point, dear comrade. The point is that you are not only criticised but also condemned unreservedly the compromises of the Bolsheviki, while now you justify similar compromises of our comrades. You forget, of course, that the Russian revolution at that time was as much in danger as the Spanish revolution is to-day. I insist that if we are willing to be critical of our opponents we should be even more critical of our comrades. I admit it is harder to find fault with our own than it is with our enemies. But is not this the principal trait of anarchism which differentiates us from other political groups? Imagine a Mat Nettiaw writing that the young comrades of the FAI have been "egged on" by the critical attitude of the French and other comrades. Really, my dear old comrade, it is ridiculous to make such a charge. Do you mean to suggest that no Spanish anarchist has enough mentality to see where the concessions that have been made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI will lead?, and if the anarchists had not been "egged on" they would have continued in the face of many mistakes made by their elders?. I should give very little for the revolution if I shared such opinion of the Spanish anarchist youth or of the FAI.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw this statement in your letter. Your contention that the comrades in France or Berneri have caused the tragic events in the first days of May in Barcelona is on par with the charges made in Russia against Machno and the Russian anarchist who had dared to point out that the revolution was being emasculated by the Communist State. Lenin also considered it the height of treason to be criticised by his political opponents.

As to your explanation of Berneri's death, I confess I was shocked. How can you of all people say that it was surprising that Berneri had not met such end before because he was so critical and faultfinding? ~~Is that enough to damn him~~ I certainly never expected such poor logic from you. What if Berneri was critical? What if he was a stickler for consistency? Is that enough to damn him, and even use this as a plausible cause for his murder? I agree that this is crime enough in the eyes of the Communist zealots; but why should it have surprised you? Of course I do not agree with you for a moment that Berneri was "moderate at heart".

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713092

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London to Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

1465

or that he had nothing "positive about him". I considered Berneri the most brilliant mind since Malatesta; among the most courageous, and of extraordinary ability to work with large groups. It was he who organized the Italian Anti-Fascist column. It was he who managed the supply of food, clothing and arms. It was Berneri who fought with them at every front and raised their spirit when he saw signs of discouragement and pessimism. In other words, Camilo Berneri was one of the finest types of comrades I have ever come across in the anarchist movement and no sane human being free from hatred and fanaticism could have possibly have found reason to kill Berneri. But of course he was uncompromising and relentless with the Communists. Bravely he wrote in his paper pointing out that the revolution was sailing between two dangerous cliffs - Burgos and Moscow. How very prophetic his words the dreadful days of May in Barcelona proved.

I see that you are still harping on my offence in my article in "SPAIN & THE WORLD". I can only repeat what I wrote you in my last letter. Only one hunting for holes in every word could possibly find the least objection to the article. In point of fact I wrote against my better conviction when I tried so hard to defend the comrades who compromised right and left. I saw only too soon that they were leading the revolution to a precipice. I now realize that I should have said so in print. Instead, I defended their actions on the grounds that they had no choice. Yet you go on reiterating that I had criticised them. It is no use going on with this part of your letter.

Your question "what should the CNT-FAI have done with the foodstuffs sent them from Russia. Should they have refused the food and gone home sulking". Pardon me comrade when I say these are childish questions. No one had suggested such a thing. What I could not see was why the CNT-FAI in a bargain with Russia should have found it necessary not only to pay in kind but to fairly go on their knees before the Soviet Deity. A bargain is a bargain whether entered into with the capitalist merchants or the monster merchant of the Communist state. Spain should have paid in gold as it actually did, besides 10,000 bottles of the best champagne. But Spain through the CNT-FAI went off its way to sign the praise of "our dear comrade Stalin". Garcia/side by side with the Russian Consul in Barcelona competed with him in proclaiming the glory that was Stalin's. Frankly, I never hoped to live to see such a scandalous breach of faith as was demonstrated in the exhibitionism between Oliver and the Consul. Last but not least were the columns of SOLI filled day after day with the psalm song of the Soviet Government. It was sickening, and what is more to the point it was completely unnecessary.

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemn lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia; but what they objected to was the unnecessary humiliation and lick spittle demonstration to Stalin. Actually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this, the hand Moscow had in the plot against the CNT-FAI has quite convinced us of what we had seen at the time.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

422

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713092

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London to Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

1466

You object to criticism because of the menace of fascism and in the same breath you maintain that you consider dictatorship as great a menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have truck with banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of fact, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades, even though they could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse, what seemed as far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realised the eminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the anarchist conference. You seem to think that I have been at the back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the Call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew there would be differences, clashes and even useless recriminations. Nevertheless, I considered such a conference of moral importance to the Anarchist movement outside of Spain; but we need not quarrel about it any more. The dastardly plot against the CNT-FAI and the revolution has done away with the chances of an anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel grieved if that were all that the plot had accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the CNT-FAI until 3rd May. I wonder whether you realise now how much the CNT-FAI have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get into it or out of it - all that in the small span of time of six months. What a tragedy. To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life was then saved by the Spanish revolution. I wanted but to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going to England because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realised, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were, my life would be in danger. As if there would be any meaning in life, if the Spanish revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it; but I still cling, like a drowning man to a straw, that our Spanish comrades will find themselves, their old strength, and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they, will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict of the part the leaders in the CNT-FAI have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the Communists and their re-actionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the revolution and the extermination of the CNT-FAI. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Montseny to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew the CNT is after all not so strong as it had pretended to be, and that it would go down in a blood bath. As I cannot go to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

423

The Emma Goldman Papers

860713092

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London to Harry Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1467

Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchist who stood foremost in the world for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Ghandi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

Is the war now to continue only to bring back the old regime? If so I see no reason to support it. I have gone to prison for my stand on war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti-fascist war it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the Social Revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet clarified my own position, but whatever it will be, you need never fear that I will lose faith in the rank and file of the CNT-FAI, or that I will refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the Bolsheviks when I already saw the decline of the Revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical of the regime. Some of them subsequently lost their lives, or are still being dragged from concentration camp to concentration camp. Besides I am just as willing to have friendly talks with Garcia Oliver and Frederica Montseny or any of the other comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I certainly will have these talks with them, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach me c/o Mollie Alperine, 23 Rue des Volontaires, Paris 15e.

I enclose an article from the New Statesman. It was sent me by my very dear comrade Mollie Steiner. She was right when she wrote that the article is more penetrating of the situation of the CNT-FAI than any of our own comrades have produced. Please send it back.

With my old affection.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

424

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317127

[Envelope, 19]37 June 7, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p. ; 14 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*

Max Nettlau
Gartenstrasse 1
Wien
Vienna Austria

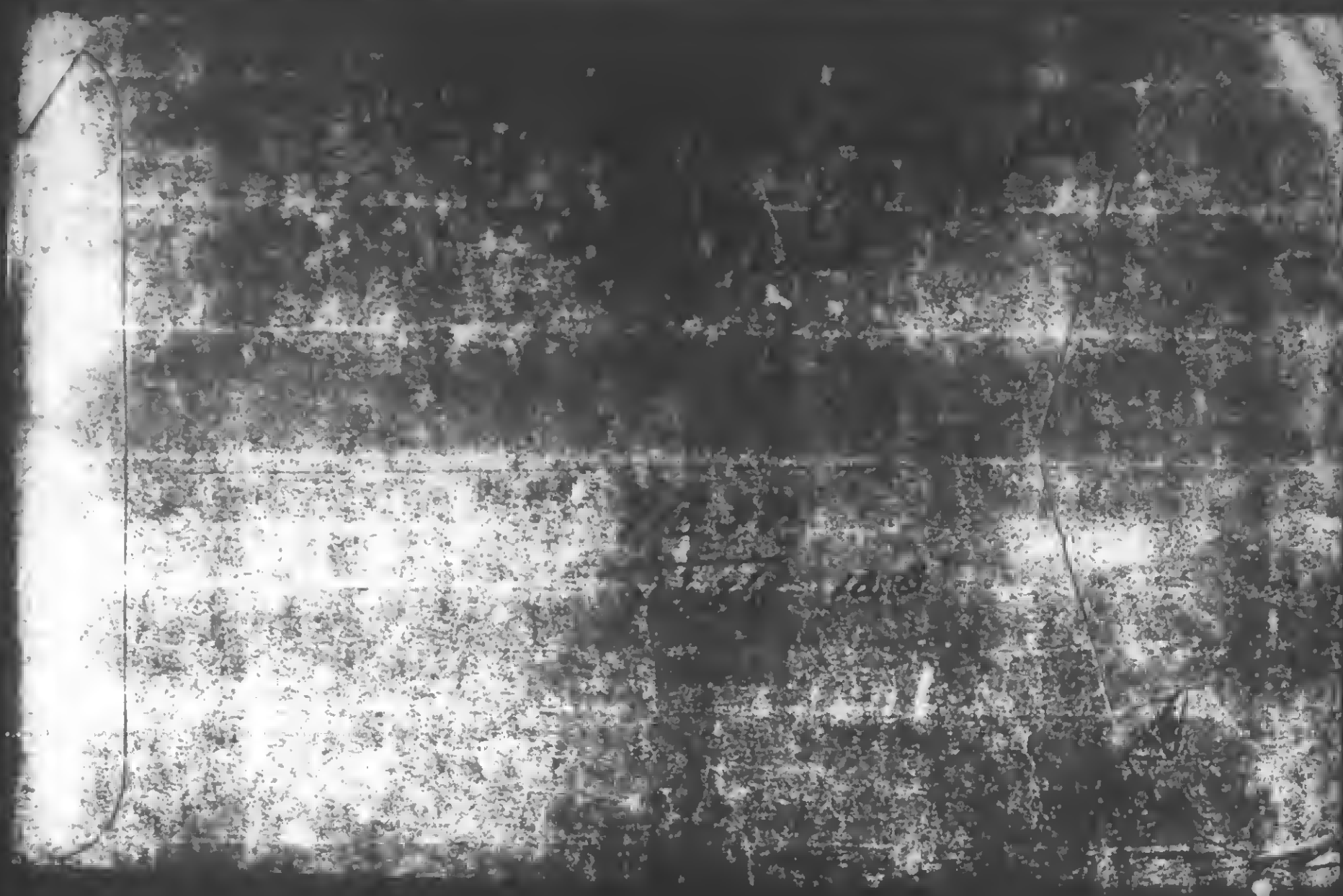
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

425

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]37 June 7, London [to] Max Nettlau, Vienna / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 14 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.*



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

426

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p.; 25 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12470

London June 7th 37.

Dear Comrades. At last a sign of life from you or any other comrades. You cannot possibly imagine the anxiety I went through for a month. I understood perfectly that you must be laboring under a rigid censorship. Still it should not have been entirely impossible to get out if only a few words. That this was possible I judge by the material the Independent Labor Party had received and the letters dated May 4th 5th 6th that reached Scotland from Jenny Patrick, a comrade who had worked in Barcelona and Madrid. It was therefore strange that I as your representative was kept in ignorance of the tragic event in May for a whole month. It was not only because of my deep concern in the lives and safety of all the comrades of the CNT-FAI which made your silence so hard to bear. It was also because I was besieged by several newspapers for news about the upheaval and I was unable to furnish them with anything. Meanwhile the Communist paper, and those who sympathized with them carried on a systematic and daily campaign charging the responsibility of the plot to the CNT-FAI. And I was handicapped for material and could not reply. It was exasperating I can assure you. True, I received the SOLI and the Spanish Bulletin. But knowing it was censored and official I could not possibly believe in any of the printed matter. The more I read the more confused I became and the more anxious.

Well, last week I received a full account of all that had ~~expriated~~ expried, all the machinations of the rotten Moscow gang and the plot they had hatched long before the first days in May. It is an amazing document and it will go into the next issue of SPAIN AND THE WORLD. We are bringing the whole account, about 12,000 in a special supplement which we will try to distribute as widely as possible though our channel of reaching public opinion in England is very limited. Had I had the account in the beginning of the upheaval I could have written something for the Manchester Guardian. It is out of date now. However when the story appears in SPAIN AND THE WORLD I will send copies to the important Dailies in England and America with a special letter asking them to reprint the main points that prove exclusively that the CNT-FAI far from being responsible for the fratricide has turned from its tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance. Verily, a Gandhi could not have done more than to call a retreat and none resistance in the very face of murder of our comrades by the counter revolutionary Communist plotters. It was a shock to me and all the comrades here as indeed it was a shock to learn of the strange stand of the leaders of the CNT-FAI and the Regional Committee. I hope you will not think I have lost interest or zeal in the struggle all of you are making when I say that I am completely at sea in regard to the procedure of the leaders of the CNT-FAI. Truth to tell I was at sea while yet in Spain. The concessions and compromises made by the Spanish comrades were too difficult to grasp. Moreover, they foreshadowed the events of May. But knowing that the comrades had Franco at their throat I tried to make myself and the comrades out side of Spain believe that the CNT-FAI had no choice except dictatorship or Ministires. ~~But~~ And I for one welcomed the lesser evil. But I knew perfectly the price the CNT-FAI will have to pay. The reckoning came much sooner than I expected. It was a terrible reckoning. ~~xxxx~~ The Moscow beast will ~~xxxx~~ not be satisfied with the price you have already paid.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

12471

I wonder whether you and the other comrades realize that.

I said the ⁶evnts in Barcelona have confused me terribly. In fact they have pulle d the ground from under my feet. I cannot and wil will not sit in judgment over thw steps taken by the CNT-FAI until I have gone back to Spain, have seen you all and talked to you as one cannot in letters. You must understand dear comrade that it is impossible to grasp the change the leaders of the CNT-FAI have undergone and the strange part they have played in calling for peace while the blood of our comrades were being shed. And no more clear is it to us that the CNT-FAI is now offering support to so reactionary and bourgeois gang as the Negrin Govern ment. You should bear in mind that the Spanish comrades to us where ^{up} the banner bearers of our ideal and ideas. That we always held them out as shining example, of courage, fortitude and consistancy. You should therefore understand our disappointment in the outstanding figures in the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist ranks. Worse yet, we cannot explain it to the people outside of Spain. To clarify my own doubts and misgivings I must go back to Spain. But how? I have received word that I will not be admitted and that if I were my life would be in danger. The gangsters who have murdered our beautiful comrade Berneri may well also dispose of me. For I have fought the Soviet myth for 16 years. But that is not what worrys me. Frankly if the Revolution should be lost, or it should meet with the same end as the Russian I should not consider it very worth while to go on living. No, it is not that. It is how to get to you? Can you let me know Can you arrange ~~xxxxxxxx~~ for my safe conduct into Spain, Valencia if not Barcelona. Please, please let me know at once.

^{reach} Comrade Vidal reported that you would like me to try and at the British Press with letters like the one in the Manchester Guardian. Forgive me for saying you are naive. I think I have already written you several times that there is a definite conspiracy of silence on the part of the Left Press as regards the CNT-FAI except when they can lie about you or vilify you. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Every paper here of the so called Left has denounced our comrades as "gummen, gangsters and criminals". ~~Even~~, Even a man like Brailsford who writes from Spain and tries to be fair ~~states~~ ⁱⁿ his article nevertheless exonerates the Communists and praises them for their marvelous organising skill and their clever political manoeuvrers and he lays the entire blame for the plot to the Anarchists. So what is one to expect from ~~xxxxx~~ the unscrupulous correspondents? No, it is impossible to break through this network of lies and columny of the Daily or weekly papers in this country. I will try the Manchester Guardian again with the report of the events sent me by Souchy, I suppose, though his name does not appear. But I am not very hopeful my letter will be printed or that the Guardian will comment on the story. I will let you know.

Comrade V. also reported other suggestions received from you, in re a paper dealing with the internal labor affairs in England. I cannot go into that now. I do not believe the idea is feasible. But in any event we will have to talk this over, yes, and many other matters if I am to continue the work here. Meanwhile I have prepared a full report of what I have accomplished, the amount collected, and the expences incurred. Also suggestions for further work in this country. It is being translated

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921002

[Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12472

into Spanish. When it is completed I will send it to you per Calve. You will then be able to decide whether you accept my plan, or if the ~~Spain~~ campaign here should be discontinued. I am not sure that I will be able to return to England after I have been to Spain. I may be able to go to the States. To achieve that I will most likely have to go to Canada. But whatever I may do in the future I must clarify my own thoughts and attitude on the Spanish situation. And that I can only do if I can get to Spain. I must therefore beg you again dear comrades to make it possible for me to get in. And to let me know soon when I might start. About the 20th of this month I am going to Paris. I find London so completely cut off from Spain I might as well live on the North Pole. Paris is nearer. So I am going there to await your definite reply. And I will proceed accordingly.

You know of course of the thousands of children they ^{who} have been brought here. I have learned only two days ago that among them are forty CNT-FAI children. ~~Therefore~~ I ~~was~~ am now informed that these children are to be taken by the Independent Labor Party to their camp in a very lovely part of England, called Somerset. I am going to try to go out there to see the children and see how they are being taken care of. ~~I should like to know whether you are~~ I should like to know whether you are willing that I should contribute something to the care of our own children. Do not forget to mention it when you write me in answer to this. Better send your replies from now on to Calve and he can deliver it to me in Paris, my address there will be c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des volontaires Paris XV. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible especially about my return to Spain.

Salut.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010262

[Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25273

London June 7th 37.

Dear Comrades. At last a sign of life from you or any other comrades. You cannot possibly imagine the anxiety I went through for a month. I understood perfectly that you must be laboring under a rigid censorship. Still it should not have been entirely impossible to get out if only a few words. That this was possible I judge by the material the Independent Labor Party had received and the letters dated May 4th 5th sixth that reached Scotland from Jenny Patrick, a comrade who had worked in Barcelona and Madrid. It was therefore strange that I as your representative was kept in ignorance of the tragic event in May for a whole month. It was not only because of my deep concern in the lives and safety of all the comrades of the CNT-FAI which made your silence so hard to bear. It was also because I was besieged by several newspapers for news about the upheaval and I was unable to furnish them with anything. Meanwhile the Communist paper and those who sympathised with them carried on a systematic and daily campaign charging the responsibility of the plot to the CNT-FAI. And I was handicapped for material and could not reply. It was exasperating I can assure you. True, I received the SOLI and the Spanish Bulletin. But knowing it was censored and official I could not possibly believe in any of the printed matter. The more I read the more confused I became and the more anxious.

Well, last week I received a full account of all that had ~~expried~~ expried, all the machinations of the rotten Moscow gang and the plot they had hatched long before the first days in May. It is an amazing document and it will go into the next issue of SPAIN AND THE WORLD. We are bringing the whole account, about 12,000 in a special supplement which we will try to distribute as widely as possible though our channel of reaching public opinion in England is very limited. Had I had the account in the beginning of the upheaval I could have written something for the Manchester Guardian. It is out of date now. However when the story appears in SPAIN AND THE WORLD I will send copies to the important dailies in England and America with a special letter asking them to reprint the main points that prove exclusively that the CNT-FAI far from being responsible for the fratricide has turned from its tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance. Verily a Gandhi could not have done more than to call a retreat and none resistance in the very face of murder of our comrades by the counter revolutionary Communist plotters. It was a shock to me and all the comrades here as indeed it was a shock to learn of the strange stand of the leaders of the CNT-FAI and the Regional Committee. I hope you will not think I have lost interest or zeal in the struggle all of you are making when I say that I am completely at sea in regard to the procedure of the leaders of the CNT-FAI. Truth to tell I was at sea while yet in Spain. The concessions and compromises made by the Spanish comrades were too difficult to grasp. Moreover they foreshadowed the events of May. But knowing that the comrades had Franco at their throat I tried to make myself and the comrades out side of Spain believe that the CNT-FAI had no choice except dictatorship or Ministires. ~~But~~ And I for one welcomed the lesser evil. But I knew perfectly the price the CNT-FAI will have to pay. The reckoning came much sooner than I expected. It was a terrible reckoning ~~xxxx~~ The Moscow beast will ~~xxxx~~ not be satisfied with the price you have already paid.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010262

[Letter, 1937 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

25

I wonder whether you and the other comrades realize that.

I said the events in Barcelona have confused me terribly. In fact they have pulled the ground from under my feet. I cannot and will not sit in judgment over the steps taken by the CNT-FAI until I have gone back to Spain, have seen you all and talked to you as one cannot in letters. You must understand dear comrade that it is impossible to grasp the change the leaders of the CNT-FAI have undergone and the strange part they have played in calling for peace while the blood of our comrades were being shed. And no more clear is it to us that the CNT-FAI is now offering support to so reactionary and bourgeois gang as the Negrin Government. You should bear in mind that the Spanish comrades to us were the banner bearers of our ideal and ideas. That we always held them out as shining example of courage, fortitude and consistency. You should therefore understand our disappointment in the outstanding figures in the Spanish Anarcho-Syndicalist ranks. Worse yet we cannot explain it to the people outside of Spain. To clarify my own doubts and misgivings I must go back to Spain. But how? I have received word that I will not be admitted and that if I were my life would be in danger. The gangsters who have murdered our beautiful comrade Berneri may well also dispose of me. For I have fought the Soviet myth for 16 years. But that is not what worries me. Frankly if the revolution should be lost, or it should meet with the same end as the Russian I should not consider it very worth while to go on living. No it is not that. It is how to get to you? Can you let me know Can you arrange ~~emergency~~ for my safe conduct into Spain, Valencia if not Barcelona? Please, please let me know at once.

Comrade Vidal reported that you would like me to try and at the British Press with letters like the one in the Manchester Guardian. Forgive me for saying you are naive. I think I have already written you several times that there is a definite conspiracy of silence on the part of the Left Press as regards the CNT-FAI except when they can lie about you or vilify you. ~~Not a word~~ Every paper here of the so called Left has denounced our comrades as gunmen, gangsters and criminals. ~~Even~~ Even a man like Brailsford who writes from Spain and tries to be fair ~~in his~~ in his article nevertheless exonerates the Communists and praises them for their marvelous organizing skill and their clever political manoeuvres and he lays the entire blame for the plot to the Anarchists. So what is one to expect from ~~these~~ the unscrupulous correspondents? No, it is impossible to break through this network of lies and columny of the Daily or weekly papers in this country. I will try the Manchester Guardian again with the report of the events sent me by Soucky I suppose though his name does not appear. But I am not very hopeful my letter will be printed or that the Guardian will comment on the story. I will let you know.

Comrade V. also reported other suggestions received from you, in re a paper dealing with the internal labor affairs in England. I cannot go into that now. I do not believe the idea is feasible. But in any event we will have to talk this over, yes and many other matters if I am to continue the work here. Meanwhile I have prepared a full report of what I have accomplished, the amount collected and the expenses incurred. Also suggestions for further work in this country. It is being translated

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

431

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010262

[Letter, 19]37 June 7, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28275

to Spanish. When it is completed I will send it to you per Calve.
You will then be able to decide whether you accept my plan, or if the
campaign here should be discontinued. I am not sure that I will
be able to return to England after I have been to Spain. I may be able
to go to the States. To achieve that I will most likely have to go to
Canada. But whatever I may do in the future I must clarify my own
thoughts and attitude on the Spanish situation. And that I can only do if
I can get to Spain. I must therefore beg you again dear comrades to
make it possible for me to get in, and to let me know soon when I might
start. About the 20th of this month I am going to Paris. I find London
completely cut off from Spain I might as well live on the North Pole.
Paris is nearer. So I am going there to await your definite reply. And
I will proceed accordingly.

You know of course of the thousands of children they
have been brought here. I have learned only two days ago that among
them are forty CNT-FAI children. ~~Trisomina~~ I ~~want~~ am now informed
that these children are to be taken by the Independent Labor Party to
their camp in a very lovely part of England, called Somerset. I am going
to try to go out there to see the children and see how they are being
taken care of. ~~I understand that you~~ I should like to know whether you are
willing that I should contribute something to the care of our own children.
Do not forget to mention it when you write me in answer to this.
Better send your replies from now on to Calve and he can deliver it to me
in Paris, my address there will be c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des
Volontaires Paris XV. Please let me hear from you as soon as possible
especially about my return to Spain.

Salut.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

432

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
9 p. ; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vienna June 7, 1937

Dear comrade Mrs. E. G.,

I love your letter and I think these questions merit to be discussed still further; do not mind the spots caused in typing, nor do I mind the blocks fueled at my poor hand.

The point is that what was done since 1917 is so utterly different from the situation in 1936-37 and it is curious to go by cheap comparisons as many do. 1917, March was welcomed by all who were not influenced by war interests. November was welcomed by all libertarians and genuine socialists as a thorough socialist triumph and dictatorship was accepted as temporarily inevitable on the principle that eggs are broken when a pancake is made. The bolsheviks everywhere, in Spain, Italy, U. S., S. America profited by the stupendous misinterpretation of their name, printed everywhere by our papers: that the appellatif meant maximalism, either a party demanding the maximum, or a party based on the will of the masses; moreover the prewar maximalists, a s.r. left fraction were confounded with them. — No one, not Mother Earth, nobody referred to the notorious origin of the name, that of the accidental majority of a socialist congress held many years ago. By this I knew them all along as particularly rabid marxists tainted with stalinism — and I was infinitely surprised when, only since 1935, I noticed the above error of the old papers.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

433

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
9 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

... the two slave states, were 25,000
equipped and shipped to invade the country
from Mexico to Texas. These would
require cooperation of the government and
popular forces and resources had to be
arranged — or all was lost — and then
the arrangements which you counsel were
made: what else would you have proposed?
Leave everything in September to the
republ. soc. and the parasite communists?
Then they would have done from September,
what they do since May now. A minimum
of common sense permits to see that
if those ministers objected to were there
aside of the others on the same board
they could do some good — little positive,
probably, but in prevention of much harm;
that was their main task and I have
not heard that they neglected it.

As the great harm was done in August
when Tr. and E. obstructed armaments,
whilst the slave states provided them,
this had to be balanced and as
Mexico alone could not do it, there was
only Russia and so the pill had to be
swallowed and paid for. That Russia
abused of this occasion and that dupes
were found to swell their parasite
parties, is a misfortune against which
intelligence and tact must protect us;
whether these were present or absent
with all our friends, I do not know
and I must hesitate to affirm. You
see there is that miserable Trotsky
who sends his tools and dupes to be
killed by the ruling brutes who tremble
for their skins, and that (and not
Spain) appeals to the fine sympathies

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

434

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 9 p. ; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

of the same poor fools who all along believed to do right to sympathize with "poor little Russia" as in 1914 they did with "poor little Serbia" — and now they do with "poor little Trotsky" the dear man. — So some of the ²⁵ ~~Boas~~ ^{Boas} also seems to have had some anarchist sympathies and then they abused of this to poison and to egg on. And so they work into the hands of the Stalinists there, just as Trotsky does Stalin's and Hitler's and his own work all together — dictators cooperate until they stab each other — you have seen these struggles among the U.S. financial dictators and now we see them in all the slave states.

Under such conditions, no doubt much care and intelligence were used by the really good comrades to counteract the Stalinist and other poison (October — April) and I have very great confidence in the good sense and devotion of the Spanish comrades and never breathed a syllable to the contrary — but I noticed that outsiders, from Barcelona to Paris, indulged in harsh, useless, unpractical criticism and that I have no words to characterize.

I feel sure that, if the communists have not done more harm as yet, this is due to the lack and intelligence of just those whom these foreign critics would discredit and ruin. Really, they need not that foreign advice in Spain to do whatever is possible, to keep these wreckers in check.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 9 p.; 24 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Here abuse had no effect on (5)
either comm., fascists, racists ever since 1918. Those in Spain alone, I
ever since about 1920 understood how
to deal with them. — So I believe
that wrong and powerless tactics were
used by some, from October to July,
— or the Catalan government would
not have dared to provoke the local
anarchists on May 3 and communist
police or others would not have dared
to murder Berneri three days later.

I am glad to hear that he did
good work with the antifascist
column; he had been an officer in the war
and must have had precise notions on
military exigencies, notions which are
lacking with most others. What made
me impatient about him for many
years were two facts — his immense
specialisation in ever so many personal
questions, those of fascist spies in many
cases — and his specialisation in studies
on all sorts of farfetched subjects like
incest or antisemitic Jews or so. He
seemed to look for the abnormal, not the
normal, and from that one does not
gather the conception of greatness,
largeness, firmness of an individual,
rather that of a gourmand. If, one may
say, it was useful and necessary
that he should use his faculties to run
down spies, I cannot see that it was
necessary to present continually abnormal
phenomena to the public. Havelock Ellis
and others gather these in — that is search
and research, I understood that; Berneri
detailed their collections out, adding, I believe,

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 9 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

very little of his own. That made no impression on me. — What I saw of his general anarchist writings, did not²⁵¹⁶² possess any striking originality, nor individuality, nor beauty and art: he was, in my opinion, impeccably correct and very normal, a middle line if not a moderate one. — Malatesta evolved, Fabbri began to evolve; of Berneri I could not say anything in his respect.

This is an objective estimate based upon all I read by and on him for about 17 years. Why should I not make these simple and private remarks to I do not palliate them at such a tragic moment. I conclude from them that Berneri was more than others exposed to danger, I expected to see him murdered for years back and I am sorry that I was not mistaken. Fascists may have bribed communists to do away with this restless spirit. (If you have better news, they interest me indeed).

I feel no interest in G. O. nor in articles of the daily paper. If mistakes are made, I cannot help that. — If the situation had permitted to say there is your gold and your wine — now clear out, and never show your face again! — This would have been done. It was not possible, evidently, as further supplies were needed and as some reassurance of confidence for the population may have been useful. — You, who sign: the accred. repres. of CNT and FLN are expected to do your best for their cause and tactics, and if you disagree,

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. — 9 p.; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

you are free to resign, but you would (I
not give voice to criticism. One or
the other. I always wondered that ^{that}
you accepted or adopted this title, as
your name is world wide known as such,
and ambassadors or so are not expected
to affirm personal opinions. — You passed
many months in Russia brushing away
every suggestion and strictly working
for a then independent Museum. In
this respect, I had expected to see you the
representative abroad of meeting supplies or
the like, a technical task as that in Russia,
and that your personal opinions would
not have shocked me as they did, when
I see the public believe that CHT-FAI
are disavowed by their own representatives.
But this subject, as you suggest, let us drop.

Can't you see [I am writing as I read
your letter part by part]
that, apart from details which we both ignore
(probably not much more could have
been done by the bulk of CHT-FAI and
their ministers in Sept-April, — whilst
many local mistakes seem to have been
made 1) by some Poles and other persons; —
2) by, probably, the stalliones, over self
want of tact and experience of some
local comrades, partly enthusiasts, partly
rigorists, partly revolutionaries. — 3) by those
international outsiders whom I do not
know (I left when they began to come) of
the Herndon and similar types? I never
saw that Herndon, but see him in print for
17 years and, though he has been obliging to
many in Brussels, I never felt attracted by
him [I may be wrong and use his name
here as typical]. Well, all these

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].—
9 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I call in my mind the anarchish²⁵¹⁶ embusques, from Barcelona, with an army round, to Paris — these can think of Congresses whilst others fight or starve or work or die — this I considered scandalous from the beginning — these by their folly & incapacity, I considered very guilty — these never saw things as they were and never cared, but just were the princes of international anarchism, glorified by a Congress. That was shameful. These will crow now as ever, after doing much harm. I hate them.

— That document which you mention is unknown to me. It may be a FAT report or circular — that mentioned in Le Libre, N^o 32, p. 2, col. 4 at the end: they received such a Comité Parisien report and they are going to smash it up in their next. So you see, whatever the Spanish comrades will say, these dastard wreckers will revile and defile it: Franco and Goebbels would not do better.

Under such conditions, that is, if really these wreckers have their way, the result will obviously be a middling Waring-Campden regime under other names and with a very military basis. Not quite so, however, as I always hope that the ENT-FAT common-sense elements are stronger than you seem to believe now, much stronger. What is going to the ground, in Spain at least, will be these international embusques who will rally again in Paris and

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].—
9 p.; 24 x 16 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Murders and be merry as larks and (9
diep their; I told you so — and ⁵
some excellent Spanish comrades, their
victims. — Whatever can be saved, will
be saved by the camaraderie comrades
of CNT-FAI. — If you say: "If so
[to bring back the old regime] I see no
reason to support it" [the war], you
cannot mean what you say, as, manifestly,
anything is preferable to Germ. Fal.
Slavery. You cannot, you can never
have felt as an anarchist, if ever you
felt that democratic liberties, "ordinary
freedom" meant nothing to you. It meant
exactly everything. You would have been
put away at the beginning, if ever you
opened your mouth in early Russia — you
had a very long run of saying what you
liked in democratic America. Who is
not a real liberal enjoying every shred of
freedom, cannot be an anarchist.

I return the enclosed beginning of
a letter or article, by yourself. It has
nothing to do, I think, with the "New
Statesman". By the way, Berneri seems
to have come to Barcelona during the
last ten days of August; I saw him then
and there was no mention of him before.
He then intended to go fighting to the
Aragon front, joining an Italian column
there. There was no question of his
having been here before.

Anarchists had a chance in July and
part of August, only if like Barcelona,
and Madrid, also Zaragoza, Valencia,
Seville, Cádiz had been liberated.
Then, the generals crushed, and the Aragon,
Andalusian, Levante, Galician
peasants and workers socially rising,

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010209

[Letter] 1937 June 7, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau].—
9 p.; 24 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

driving away the capitalists and
landholders. This was not possible,
as H. and G. made the Franco-Russian
possible. — From then, it was a question
of military supplies which could only
be obtained from Moscow at their terms.
To get them on these terms may mean,
with luck, a French popular front
system, and with tech and intelligence,
some guarantees for CNT and FLN, for
public life in general, and the life of
all —. The alternative was and
is at every moment: Slavery — ruin
— murder — the death of all militants
— object perversion as in the Slave States.
The opposite of this alternative,
whatever it may be, is our object, if
we can get it, and to withdraw, to
milk, to wash my hands of it, to
produce cheap foreign socialist criticism,
as the embusque's do, is real treason.
Whatever happens, the struggle against
Slavery is glorious and whoever
leaves it, leaves himself.
— Can it be true that the U.S. refused
to send back children and that they
had or have to go to Mexico (Veracruz)?
Has Roosevelt sunk to that level?
Our Talk cannot be like that of
Albion Taps in times and on subjects
like these: so, kindly, never mind
any brusqueness of style; I mean well.
Best greetings
M. N.

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127023

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. —
2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

8th June, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of the 7th arrived in one of the many disturbed moments of my life. Disturbed because of the dreadful events in Spain. You complained in your letter of not having any direct news about the situation in Barcelona. My dear comrade England is nearer to Spain than the United States, yet I was left without a single word of news from Spain. Of course I understood that the censorship had become deadly, nevertheless I had expected that anarchists seasoned in underground work should be able to get out news sub rosa. Actually the POUM succeeded in keeping the independent labour party here, its brother organisation, well informed, and a Scotch comrade of ours who was in Barcelona at the time succeeded in sending out letters dated May 4th, 5th and 6th. I cannot understand therefore why our comrades considered it less important or ~~less~~ impossible to supply me with accurate data on the events. Well, we did get news finally in a 25 page manuscript which represents a day by day record of the conspiracy against our comrades and its effect on the position of the CNT/FAI. If I mistake not, a copy of the same manuscript was sent to the Radical Group by our comrade Abe, and that a pamphlet is to be made out of it. We, in London, are bringing the document in a special supplement to the current issue of SPAIN AND THE WORLD, and at this very moment I received a letter from Soury that they planned to get out an English pamphlet of the same story. It seems to me the height of inefficiency to do the same thing from three different points. Either the comrades in Barcelona should have published the pamphlet and sent it to us and to America, or they should have asked permission to get out the pamphlet ~~themselves~~, then we could have supplied the United States and other English-speaking countries. But it cannot be helped now. The document is already set up and will be ready for shipment Thursday. However, we will keep the type until I hear from Spain again. Also, if the Radical Group has not yet published the document in pamphlet form we could do it at this end. But we would have to know immediately whether to go ahead.

Yes, our comrade Abe Bluestein arrived safely in Barcelona. He got in to a veritable cyclone because the attack on the part of the Communists and their reactionary friends happened just a few days after his arrival. He is evidently doing splendid work as I expected him to

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

do. I heard him several times over the Radio. His voice carries beautifully in spite of the dreadful noises and interference with Barcelona. No one better equipped to help with English activity could be thought of than Abe. I am delighted that he is there. I only hope that the Communists will not do with him as they did with Berneri. I am assured that is precisely what would happen to me were I to return to Spain. You will see by the enclosures that I would not mind any danger if I could only get back, but for the present it seems hopeless. I am sending you a copy of my letter to comrade Mettiau. It is not for publication, but you can give Mark the copy of my letter to de Jong. He can make use of it if he wishes. I see by our French comrades of the Terre Libre that they have come out in an attack on the leading comrades of the CNT/FAI. I understand ~~that~~ their indignation. The Spanish Revolution held out so much hope, the CNT/FAI had reached such heights in their constructive work, no one who has been there in Spain as I have would have believed that the position of the CNT/FAI would be so quickly and easily shaken. I can, therefore, not blame my young comrades for their impatience but I myself cannot join them in their charges of treachery. I cannot believe that people like Oliver and Montseny, born and raised in revolutionary traditions, invincible fighters all their lives, would so soon lose balance and go back on their past. I can only charge them with bad judgment and with childish faith in their allies and especially in the modern Jesuit on the Russian throne. Besides, I consider it easy to condemn comrades who are on the fighting line while one is removed and in safety. It is for this reason that I am still unwilling to join the younger comrades in their blanket condemnation. However there is no doubt that the CNT/FAI have lost in position and prestige. If they ~~in~~ go on making concessions, they will eventually be driven back into underground activities. Sad as it is, they actually seem to go on with concessions. The news in one of the last SOLI proved this. The Secretary of the CNT in the name of his organisation has actually promised moral and material support to the Negrin government. I could hardly believe my eyes. There was some modicum of excuse for entering ministries of the previous governmental combine. Cabellero ~~was~~ though his past was anything but revolutionary and very much less friendly to our comrades. still gave the semblance of defending the Revolution. Negrin does not even make an attempt to give the impression that he ~~has~~ hang for the revolution, and yet our comrades pocketed their pride and bent their knees in promising his reactionary regime moral and material support. I simply cannot understand it.

Emma Goldman


The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

C O P Y

London, June 8th, 1937

 Lin

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of the 7th arrived in one of the many disturbed moments of my life. Disturbed because of the dreadful events in Spain. You complained in your letter of not having any direct news about the situation in Barcelona. My dear comrade, England is nearer to Spain than the U.S., yet I was left without a single word of news from Spain. Of course I understood that the censorship had become deadly, nevertheless I had expected that anarchists seasoned in underground work should be able to get out news sub rosa. Actually the POUM succeeded in keeping the independent labour party here, its brother organization, well informed and a Scotch comrade of ours who was in Barcelona at the time succeeded in sending out letters dated May 4th, 5th and 6th. I cannot understand therefore why our comrades considered it less important or impossible to supply me with accurate data on the events. Well, we did get news finally in a 25 page manuscript which represents a day by day record of the conspiracy against our comrades and its effect on the position of the CNT-FAI. If I mistake not, a copy of the same manuscript was sent to the Radical Group by our comrade Abe, and that a pamphlet is to be made out of it. We, in London, are bringing the document in a special supplement to the current issue of "SPAIN AND THE WORLD", and at this very moment I received a letter from Souhey that they plan to get out an English pamphlet of the same story. It seems to me the height of inefficiency to do the same thing from three different points. Either the comrades in Barcelona should have published the pamphlet and sent it to us and to America, or they should have asked us to get out the pamphlet, then we could have supplied the U.S. and other English-speaking countries. But it cannot be helped now. The document is already set up and will be ready for shipment Thursday. However, we will keep the type until I hear from Spain again. Also, if the Radical Group has not yet published the document in pamphlet form we could do it at this end. But we would have to know immediately whether to go ahead.

Yes, our comrade Abe Bluostein arrived safely in Barcelona. He got in to a veritable cyclone because the attack on the part of the Communists and their reactionary friends happened just a few days after his arrival. He is evidently doing splendid work as I expected him to do. I heard him several times over the Radio. His voice carries beautifully in spite of the dreadful noises and interference with Barcelona. No one better equipped to help with English activity could be thought of than Abe. I am delighted that he is there. I only hope that the Communists will not do with him as they did with Berneri. I am assured that is precisely what would happen to me were I to return to Spain. You will see by the enclosures that I would not mind any danger if I could only get back, but for the present it seems hopeless. I am sending you a copy of my letter to comrade Mettlan. It is not for publication, but you can give Mark the copy of my letter to de Jong. He can make use of it if he wishes. I see by our French comrades of the Terre Libre that they come out in an attack on the leading comrades of the CNT-FAI. I understand their indignation. The Spanish Revolution held out so much hope, the CNT-FAI had reached such heights in their constructive work, no one who has been there in Spain as I have would have believed that the position of the CNT-FAI would be so quickly and easily shaken. I can, therefore, not blame my young comrades for their impatience but I myself cannot join them in their charges of treachery. I cannot believe that people like Oliver and Montseny, born and raised in revolutionary traditions, invincible fighters all their lives, would so soon lose balance and go back on their past. I can only charge them with bad judgment and with childish faith in their allies and especially in the modern Jesuit on the Russian throne. Besides, I consider it easy to condemn comrades who are on the fighting line while one is removed and in safety. It is for this reason that I am still unwilling to join the younger comrades in their

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

-2-

blanket condemnation. However, there is no doubt that the CNT-FAI have lost their position and prestige. If they go on making concessions, they will eventually be driven back into underground activities. Sad as it is, they actually seem to go on with concessions. The news in one of the last SOLI proved this. The Secretary of the CNT in the name of his organization has actually provided moral and material support to the Negrin government. I could hardly believe my eyes. There was some medium of excuse for entering ministries of the previous governmental cabinet. Caballero though his past was anything but revolutionary and very much less friendly to our comrades, still gave the semblance of defending the Revolution. Negrin does not even make an attempt to give the impression that he cares a hang for the Revolution, and yet our comrades pocketed their pride and bent their knees in promising his reactionary regime moral and material support. I simply cannot understand it.

I confess I am frightfully confused, more so than I have ever been before. No wonder our comrades Chapiro and others are astonished that "E.G.", the undaunted, should be unwilling to come out unreservedly against the misleaders in our own ranks" as I have been against the misleaders of the Russian Revolution. They forget that I waited with my attack on the Soviet Government until all the fronts had been liquidated and the grave danger to Russia had been eliminated. Our comrades in Spain are face to face, not only with Franco who holds them by the throat, but they have the crushing hand of Stalin from the rear. In addition are all the European powers who would not hesitate a moment to crush our people had they really stood their ground and fought to a finish on the barricades when attacked by the plotters. It is a terribly difficult situation and, being far removed from it I have failed so far to clarify my own thoughts and attitude. And that is why I cannot join the chorus now raised against the leaders of the CNT-FAI. It is all so sad, dear comrade, especially for me. I had looked to Spain as my own home where I might spend my last years in useful activity side by side with our heroic comrades. For the present that hope, like so many hopes, has gone by the board. Nor can I continue in England as the official representative of the CNT-FAI until I know whether the latest compromise in calling the retreat was dictated by insurmountable odds against our comrades or by the bad judgment of their leaders.

You will see by the enclosures that I am planning to go to Canada as a stepping stone to the possible entry into the United States. I am certain that nothing will come of any efforts for me unless I am near enough to be in touch with those who are making an attempt. This brings me to the question whether you and other comrades who know Dubinsky well would make an attempt to see him and to prevail upon him to do something in regard to a visa. I am certain he is influential enough to succeed if he would only make up his mind to do it. Should you get in touch with him about this please ask him to co-operate with Roger Baldwin who has promised months ago that he would try his luck as he did last time. I am certain that Dubinsky has greater influence and connections in Washington than Roger. Perhaps he can be induced to do something. At the banquet in Montreal he was very profuse in his tribute to me and his declaration that I had inspired him. I wish he would turn this into action. It would be a greater proof than his words, for his high opinion of me.

You will see, dear comrade, by the enclosures that I have asked comrade Joanne Levy in Chicago and comrades in California whether they would help with the expenses of my going to Canada. I know the Toronto comrades will do what they can, but they are unfortunately poor. Perhaps the FREE AR-BEITER STIMUL could approach a few of its members to help with the fund I am suggesting. They may prove instrumental in getting me to America by doing so.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

445

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127024

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. —
3 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

Please let me know as soon as possible what to do about the letter which
reaches me here of Boris Berezin, as per his instructions, from L.

You will also see by a copy of my letter to Roger Latham that he
has once more blindly accepted what his Communist friends in Russia and
outside of it are so ready to tell him. It is perfectly absurd for him
to accept the information from Stassova that our unfortunate comrade
Zena Bushman is free and can be reached directly. I am enclosing a
copy of a letter to Roger; you will see how utterly ridiculous it is to
believe that our comrade is really free if letters to her must be sent
through S. I think something about this should appear in your paper.
Please give it to Mark and tell him that I suggest that the letter should
be inserted and a comment added to it. If we do not again carry on
publicity for Z. they will put her out of the way as they have so many
others in Russia and are now doing in Spain.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades,

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

446

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12466

COPY.

June 2nd 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I wanted so many times to write you; but my efforts for the struggle of the CNT-FAI. consumed all my time. That however is no indication of indifference about you and the work you are doing. I hope you understand that dear comrade.

Enclosed please find MSS sent me by Augustine Souchy together with a long account and explanation of the tragic events in Barcelona. They quite stunned me. Not that they came as a surprise. I foresaw as did Chapiro and other foreign comrades the dire results of the compromises made by the leaders of the CNT-FAI. But I clung to the hope that the reckoning with the Communists and other enemies of the Spanish Revolution would come after fascism has been slain. Unfortunately our Spanish comrades suffer from an overdose of naivety and childish faith in the sincerity of their so called allies. They seemed to have learned nothing from the Russian Revolution nor of the unscrupulous and hypocritical methods of the Soviet people. A child-like character is very lovable. But for men and women engaged in the defence of the Revolution it is perilous. And that was and is the trouble with our Spanish comrades. Being innocent of heart they refused to believe that Stalin in giving them arms to fight Franco was at the same time putting a noose around their necks. The price for their ignorance of the Soviet beast has already been terrific, and there is no saying how much more our comrades will have to pay.

If I had any envy in me I should envy the comrades in Spain their indistructable belief in themselves and their optimism. A comrade who arrived from Valencia last night looked at me in surprise when I asked him how much ground of their strategic position the CNT-FAI had been lost. And how he could explain the ~~champions-of-direct-revolutionary~~ ~~action~~ the change of the champions of direct revolutionary action to complete passive resistance? As I wrote to our comrade Nettlau, a Ghandi could not have done better. I doubt whether he would have urged his comrades to keep cool and peaceful while the criminal Communist gang and their reactionary allies were butchering his comrades. Yet that is precisely what Garcia Oliver and Montseny did. I cannot explain this phenomenon except that they knew that the CNT-FAI had not entrenched themselves in the mind and heart of the workers as we outside Spain had been given to understand. Or that they feared the powers whose warships had been rushed to Barcelona would drown the CNT-FAI and the Spanish masses in a river of blood. It is easy to make the charge that Oliver and Montseny had become corrupt with power. I do not believe that. Not because I think them different clay than other people to whom power is like strong wine; but because these two comrades and the other Ministers had not been in government positions long. And also because I know while there they wielded very little influence. For it is certain if they had really played an important part of the slow process of the emasculation of the Spanish Revolution, the militarisation, the stultification of life in Catalonia could not have taken place.

I cannot tell you what the Spanish Revolution had meant to me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921000

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

12467

It came in the saddest time of my life, the untimely end of my old comrade Alexander. It seemed there was nothing more to live for. The call from the Spanish comrades to join them in their work came like a ray of light from the black sky. Every day of the three months with the comrades meant a new inspiring experience, a new consciousness that what I had propagated all my life was being enacted before my very eyes. I hated to leave Spain for England as the comrades suggested. I had a premonition that I might never be able to return. The advent of the reaction after the fratricide of last month has shown me how very real my anxiety had been. From what I learn it will not be possible for me to re-enter Spain. Or if I get in I am told my life would be in danger. I can readily believe that; for why should the same gangsters who murdered Berneri not also close their account with their arch enemy E.G.? However, I am not afraid of that. If the revolution should not survive the conspiracy of its enemies in and out of Spain my life will have lost the new inspiration and will hardly be worth while. It is all so terrible and so sad.

However, I have not lost faith in the revolutionary resiliency of the CNT-FAI. I refuse to believe that men who have fought so incessantly and gallantly all their lives facing cruel persecution imprisonment and death of so many of their comrades can or will be wiped out. Nor do I believe that they will permit the revolution to slip out of their hands, and so long as I have this faith in the CNT-FAI I will not be among those who point their finger of scorn and condemnation at our comrades.

Just at the present I do not know what I am going to do, or where I will go. It was to be Spain of course. That being out of the question now, I am at a loss to decide anything. There is just a very slight possibility that friends in A may get a visa for me for six months. I will then sail for the States, or I may go to Canada. In any event I mean to leave London in the near future, perhaps for Paris for a while; but you can write me here, 18 Castletown Road, London, W.14. I am enclosing a short statement that might interest you, and a letter I had in the Manchester Guardian.

Please give my greetings to your family and fraternal regards to all comrades.

Fraternally,

448

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Dear comrade: I am not sure that it is worth while to continue our argument. You either cannot or will not see that your objections to criticism on the leaders of the C.N.T. FAI ~~maxima~~ of comrades outside of Spain places you in the same position as the bolsheviks in the early period of the Revolution. They too kept stressing the fact that they ~~xxx~~ were engaged in a "death and life struggle" that they were surrounded by many counterrevolutionists and that they had to continue their compromising methods.

You will reply that Lenin and his comrades were building a State machine while our comrades in Spain are working for a free Society. That is not the point, dear comrade. The point is that you not only criticise but also condemn unreservedly the compromises of the bolsheviks. While now you justify similar compromises of our comrades. You forget, of course that the Russian revolution at that time was as much in danger as the Spanish is. I insist that if we are willing to be critical of our oponents we should be even more critical of our own comrades. I admit it is harder to find ~~fact~~ fault with our own that it is with our enemies. But is this not the principal trait of Anarchism which differentiates us from other political groups? Imagine a Max Nettlau to write that the young comrades of the FAI have been "egged on" by the critical attitude of the French and other comrades. Really my dear old comrade it is ridiculous to make such charge. Do you mean to suggest that no Spanish anarchist had enough mentality to see where the concessions will lead that have been made by the leaders of the C.N.T. FAI. Or if the anarchists had not been "egged on" they would have continue themselves in the face of many mistakes made by their elders. I should give very little for the Revolution if I shared such opinion of the Spanish anarchist youth or of the FAI.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw the statement in your letter. Your contention that the comrades in France or Berneri have caused the tragic events in the first days of May in Barcelona is on par with the charges made in Russia against Maohno and the Russian anarchists who had dared to point out that the Revolution was being emasculated by the communist State. ~~Maxim Gorky thought~~ Lenin also considered it the high of ~~xxx~~ treason to be criticised by his political oponents.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

As to your explanation about Berneri's death I confess I was shocked. How can you of all people say that it was surprising that Berneri did not meet such an end before because he was so critical and fault finding. I certainly never expected such poor logic from you. What if Berneri was critical? What if he was a stickler for consistency? Is that enough to damn him and even justify his murder? I agree that this is crime enough in the eyes of the communist zealots, but ~~should~~ why should it have surprised you? Of course I do not agree with you for a moment that Berneri was "moderate at heart" or that he had nothing "positive about him". I considered Berneri the most brilliant mind since Malatesta among the most courageous and of extraordinary ability to work with large groups. It was he who organized the Italian anti fascist column. It was he who managed the supply of food clothing and arms. It was Berneri who fought with them at every front and raised their spirit when he saw signs of discouragement and pessimism. In other words Camilo Berneri was one of the finest times of comrades I have ever come across in the anarchist movement and no sane human being free from hatred and fanaticism could possibly have found reason to kill Berneri. But of course he was uncompromising and relentless with the communists. Bravely he wrote in his paper pointing out that the Revolution was sailing between two dangerous cliffs — Burgos and Moscow. How very prophetic his words were the dreadful days in Barcelona proved.

I see you are still harping on my offence in my article in Spain and the World. I can only repeat what I wrote you in my last letter. Only one hunting for heresy in every word I wrote could possibly find the least objection to the article. In point of fact I wrote against my better conviction when I tried so hard to defend the comrades who compromised right and left. I saw only too soon that they were leading the Revolution to a precipice. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I now realize that I should have said so in print. Instead I defended their actions on the grounds that they had no choice. Yet you go on reiterating that I ~~xxxx~~ had criticized them. It is no use going on with this part of your letter.

Your question "what should the CNT-FAI have done with the food stuffs sent them from Russia should they have refused the food and gone home sulking". Forgive me when I say these are childish questions and no one had suggested such a thing. What I could not see is why the CNT-FAI in a bargain with Russia should have found it necessary not only to pay in kind but to fall on their knees before the Soviet Deity. A bargain is a bargain whether entered into with the capitalist merchants or the monster merchant of the communist State. Spain should have paid in gold as it actually did besides 10,000 bottles of the best champagne. But Spain through the CNT-FAI went out of its way to sing the praise of "our dear comrade Stalin". Garcia Oliver side by side with the Russian Consul in Barcelona competed with each other in proclaiming the glory that was Stalin. Frankly, I never hoped to live to see such a scandalous breach of faith as was demonstrated by the celebration of the Russian Revolution and the mutual admiration exposition between Oliver and the Consul. Last but not least were the columns of Soli filled day after day with the pean and song of the Soviet Government. It was sickening and ~~xxx~~ what is more to the point it was completely unnecessary.

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemned lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia, but what they objected to was the unnecessary concessions

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121034

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

2

to Stalin. Actually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this the hand Moscow had in the plot against the CNT.FAI has quite convinced us of what we had seen at the time.

You object to criticism because of the menace of fascism and in the same breath you maintain that you consider dictatorship as greater menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have trout with the banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside of Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of truth, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades even though they could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse what seemed so far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realised the imminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the Far Anarchist Conference. You seem to think that I have been back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew that there would be differences, clashes and even useless condemnations. Nevertheless I considered such a Conference of moral importance to the anarchist movement outside of Spain, but we need not quarrel about it anymore. The dastardly plot against the CNT.FAI and the Revolution have done away with the chances of an anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel so grieved if that were all that the plot has accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the CNT.FAI until May 3rd. I wonder whether you realise how much the CNT.FAI have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get into it or out of it and ~~will~~ all that in the small space of time of six months. What a tragedy. To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life was then saved by the Spanish Revolution. I wanted nothing that to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going to England because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realised, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were my life would be in danger. As that if there would be any meaning in life if the Spanish Revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it. But I still cling like a drowning man to a straw that our Spanish comrades will find themselves their old strength and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict over the part the leaders in the CNT.FAI have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript ~~now~~ giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the communist and therreactionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the Revolution and the extermination of the CNT.FAI. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Wonseny to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew that the CNT is after all not so strong as it had pretended to be and that it would go down in a blood bath. As I cannot go to Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

451

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 June 8, London to Samuel Freedman, New York (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony however of the anarchist who stood foremost in the world who stood for direct revolutionary action to suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to maintain peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Gandhi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

war
Is the ~~fight~~ now to continue only to bring in back the old regime?

If so I see no reason to support it. I have gone to prison for my stand on the war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti fascist war it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the social Revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, which I consider always on behalf of conquest and loot. I know too much of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet ~~clarified~~ clarified my own position ~~and~~ but whatever it will be you need never fear that I will lose my faith in the rank and file of the CNT.FAI or that I refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the bolsheviks when I already saw the decline of the Revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical of the regime. Some of the subsequently lost their lives or are still being dragged from concentration camp to concentration camp. Besides I am just as willing to have friendly talks with Garcia Oliver, Federico Monsero or any of the other, of ~~the~~ the comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I will certainly have these talks with the, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach ~~xxxxx~~ me c/o Mollie Alperine, 23, Rue des Volontaires, Paris.

With my old affections,

*This letter was written by
Emma Goldman
Mollie Steimer Alperine*

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 8th June, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

1/17/37
J.C.

Dear Roger,

It's two months since I have heard from you, rather a long time don't you think? I have written you before in answer to your letter. I have expressed my surprise at your childish naivety and faith you still entertain in everything your friends in Russia write you. Hasn't it occurred to you, my dear, that if Mrs. Muehsam were really set free it would be unnecessary to reach her via Mme. Stassova? The very fact that this woman urges you and the friends of Zenl to write to her through Mme. S. is in itself obvious that Muehsam's widow is still stuck away in some concentration camp or prison. Your naivety caps the climax when you say that you had spoken to the Russian Ambassador and he "expressed surprise that Z. 's friends had not heard from her, stating that she had been under no constraint". How many crimes will Russia have to commit before the world will realise the perfidity and Jesuitism of her present rulers? It is amazing how a lie perpetuates itself.

Perhaps you are among those who also believe in the criminal misrepresentation of the tragic events in Spain the first week in May. I suppose you cannot credit that people claiming to be revolutionists will sink to the lowest gravity in plotting and conspiring to destroy the revolution in Spain and to exterminate its foremost banner-bearers, the CNT/FAI. And yet that is exactly what has happened. Today I am enclosing only a mere gist of an amazing manuscript I received and which is now being set up for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is a day by day record of the well-laid plot that had its beginning from the very moment the anti-Fascist forces consented to accept the so-called generous assistance of the Soviet Government. It came to a head on the 4th, 5th, 6th May and although the CNT/FAI, realising the gravity of the situation, called a retreat the fight is not ended yet. The emissaries of Stalin are determined to crush the comrades and to use every means, no matter how despicable to destroy utterly the great achievement of socialisation. All that means nothing at all to the unscrupulous scribes in the Nation, in the Communist Press, and in the Left papers who are flirting with Russia. Nor have I any hope that it will mean anything to you. Still I am going to send you the full text

depressed
my

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman].—
3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

of the story just as soon as it will be off the Press. I do that for your own information and not because I hope that you will finally help to make this known.

As to the Stassova communication, I am sending copies to our papers in America and I will also have it appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD with a comment. We must keep hammering at the case or poor deluded Zenzl, will be done away with as so many others without anyone being the wiser for it. You understand dear Roger, I am not at all surprised at the length of life and fake Soviet Russia can go, but even I did not think it possible that it would engage in such a conspiracy as it demonstrated in Barcelona. Only those stricken with blindness or a desire not to see can go on doubting the undermining menace to labour and revolutionary ranks the Communist regime has become.

Now to other matters: I had hoped that I might end my years in Spain. I wanted for nothing better. But with the black reaction again at work in that country it is even doubtful whether I can get in there, let alone remain. In fact I have already received several communications urging me not to attempt a return to Spain. I would not be readmitted and if I got there my life would not be safe, I was informed. I can readily believe both. Communists and their reactionary allies are now border guards, and as they have not hesitated to kill Durutti and Berneri it is most likely that they will now stop short as regards me. In fact they have an old account to settle, and what better opportunity than to do away with me on my arrival in Spain. Don't think for a moment that I value my life so highly as not to attempt to get back to Spain. If the Revolution there will meet with the same fate as Russia I should not be particularly keen on going on, but I do not want to be murdered in the dead of night. I prefer to die fighting, and so I will most likely not go back. That means that I must try again and again to get back to the States. I take it that you have not yet made any attempt to secure a visa. I am afraid that being so far away it will be more difficult to succeed. I have therefore decided to go to Canada - at least I will be near enough to pester you to get on the job. I am writing the comrades there and also to a few in America, whether they will raise my fare. If they do

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8, London [to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

3.

I will sail in September. Surely by that time you will have made the attempt. I may tell you that John Edelman who is the President, I believe, of the Hosiery Union is close to McGrady (I think that is his name). His mother has sailed for America and she promised to urge John Edelman to try his luck; inasmuch as I do not want to work crossways perhaps you could get in touch with Edelman or ask Harry Kelly to put you in touch with him. Harry is the uncle of John Edelman. At any rate I implore you to get on the job and let me know what chances, if any, there are.

I am leaving for Paris very soon. You can reach me there care of Mollie Alperine, ~~22~~ 23, rue des Volontaires, Paris 15.

Cordially,

Emma

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918108

[Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COPY.

12223

8th June 1937.

Dear Roger,

[Baldwin]
It's two months since I heard from you, rather a long time don't you think?. I have written you before in answer to your letter. I have expressed my surprise at your childish naivety and faith you still entertain in everything your friends in Russia write you. Hasn't occurred to you, my dear, that if Mrs Muesham were really set free it would be unnecessary to reach her via Mme Stassova. The very fact that this woman urges you and the friends of Zenzl to write to her through Mme.S. is in itself obvious that Muesham's widow is still stuck away in some concentration camp or prison. Your naivety caps the climax when you say that you had spoken to the Russian Ambassador and he "expressed surprise that Z's friends had not heard from her, stating that she had been under no constraint". How many crimes will Russia have to commit before the world will realise the perfidity and Jesuitism of her present rulers. It is amazing how a lie perpetuates itself.

Perhaps you are among those who also believe in the criminal misrepresentation of the tragic events in Spain the first week in May. I suppose you cannot credit that people claiming to be revolutionists will sink to the lowest gravity in plotting and conspiring to destroy the revolution in Spain and to exterminate its most foremost banner bearers, the CNT-FAI. And yet that is exactly what had happened. Today I am enclosing only a mere gist of an amazing manuscript received and which is now being set up for SPAIN AND THE WORLD. It is a day by day record of the well laid plot that had its beginning from the very moment the anti-fascist forces consented to accept the so called generous assistance of the Soviet Government. It came to head on the 4th, 5th, 6th May and although the CNT-FAI, realising the gravity of the situation called a retreat the fight is not ended yet. The emissaries of Stalin are determined to crush the comrades and to use every means, no matter how despicable, to destroy utterly the great achievement of socialism. All that means nothing at all to the unscrupulous scribes in the Nation, in the Communist press, and in the Left papers who are flirting with Russia. Now have I any hope that it will mean anything to you. Still I am going to send you the full text of the story just as soon as it will be off the press. I do that for your own information and not because I hope that you will finally help to make this known.

As to the Stassova communication, I am sending copies to our papers in America and I will also have appear in SPAIN AND THE WORLD with a comment. We must keep hammering at the case or poor deluded Zenzl will be done away with as so many others without anyone being the wiser for it. You understand dear Roger, I am not at all surprised at the length of lies and fake Soviet Russia can go; but even I did not think it possible that it would engage in such a conspiracy as it demonstrated in Barcelona. Only those stricken with or a desire not to see can go on doubting the undermining menace in labour and revolutionary ranks the Communist regime has become.

456

The Emma Goldman Papers

870918108

[Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Roger [Baldwin, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. --
2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

12224

Now to other matters: I had hoped that I might end my years in Spain. I wanted for nothing better; but with the black reaction again at work in that country it is even doubtful whether I can get in there, let alone remain. In fact I have already received several communications urging me not to attempt a return to Spain. I would not be readmitted and if I got there my life would not be safe, I was informed. I can readily believe both. Communists and their reactionary allies are now border guards, and as they have not hesitated to kill Durutti and Berneri it is most likely that they will not stop short as regards me. In fact they have an old account to settle, and what better opportunity than to do away with me on my arrival in Spain. Don't think for one moment that I value my life so highly as to not to attempt to get into Spain. If the Revolution there will meet with the same fate as Russia I should not be particularly keen on going on; but I do not want to be murdered in the dead of night. I prefer to die fighting, so I will most likely not go back. That means that I must try again and again to get back to the States. I take it that you have not yet made any attempt to secure a visa. I am afraid that being so far away it will be more difficult to succeed. I have therefore decided to go to Canada - at least I will be near enough to pester you to get on the job. I am writing the comrades there and also a few in America, whether they will raise my fare. If they do I will sail in September. Surely by that time you will have made the attempt. I may tell you that John Edelman who is the president, I believe, of the Hosiery Union is close to McGrady (I think that is his name). His mother has sailed for America and she promised to urge John Edelman to try his luck; inasmuch as I do not want to work crossways perhaps you could get in touch with Edelman or ask Harry Kelly to put you in touch with him. Harry is the uncle of John Edelman. At any rate I implore you to get on the job and let me know what chances, if any, there are.

I am leaving for Paris very soon. You can reach me there care of Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des Volontaires, Paris, 15.

Cordially,

457

The Emma Goldman Papers

831121037

[Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Jeanne Levey, [Chicago] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 26 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

8th June, 1937.

Dearest Jeanne,

I wonder what can be the matter with you. - I haven't heard from you in an age. I hope it is not illness which prevented your writing. You have always been so punctual in the past that I am somewhat worried about the reason that has prompted your silence. I myself have been swamped with work until the dreadful events in Spain in the first days of May. Not receiving any news or information whatsoever, from poor, stricken Barcelona it paralysed my efforts in behalf of our comrades of the CNT/FAI and yet it was so necessary to have authentic news in order to counteract the hideous stories that appeared in the London papers and evidently also in the American press about our comrades. I could easily have disposed of an article for the Manchester Guardian in fact I was asked for one, but as I was absolutely cut off from any communication with Barcelona, I could not write it. I can't tell you what a frightful month it was for me, nor has the frightfulness ceased. You will see by the enclosures that our comrades have been exposed to a well-laid plot to rob them of their great achievement in constructive revolutionary work and of their many strategic positions. Unfortunately the entire blame cannot be laid at the feet of the Communists and their reactionary allies. The leaders in the CNT/FAI must carry part of the blame. They went into the net with open eyes, they foolishly believed that they can outwit the very institutions we have always fought, the crushing institution of government; more childish was their belief that they would get the best of the modern Jesuits - Stalin and his aids - who are by far more skilful than the Jesuits of the past have ever been. Anyway the situation in Spain is very grave; whether the government forces will win or Fascism, our comrades will be crushed and by either chariot wheel; and yet they had such golden opportunities if only they had stood their ground and had refused to bargain with people who were bent on their destruction. I have been in a frightful depressed state ever since the events in Barcelona. Spain had meant so much to me. It held out such hopes for the last years of my life. Now all that is gone by the board and I am left dangling in the air.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

458

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 8 [London to] Jeanne Levey, [Chicago] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library. Institutional Location: Labadie Collection, Emma Goldman Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

and I am left in uncertainty where to go or what to do. You must not think that I have lost faith in the Revolution itself or in the rank or file of the CNT/FAI. I know too much of their past, their inexhaustible revolutionary resources, their great courage to despair in the future of Spain. But it may take years to reach the heights of the Revolution as I saw it when I was in Spain. The odds are too great against our comrades. The European Powers and their colleagues in Spain will not easily permit an anarchist to become a reality. Still, I will never cease to work for our comrades, no matter where I will be. It is only a question where I can do it most adequately.

You know, my dear, that Roger Baldwin promised long ago he would try for another visa for me, if possible for six months. So far he has done nothing it seems, and I do not think that he will keep on the job unless I am near enough to be after him. For this reason I came to the conclusion that it will be necessary for me to go to Canada. I have just written the comrades about it. Of course the fare will have to be raised. Unfortunately our Canadian comrades are very poor, though they will make a desperate effort to raise some money. I am sure of that. It occurred to me that you may be able to help. It really means an attempt to get me back to America. A few of the friends, who seem to be so interested in my work when I was in Chicago, may be ready to take a chance on helping materially, my going to Canada. Couldn't you undertake the job of raising part of the expense of my sailing. Perhaps the Halperines would contribute and some of the people who attended the banquet. I know your connections are extensive and that you can't do much but if you will only try. Believe me, dearest, I wouldn't bother you if only I could get back to Spain and be active there, but at least near enough to be in direct touch. One is too cut-off in England. France would be nearer of course. The trouble is that there I cannot be active; as you know, France lives on her laurels of the past as far as liberalism is concerned. I would not be tolerated for 24 hours where I am active in M. Blum's domain. I therefore see no other outlet for me except to go to Canada and try for permission to enter the United States. I am going to Paris very soon and my address there will be care of Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des Volontaires, Paris 15. Please, dearest Jeanne, write me as soon as possible what you can do. I must know in order to find peace. Give my affectionate greetings to Jay, the Halperines and all the comrades.

With love,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005151

[Letter, 19]37 June 8 [London to] W. Farrer, London / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20166

June 8th 37.

W. Farrer
Secret.
The Anarchist Syndicalist Union
4, Goldhawk Mews, Dovenport Rd.
London W.12.

Dear Comrade.

Thank you for your invitation to a Special Meeting to state to the Group your objections to comrade White's speeches and especially his speech in Hyde Park on "May-Day". I notice that only four members of the group thought it necessary to extend the invitation. Evidently they realized that too much time has already been wasted in airing personal grievances. But even if the whole Group would have asked me for explanations I should have refused as I must do now to attend your "special Meeting". I am not a member of your group though I have helped it to its birth and in its work. I am therefore not under the jurisdiction of the A.S.U. And I ~~must~~ ^{do not} deny its right to ask me to give an account of myself in any shape or form.

I have told White my objections, not as you say "his speeches" but to the one in Hyde Park, and I consider it the height of bad taste to say the least for him to run to your Group with his complaints. Moreover I consider it a great pity that three members of the Group should find nothing better or more important to do than to waste time in mutual recriminations. I am sorry to disappoint you dear comrade but my time is too valuable for that, hence I must decline your invitation for the purpose ~~stated~~ as stated above.

Fraternally.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

460

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921003

[Letter] 1937 June 8, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mercedes [Composada].— 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12473

Barcelona, 8 de junio 1937.

A Emma Goldman
L o n d o n .

Chère Emma:

Nous connaissons tout le grand y difficile travail que tu fais à ce pays-là, tes sacrifices par notre cause.

Cependant, nous t'en demandons un autre. "Mujeres Libres" se développe avec beaucoup d'embarras économique. Nous travaillons comme tu ne peux pas t'imaginer et avec des bons résultats, mais notre organisation ne nous aide pas tout dont nous avons besoin. Pourrais-tu nous recueillir là, parmi les amis de ce pays, quelque quantité pro "Mujeres Libres", les brochures que nous sommes à éditer - et dont tu recevras bientôt - et beaucoup d'autre propagande?

Nous avons un group de 20 camarades de la Agrupación M.L. qui donnent des meetings de village en village; un "Instituto Mujeres Libres" dans lequel on donne des classes gratuites de puericulture, enseignement élémentaire pour les femmes analphabètes, etc. Si nous ne faisons davantage, c'est à cause qu'il nous manquent les moyens économiques.

Est-ce que tu reçois toute la propagande que nous t'envoyons? Demande-nous tout ce que tu voudras, ainsi que d'autres articles dans le sens que tu nous indiqueras.

Aide-nous! Nous confions à toi comme à notre meilleure camarade.

Nous désirons que tu nous écris bientôt à "Mujeres Libres", Sección propaganda.-Plaza Cataluña, 4.

Mes salutations les plus affectueuses.

Mercedes

Dis-nous si tu veux accepter une lettre qui t'accredite como deleguée de "Agrupación Mujeres Libres" en England et ~~comme~~ un autre comme redacteur correspondant de notre périodique "Mujeres Libres".

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005098

[Letter, 19]37 June 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20053

June 9th 37

Dear Augustine.

Your letter dated May 27th and Abes dated May 21st reached me only yesterday. Both came together. I do not believe you have visualised what it will mean to me to be left without word for so long about the tragic events in Barcelona. I understood perfectly that it was difficult to send out news. But why should it have been more difficult for you and the other comrades in Barcelona than it was for McNair, or Jenny Patrick? Letters from her ~~arrived~~ dated May 4th 5th and 6th reached Glasgow within a few days. The New Leader was full of a day by day account of what was going on. Only the CNT-FAI had not way of sending out news. I am not now speaking of my own sickening anxiety. I have in mind the desperate need of news as the representative of the CNT-FAI. Surely it must have occurred to you that I would be bombarded by the Press and how futile my efforts will prove being forced to tell the papers that I am as ignorant as they are about the happenings. The Manchester Guardian was begging for an article. Could I write it? Not unless I would have been willing to ~~compose~~ fabricate news which of course I could not do. Meanwhile the Daily Worker, the News Chronicle and the New Statesman were full of lies about our people, yet I could not reply. All I can say is that you and the other comrades have not learned to this day the importance of publicity in England and other English speaking countries. I had to smile when I read in Abes letter that you have at last understood my difficulties and how ~~impossible~~ impossible to carry on a campaign here without help from Spain. Its drained all my energies and the last five weeks have been such torture I could neither sleep or rest. I am quite determined never to go through such an ordeal again. I have written a long report for the National Committee in Valencia and I have told them point blank that unless some arrangement be made to keep me in close touch with events in Spain I will have to discontinue my work. I cannot stand the wear and tear.

About your decision to begin English publications of pamphlets ect. It is funny dear Augustine that you should at last see the urgent need of what I had suggested while I was in Barcelona. The only trouble will be I fear that the publication of the pamphlet you propose to do and its shipment will take so long it will be out of date by the time it reaches England or America. For that is exactly what happened with the Albums, the Durruti pamphlet and in fact with everything I implored you to send as quickly as possible. I realize how slow our Spanish comrades are and how utterly unconscious of the time element. But at the same time it will be a waste of money if ~~you~~ it will again take months before anything reaches here. I see there is already a mix up. I received the day by day

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005098

[Letter, 19]37 June 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

20054

record of the dastardly plot against the CNT-FAI. I immediately arranged with the comrades of SPAIN and THE WORLD to print the MSS in full in the form of a supplement in the current issue of S. and the W. It will be an extra expense of £7, which I have offered to pay out of the fund raised here. I had even intended to use the type once set up in the paper for a pamphlet because I consider the account of the greatest importance. Then came the English Bulletin from Spain announcing that the Radical group in New York was getting it out in brochure form. Now you and Abe write the brochure will be done in Barcelona. Cannot you see the confusion? With so many decisions in so many places it is impossible to proceed. Now, unless you have already gone ahead with the pamphlet it will certainly be more practicable to make use of the type set up type of the account and turn it into a brochure. In that case you must write at once to comrade Sonia Clemens 47 Midway ~~W. 11~~ London N.W. 11 and instruct her to go ahead with the printing of the brochure. Or write me c/o Mollie Alperine ~~W. 11~~ 23 rue des Volontaires Paris XV whether we are to go ahead and I will get in touch with the comrades in charge of SPAIN and the WORLD. Naturally, if yours is done our type will be distributed. As to the sales you need not hope for much from England the workers are too poor to pay more than one penny for any printed stuff. And as there will be no public meetings during this summer I hardly think the few comrades we do have will have a chance to dispose of much. But so you had better send the pamphlet to the Socialist book shop, if they will undertake to sell it. Better do it through M. Nair. In addition you might send 200 copies to comrade Ralph Barr 106 Coningsham Rd London W. 12. He will distribute them for sale among the few groups we have in the provinces. As to America Abe should know.

While I am on the question of stuff from Spain I must ask you not to send the new stamps you have printed. There is no way what ever of selling them and here again it will only be an useless expense. If I have written one time I have written a dozen to make you and the Spanish comrades aware of the fact that there is no movement whatever in England and the few comrades we have while helpful are not able to create a movement, hence cannot dispose of much of anything coming from Spain. It were different if we had a book shop centrally located like the I.L.P. Thus they sold 750 of the Estampa Album while we probably did not sell a hundred. Don't think I have not tried to push our stuff at every meeting. But the prices were prohibitive, no worker in this country can afford to pay five shillings for an album, or six pence for the Durruti pamphlet. A store attracts all sorts of people and not only workers. Anyhow very little of the stuff I got from Spain has sold, partly because it came at the tail end of our meetings and partly because everything was too dear. I am telling you this that you should know that unless the brochures you are planning can be sold at a penny they will remain as the Durruti pamphlet remained. It would therefore be a pity to publish any thing at all in Spain for sale in this country.

While the data sent me in the MSS is of great value it does not explain the sudden change of our leading comrades from their traditional direct revolutionary action to passive resistance. And the call to retreat was a passive move you will admit. There is much confusion and bitterness in our ranks in every country. And unless those who have called the coat come forward with some convincing explanation for their stand already done will prove irreparable. The Spanish Revolution as you now has fired the imagination of all the comrades in every country.

463

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005098

[Letter, 19]37 June 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

20055

not even the Russian Revolution
had caused the anarchist gang
with so much rage as with such
fact.

It would be a thousand pities to see that flame lit by July 19th extinguished so soon. And it will be unless the comrades who found it necessary to stem the tide of the rank and file of the CNT-FAI with the call to peace while the enemies were butchering our comrades. I confess I myself am in a fog. If I have not joined our French comrades and those in other countries in their cry of anathema against the leaders of the CNT-FAI it is because I do not feel justified to condemn not having been in Barcelona during the battle and because the moving element responsible for the retreat have so far not yet stated their case. But as far as the retreat itself is concerned I have tried hard to understand it. But the more I tried the more incredible it seems. I therefore cannot blame the comrades outside of Spain for their indignation. ~~However~~ It is my confusion that makes it imperative for me to get back to Spain. Perhaps being on the spot I will be able to clarify my thoughts. And I must clarify my thoughts if I am to continue the work for the CNT-FAI. The question is how to get over. I have been assured I will not be admitted and even if I should be my life would be in danger. I can readily believe that the murderous gang that did away with Berneri are quite capable to do the same with me especially as they have old accounts to square with me for my attitude to Russia.

However, I don't mind their threats. If the Spanish Revolution should continue to go the way of the Russian there will hardly be anything worth while to live for. No, I am not afraid. But I would like to know how to get back? Can you help? I am leaving for Paris the 22nd. It is after all nearer to Spain and not so cut off as ~~London~~ England. Write me there c/o Mollie or Galve. Do not send your letter by poste. They are both censored and withheld for endless time. Send it through some reliable person. While that too means much delay it will at least not be censored. I am sending this via Galve.

I inclose a clipping from the Pravda of May 11th which please give to Martin. I hope the SOLI will realize the importance of making it known to its readers how scurrilously the CNT-FAI is being attacked by the Moscow sheet. I also send you an English copy in case the comrades will not reprint it in Spanish. It is hardly necessary to point out that the entire Communist Press and those who sympathize with the such as the New York Nation, the New Statesman and even the Manchester Guardian though in a milder degree have been influenced by the rotten Pravda article. I am sick that I have so far failed to make our comrades see how very necessary it is to make our side widely known in some way. What can SPAIN and the WORLD hope to accomplish appearing as it does only twice a month and in an edition of 3700. It is ridiculous. Well, I have

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005098

[Letter, 19]37 June 9 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20056

dealt with this and with many other matters in my report of Valencia which I will send on directly it is put into Spanish.

The I.L.P. has taken forty children from the four thousand brought here from Bilbao. Fenner Borekway tell me they are Anarchist children. They have been taken to a very lovely spot about three hours from London and will be looked after by the I.L.P. Naturally I feel that it is but just that I should contribute for the CNT-FAI from the fund I have raised. And as I have carte blanche from the comrades in Valencia I feel justified in going ahead without waiting for instructions. Together with four other comrades one who speak Spanish I am going to the Camp Saturday to talk to the children, get their story and my impression of the care they are receiving. I will then write to Valencia and also to you for the SOLI about my findings. I think it very decent indeed of the I.L.P. to take the care of anarchist children which should really be the care of the Anarchists in England if there were any.

Please let Abe read this letter. It will give repetition I am also inclosing a short note for him and Selma. I am delighted both are with you. At last your will be able to send out things in correct and intelligent English. I heard Abe over the radio several times. His voice though a bit monotonous sound clear and ~~convincing~~ convincing. I am sure he could do much better if he were permitted to give his own impressions and not mere interpretations from the Spanish.

I congratulate you on your Berneri article. It is very moving. Also it saved me from writing one. It will appear with a photo in the current issue of A. and the W. What a frightful loss.

Write again soon to Paris. I will be there the 22nd. of this month.

Give my love to Ilse, I got her letter and the stamps. I am sorry I can do nothing about them except give them to comrade Barr who may be able to dispose of a few. Tell Ilse to report to Mercedes that I spoke before a gathering of representative women here about the Mujeres Libres. They were evidently impressed because they decided to call a large conference of all women's organisations to take up measures to help the group of the Mujeres Libres. Unfortunately it can not take place before July when I will not be here. If it will be a very large affair I may come back from Paris as they want me to speak. Anyhow I have brought the ~~same~~ Mercedes and her comrades before important women in London

Affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

465

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010263

[Letter] 1937 June 9 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 29 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nemesio Galve, Madrid

Querido Galve, he oído decir que tienes una carta
de los primeros días de la revolución
y sin duda te acordarás de
la época y del momento de tantos de nosotros
que en la primavera de 1917 ni de nada sabíamos
que los líderes de Londres se habían ido a
parís para dar información al gobierno de
los Estados Unidos que el representante en Londres de
esta organización ignoraba de lo que ocurría en
parís. ¡lamentablemente esta es la triste verdad.

La segunda carta es contestación a una
de tu carta y te agradecería que la
enviaras sin dilación alguna y con absoluta
seguridad para que directamente tendra que
ser enviada para nuestra Organización.

Quiero ir a París a fines de la próxima
semana dedicarme algunos ratos ya que hay muchos
asuntos referentes a los sucesos recientes
de los dirigentes de la IWW. Como
estoy completamente desorientada y a menos que
se me ayude no va a ser muy difícil el poder
trabajar como representante de nuestra Organización.

Ponme unas cuantas líneas cuando recibas esta y
me será más fácil de poder dedicarme unos momentos.

Saludos fraternales de tu camarada

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929632

[Statement of Accounts] 1937 June 9 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]— 1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.
 Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
 Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20979

SPANISH EXHIBITION COMMITTEE.

Statement of accounts to 9th June, 1937

Dr.		Cr.
To	Loan from Mr. McNulty ...	£11. 5. 0
"	I.L.P. ...	90. 0. 0
"	Emma Goldman ...	30. 0. 0
"	Misc. subscription ...	205.19. 0
"	Colln. at Exhibition (inc. sale of catalogues)	115.18.6
"	Sale of Chairs ...	1.12.0
"	Refund from Elec. Co.	5.19.1
"	Renting of Exhibition...	30. 2.0
		By Initial expenses ...
		11. 5. 0
		" Repayment of Mr.
		McNultys Loan ...
		11. 5. 0
		" Rent at Ludgate Hill (inc. Solicitors fee)
		73. 2. 0
		" Salaries... ..
		33. 0. 0
		" Petty cash
		8. 4.10½
		" Thos. Gray account..
		25. 0. 0
		" Thos. Gray fee (£20. less balance of £1.17.4 from above)
		18. 2. 8
		" Stationery
		2.17. 6
		" Advertising... ..
		12. 4. 3
		" Posters & literature
		77.15. 1
		" Metropolis Estates (cleaning & Phone)
		8.14. 0
		" Elec. supply and equipment)
		39. 5. 0
		" Insurance
		4. 9. 6
		" Refreshments at opening
		8. 6. 9
		" Chairs
		1.12. 0
		" Firearms(licences etc)
		6. 2.11
		" Photographs
		9.19. 3
		" Cheque books
		15. 0
		" Display Needs
		100. 0. 0
		" Transport of Exhib.
		9. 0. 0
		" Cleaning at Ludgate Hall
		3. 7. 0
		" Expanded Metal Co.
		3.13.10
		" Bank charge
		3
		" Balance
		22.13. 8½

£143.10.0d. is still owing to Display Needs of which £15. was paid
 on 9th June - £128.10.0d.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 9 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R[oger] B[aldwin].— 1 p. ; 16 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

June 9, 1937

Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton
18 Castletown Road
West Kensington, London, W. 14

Dear Emma:

I have taken an unduly long time in replying to yours of April 30th, because I could not get a list of women's organizations earlier. Here it is enclosed. You did not give me any other address, although your letter indicated you would insert one.

Concerning your own entry into the United States, conditions are unchanged and I can give you no word until after Congress adjourns. Mrs. Mahan wrote a letter to Dorothy Thompson herself. Apparently she can communicate with friends even though her address is in care of Stassova.

With warmest regards,

Ever yours,

RNB:RM
Encl.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509017

[Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 10 de Junio de 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

COMITE NACIONAL
VALENCIA

Estimados camaradas: Salud:

Después de tantos días en espera de vuestra noticias he recibido vuestra última carta que me ha sido entregada por el camarada Vidal Arabi. No podéis imaginaros las ansiedades que he sufrido durante todo este tiempo de espera. Comprendía perfectamente que estabais supeditados a una censura rígida, aunque tal vez no hubiese sido del todo imposible el haberme dedicado unas cuantas líneas ya que el Partido Independiente Obrero recibió información, además de las cartas 4 y 5 de Mayo que llegaron a Escocia de Jenny Patrick, una camarada que había trabajado en Barcelona y Madrid. Resultó extraño por tanto que yo, vuestra representante, permaneciese ignorante de los hechos ocurridos en Mayo durante todo un mes. No fué sólo la congoja que tenía por la sangre de nuestros camaradas vertida en la lucha, sino que ésta era aun más aumentada con las constantes preguntas que me hacían varios periódicos, sin que pudiera ilustrarles en nada. Mientras tanto, el órgano del Partido Comunista y demás periódicos simpatizantes a esta organización emprendían una campaña diaria, sistemática, haciendo culpable de todo lo ocurrido a nuestra Organización, cuyos cargos no pude cotrrestar debido a mi ignorancia de los hechos. Es verdad que seguía recibiendo la Soli. y el Boletín, pero sabiendo que venían ~~sensurados~~ sensurados no podía fiarme de su contenido.

Por último la semana pasada recibí un informe completo de todo lo ocurrido; todas las maquinaciones de la pandilla de Moscou y ~~la~~ la trama que tenían preparada desde mucho antes de ~~mayo~~ mayo. Es un documento que asombra por sus revelaciones y será publicado íntegramente en el próximo número de SPAIN AND THE WORLD, del que hará una tirada de 12 mil ejemplares con un suplemento especial destinados a ser distribuidos de forma que lleguen a la opinión publica de Inglaterra; apesar de que nuestras facilidades en ese aspecto son bastante reducidas. De haber recibido el informe a principio de los sucesos hubiese podido escribir algo en el Manchester Guardian. Pero ya pasó la ocasión de hacerlo. Lo que haré ahora es que cuando se publiquen nuestro periódico mandaré copias de él a los diarios más importantes de Inglaterra y América, acompañados de una carta mía interesándoles reproducir aquellos puntos más salientes, que prueban palpablemente que la CNT FAI muy lejos de ser responsables de la lucha fratricida abandonó su tradición revolucionaria de acción directa, adoptando la de resistencia pasiva.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509017

[Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

2

Ni Gandhi lo hubiese hecho mejor con la llamada a la retirada en los mismos momentos, que muchos de nuestros camaradas ~~eran~~ asesinados por malos marxistas contrarevolucionarios. Para mí, lo mismo que para todos los camaradas de aquí, fue un golpe terrible cuando nos enteramos de la extraña actitud de los dirigentes de nuestra Organización Nacional y Regional. Espero que no creeréis que yo haya perdido interés o celo en la lucha que todos vosotros sostenéis, si os digo que para mí es incomprensible la forma en que actuaron aquéllos. Estas dudas también se me presentaron ~~antes~~ aun estando yo todavía en España. Las cédulas y pactos que nuestros camaradas en España hacían eran muy difíciles de comprender para nosotros los Anarquistas, que han sido ~~compañeros~~ los móviles de lo ocurrido; ~~ahora~~ pero sabiendo que los camaradas tenían encima la amenaza de Franco, quisimos creer tanto yo como los demás compañeros del extranjero que la CNT FAI no tenía otro remedio que adoptar por la dictadura o la colaboración ministerial, y ~~que~~ de los dos males nos inclinamos por el menor, pero a mí no se me escapaba el precio que por esta actitud tendríamos que pagar tarde o temprano. El castigo ha llegado antes de lo que yo esperaba, y lo peor es que a la Bestia de Moscou no le satisfará el precio que vosotros habéis pagado ya.

Como ya os he dicho, los acontecimientos en Barcelona me han confundido de una manera terrible, dejándome sin saber qué camino seguir. Sin embargo, no puedo ni deseo poner en tela de juicio los pasos dados por nuestra Organización hasta que yo pueda ir a España, haya visto y hablado con todos vosotros para formarme opinión, que es imposible ~~lograr~~ por correspondencia. Habréis de comprender, queridos camaradas, que es imposible compaginar el cambio observado en los dirigentes de la CNT FAI y el extraño papel que ~~ellos~~ han desempeñado al pedir la paz, mientras ~~que~~ ^{era demasiado} la sangre de nuestros camaradas. Debéis tener en cuenta que para nosotros los camaradas españoles eran los que iban siempre adelante, enarbolando los estandartes de nuestras ideas y aspiraciones, dándonos ejemplo con su gallarda actitud en todas sus actuaciones. Así, pues, no podré menos que comprender nuestro desaliento ante la actitud de las figuras representativas en las filas del Anarcosindicalismo español. Y lo que es peor aún es que se hace tan difícil el poder explicarlo a la gente fuera de España, por ello son tan grandes mis deseos de ir a ésa a fin de recoger impresiones y salir de dudas de una vez para siempre. Pero como llegar a ésa? Me dicen que no seré admitida y que de serlo mi vida estaría en peligro. Los Gangsters que asesinaron a nuestro inolvidable compañero Berneri muy bien podrían quitarme a mí igualmente la vida, siendo así que yo hace 16 años que vengo luchando contra el mito soviético. Pero ~~no~~ es esto lo que me preocupa. Francamente, si la Revolución se perdiese o corriese la misma suerte que la rusa, no me importaría mucho seguir viviendo. Decidme, pues, si a vosotros os será fácil arreglar un salvo conducto de forma que yo pueda entrar en España y pueda visitar Valencia o Barcelona.

El camarada Vidal me indicó vuestros deseos de que yo hiciera labor de acercamiento en la prensa inglesa por medio de cartas como la dirigida al Manchester Guardian. Vosotros no sabéis lo difícil de esta tarea. Creo que ya os he escrito en varias ocasiones que existe ~~una~~ una cerrada conspiración de silencio.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509017

[Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

3

~~Importante~~

por parte de la prensa de izquierdas en todo aquello que atañe a la CNT FAI. Todos los periódicos de aquí llamados de izquierdas han denunciado a nuestros camaradas, llamándolos pistoleros y atracadores.

Hasta una persona como Brailsford, que escribe desde España y trata de ser imparcial, limpia de toda culpa a los comunistas en sus artículos, alabándolos por sus dotes de buen gobierno e inteligentes maniobras políticas, cargando toda la culpa de lo ocurrido a los anarquistas. Es tan tupida esta red de calumnias en la prensa diaria y semanal de este país que romperla se hace tarea casi de todo punto imposible. Procuraré acercarme otra vez al Manchester Guardian con el relato de los acontecimientos, que supongo habrá sido hecho por Souchy, si bien su nombre no aparece. Si dicho periódico acepta mi carta o hace comentario sobre ella os lo dejaré saber.

El compañero Vidal también me habló de vuestra idea sobre un periódico que se ocupase de los problemas interiores del proletariado en Inglaterra. En la presente no puedo extenderme sobre el asunto, aun que no me parece factible la idea. De todas formas, trataremos de ello durante mi visita. Mientras tanto me ocupo de preparar un informe de mis actividades en Inglaterra, las sumas recaudadas y gastos incurridos, así como indicaciones sobre el futuro desarrollo de nuestro trabajo en este país. Será traducido al español y cuando ~~esté~~ terminado os lo enviaré por conducto de Galvez, cuando podréis decidir si aceptáis mi plan o si mi campaña aquí ha de ser terminada. No estoy segura de si podré volver a Inglaterra después de mi visita a España. Tal vez pueda ir a los Estados Unidos y para ello tendría que ir primero al Canadá, pero antes que nada quiero fijar mi opinión y actitud en cuanto a la situación en España, cosa que sólo podré hacer yendo ahí. Alrededor del 20 del presente estaré en París y allí esperaré vuestras indicaciones acerca de la mejor manera de realizar mi viaje.

Con respecto a los miles de niños que han sido evacuados a Inglaterra, hace dos días que me he enterado que entre ellos hay 40 que pertenecen a nuestra organización y que serán adoptados por la Independent Labour Party y trasladados a su campamento en Somerset, una de las provincias más bonitas de Inglaterra. Un día de estos pienso visitar a dichos niños a fin de ver cómo se encuentran y enterarme del tratamiento que reciben. Me gustaría saber si vosotros estáis conformes con que yo contribuya algo para el sostenimiento de estos niños nuestros. No os olvidéis de decirme en vuestra próxima carta.

De aquí en adelante deberéis mandarme vuestra correspondencia a París, bien al cuidado de Galvez o al cuidado de Mollie Alperine, 23, Rue des Volontaires, París XV.

Fraternalmente,

Emma Goldman

471

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509020

[Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 10 de Junio de 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

COMITE NACIONAL

VALENCIA

Estimados camaradas: Salud:

Os debo decir que los recibos que me habéis enviado no sirven puesto que tienen que ser extendidos en papel oficial de nuestra Organización, y, si posible, haciendo mención de la suscripción que vosotros tenéis organizada a favor de las mujeres y niños españoles desamparados; pero podáis o no hacer mención de ello lo importante es que sean extendidos tal como indico.

Se trata de conseguir la devolución de 35 libras pagadas por impuestos en relación con el Concierto de que ya os he hablado anteriormente, y esta suma puede ser recobrada si se prueba que la suma recaudada ha sido recibida por el Comité que legalmente tiene a su cargo el cuidado de las mujeres y niños.

Sobre el particular os debo de hacer la aclaración de que la cantidad exacta recaudada se eleva a L 201-3-9.

El texto del recibo debe de ser como sigue:

Recibido del Comité para la ayuda de los niños y mujeres desamparados españoles, Secretaria E.G. Colton, Londres, la suma de £201.3.9, recaudadas en el Concierto dado en el teatro Victoria Palace, Londres, el 25 de Abril de 1937.

Received from the Committee to AID HOMESLESS SPANISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN, per E.G. Colton, London, Hon. Secretary, the sum of £201.3.9, derived from the Concert held in Victoria Palace, London, April 25th, 1937.

Fraternalmente vuestra y de nuestra causa

EG

472

The Emma Goldman Papers

880328000

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12475

London June 10th 37

Dear Comrades. Before everything else I must let you know that the receipts you sent me are of no value. They have to be made out on your official paper, if possible you should also have on the paper the name of the Fund you are raising for the homeless Spanish women and children. I believe that you mention such a Fund. But whether you can or can not add this to your signature be sure to write the receipts on your regular official paper and return them to me right away. I am trying to save ~~£££~~ £35 from the Customs authorities in amusement tax which we had to pay for the concert. We will get it back if we can prove that the proceeds have gone to the right committee who takes care of the women and children. By the way the exact figures of the ~~money~~ amount realized is £201- 3-9
~~££££££££££~~ London

The text should read as follows; received from the Committee To AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN PER E.G. Colton Hon. Secretary the sum of £201-3-9 derive from the Concert held in Victoria Palace April 25.37.

Dear Comrade, please explain to the comrades that the receipt must be made out authoritatively ~~xxx~~ according to the above text, and on official paper both in English and in Spanish. This explanation should be at the top of my letter and marked urgent. And here is the letter. Also a note to Calve. I hope you can do the translation soon. By the way, the report you have for translation had better be done on very thin paper as it will have to be smuggled through.

I do hope Vidal got to his hotel safely. And that you will bring him tomorrow and not depend on his finding his way.

Fraternally.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

473

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010265

[Letter] 1937 June 10, London [to] Comité Nacional [CNT-FAI], Valencia [Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

VALENCIA

Queridos camaradas: Saludos

Se debe decir que los billetes de la moneda corriente no sirven para que el oficial de nuestra Organización, y el mismo de la suscripción que vosotros Comité de las mujeres y niños españoles desamparados, no se haya arrojado de ello lo importante es que sea tal vez indio.

La carta de conseguir la devolución de 35 libras, en relación con el Consistorio de que ya se ha mencionado, y esta cosa puede ser resuelta.

La suma recaudada ha sido recibida por el Comité que tiene a su cargo el cuidado de las mujeres y niños.

Sobre el particular es debe de hacer la aclaración de la cantidad exacta recaudada se eleva a L 230-3-9.

El texto del recibo debe de ser como sigue:

Recibido del Comité para la ayuda de los niños y desamparados españoles, Secretaria E.G. Colton, Londres, L 230-3-9, recaudadas en el concierto dado en el teatro Victoria Palace, Londres, el 25 de Abril de 1937.

Received from the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Children, Secretary E.G. Colton, London, L 230-3-9, received from the concert held at the Victoria Palace, London, April 25th, 1937.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921004

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London June 10th 37

12474

Dear comrade Galve.

I can understand being neglected by the comrades in Spain. ~~But~~ They have the tragic event in the early days of May as an excuse though I never knew revolutionists unable to send out information by other than the official channels. But what excuse have you? Surely you had some word about the upheaval and the sacrifice of so many of our best comrades. Yet not a word from you or Roca. And here I was besieged by London Dailies for news and I could give them nothing. They could not understand that the London representative of the CNT-FAI should be left in ignorance. Well, it was a painful situation.

The inclosed is a letter in response to the one brought me by comrade Vidal from Valencia. Will you see that it reaches the CNT in Valencia as quickly as possible. My letter is very important. Please do not delay and send it through someone who will not forget it in his pockets as before. Now, that it is impossible to send anything direct, a nice position for anarchists to be under censorship from the very government that is trying to destroy them. I must ask you to kindly dispatch my letter in the quickest possible way. *they are offering to send*

I am coming to Paris the end of next week. I hope you will have time for me as there are many things we must talk over. Especially the recent tragic event and the part played by the leaders of the CNT-FAI. I am at a loss what to make of it and unless I can find clarity *hardly* *able* or willing to continue my work as an official representative for the CNT-FAI. *side*

Please drop me a line when this reaches you and tell the best time when you can see me.

Fraternally.

475

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman].— 5 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

*am sending this to the Agents of
your new address does not seem
C.N.T. sufficient. Have you no letter head?
A.I.T. F.A.I.*

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD.
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London June 10th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Darling Milly, dearest Rudolf.

 Roc

I wish I had you here. Believe me I would spank you. Really, my dears you both deserve it good and hard. You are the most impossible people as correspondents and in all matters that require quick action. Now listen Rudolf I wrote you May 4th an urgent letter. It must have reached you in less than a week. You cabled the 14th saying you are writing. But you wait until May 23rd to instruct your secretary to do it for you. Then you politely inform me through her that you will not be able to write the small work on Syndicalism for some months. Don't you realize old dear that we never had such a golden opportunity as the offer of the London publisher to get our ideas before a large section of the British workers? And that there never was a more propitious moment than now to make Anarcho-Syndicalism known in this country? I realize the importance of finishing up everything for your book. But also I know that certain things cannot wait too long or they lose their value. In this case we may also lose the offer made by the publisher. Don't you see the urgent necessity to grab the occasion by the horn? Aside of the consideration what it would mean to have a book on Anarcho-Syndicalism in English ~~there is~~ there is the no less important consideration that it would bring your name before a widely divergent British audience which could not but be of great help in advertising your book. I wish I could make you see all these points ~~and~~ But you are such a slow poker. So we may lose the golden chance after all.

from under me

I inclose the letter from Martin Secker and Warburg. You will see that it also means ~~£25~~ £25 advance in royalties. I do not think that so bad for an author who is after all unknown in this country. Besides, the interest in Anarchist Syndicalism ~~is~~ is considerable and if that is an indication an inexpensive work on the subject ought to sell very considerably. I wish I had all the necessary material I would write the book myself. The events in Barcelona have knocked the bottom out of me. My return to Spain seems almost impossible. In fact I already had several warnings that my life would be in danger if I were permitted to enter. The murderous Communists who have done away with Berneri would certainly not hesitate to do away with me. Besides they have ~~an~~ an old account to settle with me. That however does not frighten me. What interest in life will there be if the Spanish revolution should go the way of the Russian? The question is how to get back. If I cannot settle that I will be like a fish out of water. Just now I have no idea what to do, or where to go. I could just as well settle down to writing that work on Anarcho-Syndicalism. But I haven't a scrap of material. So it's no good even thinking of it. No, it's you

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

my dear and you cannot get away from it. Please please set to work on it as quickly as possible. After all you even need no material on the subject. You have got it at your finger tips. You should therefore be able to do it quickly. Won't you try? About the authorisation for me. It is not enough to say in your letter I have the right to negotiate with the publishers for you. You will have to send me an ~~authorisation~~ authorisation signed before a notary public. But there is no hurry for that since you can not settle down so soon ~~the~~ writing the book. In any event send me back the letter of the publishers.

Well, dearest children whether we like it or not the fact remains that Montseny and Oliver and a few others have turned from their traditions of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance. And that they have made that ~~surrender~~ assault in the face of the wholesale murder of our comrades. The proof for that is in the long report sent out by Souchy sub rosa about ten days ago. Now you know yourself that Souchy only sends out "official" stuff. It means therefore that the heads of the CNT-FAI saw the report before it left Barcelona. I am sending you a copy in the form of a supplement which we are getting out in connection with the current issue of SPAIN and the WORLD. You will see that our people are quite frank about their call of retreat, and their call to passive resistance. The most sickening part is their cringing ~~and~~ before the Generalidad, hanging on from moment to moment for a reply while comrades were being butchered in front of the Casa of the CNT-FAI. Could Gandhi have done better? It must have been a sorry spectacle for Anarchists and revolutionists to use every political trick and ~~conspire~~ to stem the tide of the masses and the rank and file of the CNT-FAI while the murderous Communists and their fascist allies were getting away with everything.

It will make you want to weep when I tell you that one of the Spanish comrades who is here gives as the main excuse for the stand of Montseny and Oliver the fact that the status of the Catalna government provided that the poste and telephone service should be in its hands. True, they were permitted to be operated under CNT control. But actually they were government property, therefore the CNT should not have fought back the attack on the telephone building. In other words, Spanish Anarchists who have fought proerty all their lives were opposed to the defense of the Telephone building on the grounds that it ~~was~~ belonged to the government. What a comedy, and how low the mighty can fall. To be sure the Montsenys and Olivers once more bear out what we have always maintained, namely that Anarchists in government positions will and must act like all officials and ministers. They must defend the government of which they are a part against their own comrade and the rights of the masses. The tragic part of the whole event is that neither Oliver or Montseny realize that they have actually gone ~~back~~ back on their revolitionary traditions. And what is strangest of all, they and all Spanish Anarchists maintain that there was no other way and that the CNT-FAI are stronger now than before the blood letting of our comrades and the workers at large. They say, "yes politically we have lost. But morally (whatever that means) we have gained. We have gained in the estimation of the workers and peasants and in their confidence". Well, I simply cannot believe it. In any event they have lost all their rights. ~~Back~~ barely six months ago a CNT-FAI credentia used to open all doors. It was honored and respected. Now anyone with

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109077

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

 Roc

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

Telephone: Fulham 6118
with such a credential or even with a CNT-FAI pin is suspect, barred at the border and not safe with his life in Catalonia. A pitiful situation for ~~such~~ such a glorious beginning as July 19th. And this barely ten months later. I tell you my dears I have been ill, ill mentally, and physically. Not since Sasha and I were in Russia and saw the collapse of the Revolution have I undergone such sickening turmoil and uncertainty. I feel I ought to come out and make known my attitude ~~to the~~ to the politicians in the CNT-FAI ranks. On the other hand I see the dreadful plight of our comrades squeezed in as they are between Franco and Stalin with all the Powers and all the Socialist bodies ready to spring on the Revolution and the CNT-FAI to destroy them utterly. I haven't the heart to join in the chorus of "crucify". I have been certain from the moment our people entered the Ministries and sold their birthright to Stalin that the price they will pay will be terrific. You remember I wrote you from Barcelona to that effect. I knew the reckoning is bound to come and that it will be more than a mere pound of flesh. I admit I foolishly hoped the day of reckoning will wait until Fascism has been crushed. For then there would be no further excuse that nothing must be permitted to stand in the way of victory of the Anti-Fascist war. Our comrades would then be released from their obligations and they could meet their Communist and Socialist enemies face to face. The reckoning came sooner than I had expected. In point of truth it is only the beginning of the reckoning. For you know even better than I that the rank and file of the CNT-FAI are too seasoned in revolutionary struggle to be deterred for long by the Montsenys, Olivers and the others. It is this burning faith in the Spanish comrades which makes it bitter hard for me to come out with a blanket condemnation.

Another thing is that I cannot believe that Montseny, Oliver and the others are "traitors" as they are now charged by our French comrades in their manifesto published in TERRE LIBRE of March and April, or that they have become corrupt by power. It is preposterous to charge people born and raised in anarchist traditions, who have undergone every sort of persecution ~~with~~ capable of a complete reversal within ten months. Our comrades in France will probably point out that the Bolsheviks ~~were~~ also born and raised in revolutionary traditions and they betrayed the Revolution. That is true, but their objective was dictatorship not Libertarian Communism union. That our comrades were therefore not for power even if they did enter the government. To me it seems that both Montseny and Oliver ~~are~~ are woefully lacking in political perception and naive to the point of childishness in their faith in their allies ~~and their~~

478

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109077

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

They also seem to suffer from an exaggerated dose of self importance. In the sense that they are cock sure they could influence the trend of the government more than they would be influenced by it. Montseny especially gave me that impression. Last but by no means least is the passionate nationalism of all the Catalan comrades. All this I am ready to admit. But until I have more convincing proofs for the motives that prompted the recent action of the leaders of the CNT-FAI I cannot charge them with treachery.

As you know my dears I was never an advocate of passive resistance. But I can imagine some psychological moments when it might prove preferable to ~~dictatorship~~ direct action which might have led to extinction of the CNT-FAI. There is no doubt that Valencia asked and received help from England and France to exterminate the Anarchists and crush the Revolution had our people fought to a finish. Else what were French and English ~~war~~ ships doing so close to Barcelona? I suppose our comrades would reply that the CNT-FAI could have seized power and set up a dictatorship. Some of our comrades are certainly in favor of that. Well, ~~far from that I cannot~~ I cannot share that idea. I consider dictatorship even by Anarchists, yes more so by Anarchists as the greatest menace to the Revolution. And I cannot get myself to believe that Anarchist dictators would be more amicable than Communist or Fascist dictators. I would like to think that it was this consideration which motivated the stand of the leading comrades in the CNT-FAI. And I will not be sure of it until I get back to Spain as I am absolutely set on doing. Nor will I make any decided public statement of my position until I have been back and have seen and talked with our people.

However, I do understand the bitterness and disappointment of Senia, Mollie, Senia and the other comrades outside of Spain. The Spanish revolution even more than the Russian has fired our imagination and has lifted us to the very heights of new possibilities for our ideas. To see the Revolution in action, in marvelous constructive work, to see the influence of the CNT-FAI, its great moral effect on the people was our dream come true. Once bitterness or intolerance is always in proportion to once passionate faith in an ideal or human being we deeply love. I therefore understand the wrath of the comrades ~~in~~ who are back of the Manifesto. Yet I regret their blanket charges and condemnation, and I cannot subscribe to them. Life is surely stranger than fiction. Many of our comrades were ready to excommunicate me from our ranks for my articles against the Bolshevik regime. Now some of them are condemning me because I do not declare myself publicly against the leaders of the CNT-FAI. They do not seem to be able to distinguish between the objectives of Lenin and the CNT-FAI. Much less do they distinguish between the facilities for the defense of the Spanish revolution and that of the Russian. The latter a vast country with our unlimited man power, with tens of thousands of soldiers armed and leaving the war fronts. ~~What~~ most important a country far removed from the European powers. On the other hand Spain without a trained fighting force within easy reach of ~~the inevitable monster army and~~ ~~unholy~~ an unholy trinity, Franco, and his allies Germany and Italy — not to speak of France and ~~Germany~~ England just sitting on the fence ready to jump over to help dismember Spain and the Revolution.

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109077

[Letter, 19]37 June 10, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 5 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Verily a far graver situation than that of Russia the first four years. Seen in this light there is more reason not to throw out the child with the bath as our French comrades and our dearest Mollitchka, Senia, Sania and the others are doing. At least that's the way I think and I am rather certain that you dearest Rudolf and you Milly take the same position. As to Nettlau, a copy of my letter to him which I inclose. He has gone gaga on Montseny ~~but his fear of Fascism cannot be set aside easily. There is no doubt that if the anti-Fascist war should fail everything will be annihilated, the revolution crushed, the CNT-FAI drowned in the blood of the whole Spanish movement, and our people tortured to death in the Fascist concentration camps as in Germany, Italy and Russia. With this spectre to haunt Montseny and the others, Nettlau finds justifications for his attitude. He defends any allignment or half way measures as inevitable. There is some reason in his madness, I fear.~~

My dears, my dears I am frightfully at sea and torn between my ~~own~~ ^{and} ~~over~~ ^{and} ~~losses~~ ^{and} ~~sustained~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~CNT-FAI~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~their~~ ^{and} ~~resultant~~ ^{and} ~~reaction~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~my~~ ^{and} ~~desire~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~stand~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{and} ~~our~~ ^{and} ~~comrades~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~need~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~definite~~ ^{and} ~~stand~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~regard~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~present~~ ^{and} ~~situation~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~am~~ ^{and} ~~sure~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~would~~ ^{and} ~~find~~ ^{and} ~~myself~~ ^{and} ~~if~~ ^{and} ~~only~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~could~~ ^{and} ~~get~~ ^{and} ~~back~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~Spain~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~how?~~ ^{and} ~~And~~ ^{and} ~~what~~ ^{and} ~~am~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~do~~ ^{and} ~~if~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~is~~ ^{and} ~~impossible?~~ ^{and} ~~As~~ ^{and} ~~you~~ ^{and} ~~will~~ ^{and} ~~see~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~inclosures~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~have~~ ^{and} ~~written~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~Toronto~~ ^{and} ~~about~~ ^{and} ~~going~~ ^{and} ~~to~~ ^{and} ~~Canada~~ ^{and} ~~as~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~means~~ ^{and} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~getting~~ ^{and} ~~into~~ ^{and} ~~America~~ ^{and} ~~more~~ ^{and} ~~easily~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~have~~ ^{and} ~~small~~ ^{and} ~~faith~~ ^{and} ~~that~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~will~~ ^{and} ~~be~~ ^{and} ~~granted~~ ^{and} ~~a~~ ^{and} ~~visa~~ ^{and} ~~But~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~certainly~~ ^{and} ~~will~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~if~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~remain~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~far~~ ^{and} ~~away~~ ^{and} ~~Roger~~ ^{and} ~~Baldwin~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~others~~ ^{and} ~~who~~ ^{and} ~~might~~ ^{and} ~~try~~ ^{and} ~~when~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~can~~ ^{and} ~~get~~ ^{and} ~~at~~ ^{and} ~~them~~ ^{and} ~~in~~ ^{and} ~~person~~ ^{and} ~~will~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~budge~~ ^{and} ~~when~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~can~~ ^{and} ~~only~~ ^{and} ~~reach~~ ^{and} ~~them~~ ^{and} ~~by~~ ^{and} ~~mail~~ ^{and} ~~What~~ ^{and} ~~do~~ ^{and} ~~you~~ ^{and} ~~think?~~ ^{and} ~~In~~ ^{and} ~~any~~ ^{and} ~~case~~ ^{and} ~~I~~ ^{and} ~~am~~ ^{and} ~~leaving~~ ^{and} ~~for~~ ^{and} ~~Paris~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~later~~ ^{and} ~~than~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{and} ~~22nd~~ ^{and} ~~Write~~ ^{and} ~~me~~ ^{and} ~~c/o~~ ^{and} ~~Mollie~~ ^{and} ~~please~~ ^{and} ~~And~~ ^{and} ~~do~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~soon~~ ^{and} ~~old~~ ^{and} ~~lazy~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~incorrigible~~ ^{and} ~~man~~ ^{and} ~~And~~ ^{and} ~~you~~ ^{and} ~~Millicen~~ ^{and} ~~though~~ ^{and} ~~not~~ ^{and} ~~so~~ ^{and} ~~lazy~~ ^{and} ~~as~~ ^{and} ~~your~~ ^{and} ~~sweetheart~~ ^{and} ~~.~~

With love to both of you even if you deserve a good hiding.

Emma

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

259.86-

June 10th 37.

Darling Willy, Forest Rudolf.

I wish I had you here. Believe me I would spank you. Really, my dears you both deserve it good and hard. You are the most impossible people as correspondents and in all matters that require quick action. Now listen Rudolf I wrote you May 4th an urgent letter. It must have reached you in less than a week. You cable: the 14th saying you are writing. But you wait until May 23rd to instruct your secretary to do it for you. Then you politely inform me through her that you will not be able to write to the small work on Syndicalism for some months. Don't you realize old dear that we never had such a golden opportunity as the offer of the London publisher to get our ideas before a large section of the British workers? And that there never was a more propitious moment than now to make Anarcho Syndicalism known in this country? I realize the importance of finishing up everything for your book, but also I know that certain things cannot wait too long or they lose their value. In this case we may also lose the offer made by the publisher. Don't you see the urgent necessity to grab the occasion by the horn? Aside of the consideration what it would mean to have a book on Anarcho Syndicalism in English ~~it means~~ there is the no less important consideration that it would bring your name before a widely divergent British audience which could not but be of great help in advertising your book. I wish I could make you see all these points and but you are such a slow poker. So we may lose the golden chance after all.

I inclose the letter from Martin Becker and Warburg. You will see that it also means \$125 advance in royalties. I do not think that so bad for an author who is after all unknown in this country. Besides, the interest in anarchist syndicalism ~~manner~~ is considerable and if that is an indication an inexpensive work on the subject ought to sell very considerably. I wish I had all the necessary material I would write the book myself. The events in Barcelona have knocked the bottom out of me. My return to Spain seems almost impossible. In fact I already had several warnings that my life would be in danger if I were permitted to enter. The murderous Communists who have done away with Garmari would certainly not hesitate to do away with me. Besides they have an old account to settle with me. That however does not frighten me, what interest in life will there be if the Spanish revolution should go the way of the Russian? The question is how to get back. If I cannot settle that I will be like a fish out of water. Just now I have no idea what to do or where to go. I could just as well settle down writing this sort of stuff as I can do anything else. I haven't a scrap of material.

Warm
under
me.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010328

[Letter, 19]37 June 10 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

25987

my dear and you cannot get away from it. Please please set to work on it as quickly as possible. After all you even see no material on the subject. You have got it at your finger tips. You should therefore be able to do it quickly. Won't you try? about the authorisation for me. It is not enough to say in your letter I have the right to negotiate with the publishers for you. You will have to send me an ~~authorisation~~ authorisation signed before a notary public. But there is no hurry for that since you can not settle down so soon ~~to~~ writing the book. In any event send me back the letter of the publishers.

Emma will
Well, dearest children whether we like it or not the fact remains that Montseny and Oliver and a few others have turned from their traditions of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance. And that they have made that ~~supersession~~ in the face of the wholesale murder of our comrades. The proof for that is in the long report sent out by Souchy sub rosa about ten days ago. Now you know yourself that Souchy only send out "official" stuff. It means therefore that the heads of the CNT-FAI saw the report before it left Barcelona. I am sending you a copy in the form of a supplement which we are getting out in connection with the current issue of SPAIN and the WORLD. You will see that our people are quite frank about their call of retreat, and their call to passive resistance. The most sickening part is their cringing ~~and~~ before the Generalidad, hanging on from moment to moment for a reply while comrades were being butchered in front of the Casa of the CNT-FAI. Could Gandhi have done better? It must have been a sorry spectacle for anarchists and revolutionists to use every political trick and connivance to stem the tide of the masses and the rank and file of the CNT-FAI while the murderous Communists and their Fascist allies were getting away with everything.

It will make you want to weep when I tell you that one of the Spanish comrades who is here gives as the main excuse for the stand of Montseny and Oliver the fact that the status of the Catalna government provided that the poste and telephone service should be in its hands. True, ~~they~~ were permitted to be operated under CNT control. But actually they were government property therefore the CNT should not have fought back the attack on the telephone building. In other words Spanish anarchists who have fought, proerty all their lives were opposed to the defense of the Telephone building on the grounds that it ~~xx~~ belonged to the government. What a comedy, and how low the mighty can fall. To be sure the Montsenys and Olivers once more bear out what we have always maintained namely that anarchists in government positions will and must act like all officials and ministers. They must defend the government of which they are a part against their own comrades and the rights of the masses. The tragic part of the whole event is that neither Oliver or Montseny realize that they have actually gone back on their revolutionary traditions. And what is strangest of all they and all Spanish anarchists maintain that there was no other way and that the CNT-FAI are stronger now than before the blood letting of our comrades and the workers at large. They say, "yes politically we have lost. But morally (whatever that means) we have gained. We have gained in the estimation of the workers and peasants and in their confidence". Well, I simply cannot believe it. In any event they have lost all their rights. ~~xxxx~~ Barely six months ago a CNT-FAI credential used to open all doors. It was honored and respected. Now anyone with

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

482

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010328

[Letter, 19]37 June 10 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25988

3

With such a credential or even with a C.I.T.-R.I. pin is suspect, barred at the barrier and not safe with his life in Catalonia. A pitiful situation for one who has such a glorious beginning as July 19th, and this barely ten days later. I tell you my dears I have been ill, ill mentally, and physically. But since Angha and I were in Russia and saw the collapse of the revolution have I undergone such sickening turmoil and uncertainty I feel I ought to come out and make known my attitude ~~in the ranks~~ to the politicians in the C.I.T.-R.I. ranks. On the other hand I see the danger I might of our comrades squeezed in as they are between Russia and Stalin with all the powers and all the Socialist bodies ready to bring on the revolution and the C.I.T.-R.I. to destroy them utterly. I haven't the heart to join in the chorus of "crucify". I have been certain from the moment our people entered the Ministries and sold their birthright to Stalin that the price they will pay will be terrific. You remember I wrote you from Barcelona to that effect. I knew the reckoning is bound to come and that it will be more than a mere pound of flesh. I admit I foolishly hoped the day of reckoning will wait until Russia has been crushed. For then there would be no further excuse that a thing must be permitted to stand in the way of victory of the Anti Fascist war. Our comrades would then be released from their obligations and they could meet their Communist and Socialist enemies face to face. The reckoning came sooner than I had expected. In point of truth it is only the beginning of the reckoning for you know even better than I that the rank and file of the C.I.T.-R.I. are too accustomed in revolutionary struggle to be deterred for long by the Montsenys, Olivers and the others. It is this burning faith in the Spanish comrades which makes it bitter hard for me to come out with a blanket condemnation.

Another thing is that I cannot believe that Montseny, Oliver and the others are traitors as they are now charged by our French comrades in their manifesto published in *VERBA LIBRE* of March and April, or that they have become corrupt by power. It is preposterous to charge people born and raised in anarchist traditions, who have undergone every sort of persecution with capable of a complete reversal in ten months. Our comrades in ~~Spain~~ ^{France} will probably point out that the Bolsheviks ~~have~~ ^{had} also been born and raised in revolutionary traditions and they betrayed the revolution. That is true but their objective was dictatorship not Libertarian Communism. ~~unlike~~ ^{unlike} the French comrades therefore not for power even if they did enter the government. To me it seems that both Montseny and Oliver ~~are~~ ^{are} actually lacking in political perception and naive to the point of blindness in their faith in their allies ~~and their traditions~~.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

483

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010328

[Letter, 19]37 June 10 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

00025

25989

They also seem to suffer from undervaluation of self importance. In the sense that they are cock sure they could influence the trend of the government more than they would be influenced by it. Montseny especially gave me that impression. Last but by no means least is the passionate nationalism of all the Catalina comrades. All this I am ready to admit. But until I have more convincing proofs for the motives that prompted the recent action of the leaders of the CNT-FAI I cannot charge them with treachery.

As you know my dears I was never an advocate of passive resistance. But I can imagine some psychologic moments when it might prove profitable to ~~dictatorship~~ direct action which might have led to extinction of the CNT-FAI. There is no doubt that Valencia asked and received help from England and France to exterminate the anarchists and crush the Revolution had our people fought to a finish. Else what were French and English ~~war~~ war ships doing so close to Barcelona? I suppose our comrades would reply that the CNT-FAI could have seized power and set up a dictatorship. Some of our comrades are certainly in favor of that. Well, ~~for my part I cannot~~ I cannot share that idea. I consider dictatorship even by Anarchists, yes more so by anarchists as the greatest menace to the Revolution. And I cannot get myself to believe that anarchist dictators would be more amicable than Communist or Fascist dictators. I would like to think that it was this consideration which motivated the stand of the leading comrades in the CNT-FAI. And I will not be sure of it until I get back to Spain as I am absolutely set on doing. Nor will I make any decided public statement of my position until I have been back and have seen and talked with our people.

However I do understand the bitterness and disappointment of Senia, Hollis, Senia and the other comrades outside of Spain. The Spanish revolution even more than the Russian has fired our imagination and has lifted us to the very heights of new possibilities for our ideas. To see the revolution in action, in marvelous constructive work, to see the influence of the CNT-FAI its great moral effect on the people was our dream come true. Once bitterness or intolerance is always in proportion to once passionate faith in an ideal or human being we deeply love. I therefore understand the wrath of the comrades in who are back of the Manifesto. Yet I regret their blanket charges and condemnation, and I cannot subscribe to them. Life is surely stranger than fiction. Many of our comrades were ready to excommunicate me from our ranks for my articles against the Bolshevik regime. Now some of them are condemning me because I do not declare myself publicly against the leaders of the CNT-FAI. They do not seem to be able to distinguish between the objectives of Lenin and the CNT-FAI. Much less do they distinguish between the facilities for the defense of the Spanish revolution and that of the Russian. The latter a vast country with our unlimited man power, with tens of thousands of soldiers armed and leaving the war fronts. What most important a country far removed from the European Powers. On the other hand Spain without a trained fighting force within easy reach of two insatiable monsters Italy and Germany.

Here are Beck, Remchman, Man, Co. and all the fence just waiting to jump over the fence

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

484

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

१४९२८

to help dismember Spain and
the Revolution

5.

زنگنه

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010328

[Letter, 19]37 June 10 [London to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, New York?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 6 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25991

Verily a far graver situation than that of Russia the first forty years. Seen in this light there is more reason not to throw out the child with the bath as our French comrades and our dearest Mollitchka, Sania and the others are doing. At least that's the way I think and I am rather certain that you dearest Rudolf and you Milly take the same position. As to Hettlau, a copy of my letter to him which I inclose. He has gone gaga on Montseny ~~and the others~~ but his fear of Fascism cannot be set aside easily. There is no doubt that if the anti Fascist war should fail everything will be annihilated, the revolution crushed, the CNT-ILP drowned in the blood of the whole Spanish movement and our people tortured to death in the Fascist concentration camps as in Germany Italy and Russia. With this spectre to haunt Montseny and the others Hettlau ~~defends any~~ defends any alignment or half way measures as inevitable. There is some reason in his madness I fear.

My dears, my dears I am frightfully at sea and torn in between my self over ~~the~~ losses sustained by the CNT-ILP, and their resultant reaction ~~and a fearful desire to stay by any means~~ and the need of a definite stand ~~in the present situation~~ about the present situation. I am sure I would find myself if only I could get back to Spain. But how? And what am I to do if that is impossible. As you will see by the inclosures I have written to Toronto about going to Canada as a means of getting into America more easily. I have small faith that I will be granted a visa. But I certainly will not if I remain so far away. Roger Baldwin and the others who might try when I can get at them in person will not budge when I can only reach them by mail. What do you think? In any case I am leaving for Paris not later than the end. Write me c/o Mollie please, and do so soon old lady and incorrigible ~~and~~ mad. And you Millicen though not so lady as your sweetheart.

With love to both of you even if you deserve a good hiding.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

486

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726350

[Letter, 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

Dear Miss Goldman.

Thank you for your letter of June 1 telling me that you have approached Rudolph Rocker in connection with a short book on Anarcha-Socialism. The sort of terms we have in mind for a book of some 10 to 15,000 words are: an advance of £25 on account of a royalty of 10% to 5000 copies and 12% thereafter. The book to be published at 3/6 or 5/- net.

Yours sincerely,

Fredric Werburg

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022049

[Letter 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4th June 1937.

Dear Comrade,

I am not sure that it is worth while to continue our argument. You either cannot or will not see that your objections to criticism of the leaders of the C.R.T.-P.A.I. from comrades outside of Spain places you in the same position with the Bolsheviks in the early period of the revolution. They too, kept stressing the fact that they were engaged in a "life and death struggle", that they were surrounded by many counter-revolutionists, and that they had to continue their compromising methods.

You will recall that Lenin and his comrades were building a state machine while our comrades in Spain are working for a free society. That is not the point, dear comrade. The point is that you not only criticised but also condemned unreservedly the compromises of the Bolsheviks, while now you justify similar compromises of our comrades. You forget, of course, that the Russian revolution at that time was as much in danger as the Spanish revolution is to-day. I insist that if we are willing to be critical of our opponents we should be even more critical of our own comrades. I admit it is harder to find fault with our own than it is with our enemies. But is not this the principal trait of anarchism which differentiated us from other political groups? Imagine a Max Nettlau writing that the young comrades of the P.A.I. have been "egged on" by the critical attitude of the French and other comrades! Really my dear, old comrade, it is ridiculous to make such a charge. Do you mean to suggest that no Spanish anarchist has enough mentality to see where the concessions that have been made by the leaders of the C.R.T.-P.A.I. will lead? and if the anarchists had not been "egged on" they would have continued in the face of many mistakes made by their elders? I should give very little for the revolution if I shared such opinion of the Spanish anarchist youth or of the P.A.I.

I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw this statement in your letter. Your contention that the comrades in France or Germany have caused the tragic events in the first days of May in Barcelona is on a par with the charges made in Russia against Lenin and the Russian anarchists who had dared to point out that the revolution was being manipulated by the Communist state. Lenin also considered it the height of treason to be criticised by his political opponents.

As to your explanation of Berneri's death, I confess I was shocked. How can you of all people say that it was surprising that

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

Berneri had not met such an end before because he was so critical and faultfinding? I certainly never expected such poor logic from you. That if Berneri was critical? That if he was a stickler for consistency? Is that enough to damn him, and even use this as a plausible cause for his murder? I agree that this is crime enough in the eyes of the Communist zealots; but why should it have surprised you? Of course, I do not agree with you for a moment that Berneri was "moderate at heart" or that he had nothing "positive about him". I considered Berneri the most brilliant mind since Melatesta; among the most courageous, and of extraordinary ability to work with large groups. It was he who organized the Italian anti-fascist column. It was he who managed the supply of food, clothing and arms. It was Berneri who fought with them at every front and raised their spirit when he saw signs of discouragement and pessimism. In other words, Camillo Berneri was one of the finest types of comrades, I have ever come across in the anarchist movement and no sane human being free from hatred and fanaticism could possibly have found reason to kill Berneri. But of course he was uncompromising and relentless with the Communists. Bravely he wrote in his paper pointing out that the revolution was sailing between two dangerous cliffs - Burgos and Moscow. How very prophetic his words the dreadful days of May in Barcelona proved.

I see you are still harping on my offence in my article in "Spain & The World". I can only repeat what I wrote you in my last letter. Only one hunting for heresy in every word could possibly find the least objection to the article. In point of fact I wrote against by better conviction when I tried so hard to defend the comrades who compromised right and left. I saw only too soon that they were leaving the revolution right-and-left to a precipice. I now realize that I should have said so in print. Instead, I defended their actions on the grounds that they had no choice. Yet you go on reiterating that I had criticised them. It is no use going on with this part of your letter.

Your question "what should the C.H.T.-P.A.I. have done with the foodstuffs sent them from Russia. Should they have refused the food and gone home sulkily?" Forgive me comrade when I say these are childish questions. No one had suggested such a thing. What I could not see was why the C.H.T.-P.A.I. in a bargain with Russia should have found it necessary not only to pay in kind but to fairly go on their knees before the Soviet Dely. A bargain is a bargain whether entered into with the capitalist merchant or the monster merchant of the Communist State. Spain should have paid in gold as it actually did, besides 10,000 bottles of the best champagne. But Spain through the C.H.T.-P.A.I. went out of its way to sign the praise of our dear comrade Stalin. Garcia Oliver side by side with the Russian Consul in Barcelona competed with him in proclaiming the glory that was Stalin's. Frankly, I never hoped to live to see such scandalous breach of faith as was demonstrated in the exhibitionism between Oliver and the Consul. Last but not least were the columns of SOLI filled day after day with the paeon song of the Soviet Government. It was sickening, and that is more to the point it was completely unnecessary.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

489

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

Not for one moment have the comrades whom you so "gently" condemn lost sight of the desperate need to accept arms and food from Soviet Russia; but what they objected to was the unnecessary humiliation and lick spittle demonstration to Stalin. Usually they submitted to a noose round their necks. If any one of us had the least doubt about this, the hand Moscow had in the plot against the C.N.T.-P.A.I. has quite convinced of us what we had seen at the time.

You object to criticism because of the menace of fascism and in the same breath you maintain that you consider dictatorship as great a menace. More reason why our comrades in Spain should have refused to have truck with the banner bearers of dictatorship. You must not think, dear comrade, that the comrades outside of Spain do not see the great danger of Franco. They have proved that they are well aware of it by the campaign they have carried on in behalf of the anti-fascist struggle. They have worked day and night. They have held large meetings. They have raised money. In point of truth, they fairly consecrated themselves to the needs of our heroic comrades even though they could not agree with every step the latter had taken. The very fact that they were able to see and yet try to defend, explain and excuse, what seemed so far afield from the revolutionary traditions of the Spanish anarchist movement proves that they realised the eminent danger of Franco and his hordes.

Regarding the Anarchist Conference. You see to think that I have been at the back of the call for it. Let me tell you that I knew nothing about it until I received the call. I admit it fired my imagination to see comrades from all over the world gathered in revolutionary Barcelona. I knew there would be differences, clashes and even useless recriminations. Nevertheless, I considered such a conference of moral importance to the Anarchist movement outside of Spain; but we need not quarrel about it any more. The dastardly plot against the C.N.T.-P.A.I. and the Revolution has done away with the chances of an Anarchist gathering in Spain. I should not feel so grieved if that were all that the plot had accomplished. More terrible is the loss of the strategic position held by the C.N.T.-P.A.I. until 3rd May. I wonder whether you realise now how much the C.N.T.-P.A.I. have lost. Barcelona seems to have been turned into a fortress that makes it impossible to get into it or out of it - all that in the small span of time of six months. What a tragedy! To me the tragedy is all embracing, as deep as the untimely death of our comrade Alexander. My life was then saved by the Spanish revolution. I wanted nothing but to be able to work with the comrades there and to lay down my life if need be. I fought against my going to England because I feared I might never be able to return to Spain. My fears have been realised, at least for the present. I am assured by all sides that I will not be admitted, and even if I were, my life would be in danger. As if there would be any meaning in life, if the Spanish revolution should meet with the same fate as the Russian. Frankly I should not like to survive it; but I still cling, like a drowning man, to a straw that our Spanish comrades will find

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

490

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022049

[Letter 1937 June 10, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, New York? (enclosure)] /
[Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4.
themselves, their old strength, and their old revolutionary vigor. I cannot believe that such heroic people as they, will not conquer in the end. It is for this reason that I am unable to give a final verdict of the part the leaders in the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have played in the recent events. I have received a manuscript giving a detailed account of the day by day fight in May. The conspiracy of the Communists and their re-actionary allies stands out in bold relief. It aimed for nothing less than the crushing of the Revolution and the extermination of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. I cannot imagine what induced Oliver and Montanery to call for a retreat of the fight unless it be that they knew the C.N.T. is after all not so strong as it had pretended to be, and that it would go down in blood bath. As I cannot go to Spain to get the necessary impressions I am not able to form a definite opinion. I can see the irony, however, of the anarchists who stood foremost in the world for direct revolutionary action suddenly turn pacifist in calling to the comrades to stand in peace and order when their enemies were in the process of destroying both. Chendi could not have done better. That part of the manuscript made me want to weep and try as I may I cannot explain it.

Is the war now to continue only to bring back the old regime? If so I see no reason to support it. I have gone to prison for my stand on war and if I changed my position on behalf of the anti-fascist war it was only because I believed passionately that it was for the defence of the Social Revolution. I am not in the least interested in a national war, of democratic liberties to be deceived by them. But as I said I have not yet clarified my own position; but whatever it will be, you need never fear that I will lose faith in the rank and file of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., or that I will refuse to continue to work for them as long as their struggle continues.

There is only one more thing in your letter that I cannot pass. You say that I continued friendly discussions with the Bolshewiki when I already saw the decline of the Revolution. May I inform you that these communists were themselves critical and Frederick some of them subsequently left. I have other comrades who have found it necessary to turn the other cheek, and I certainly will have these talks with them, if I ever go to Spain. For the present it looks very dubious. However I intend to go to Paris very soon. Mail will reach me c/o Mollie Alperine 45 Rue des Volontaires, Paris 10e.

I enclose an article from the New Statesman. It was sent me by my very dear comrade Mollie Steiner. She was right when she wrote that the article is more penetrating of the situation of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. than any of our own comrades have produced. Please send it back.

With my old affections.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726069

[Letter] 1937 June 10 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Stella Churchill. —
1 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

8 Cumberland Terrace
Regent's Park, N.W.1
Wether 8466

23488

10th June, 1937.

Dear Emma,

I am sorry you cannot come to
supper on Sunday night, but you must
ring me up when you return. Did you
ever get a cheque for one guinea from
a Miss Charlesworth? As it hasn't gone
through her passbook I imagine it was
mislaid or lost in the post.

I enclose 10s. from Miss Greig
which I received the other day.

Hoping to see you on your return,

Yours ever,

Stella Churchill

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929399

[Letter] 1937 June 10, Street [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Phyllis Holman. — 1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20572

The Home Orchard,
STREET,
Somerset.

10th. June, 1937

Miss Emma Goldman.

Dear Madam,

Mrs. Clark wishes me to thank you for your letter of June 9th, and for your offer of help in caring for the Bilbao children, and bringing friends to see them.

Unfortunately, because of the typhoid in the Southampton camp, our doctor here has imposed a quarantine period of three weeks from their arrival last Monday, and has forbidden visitors to the Grange. He is anxious that any infection which they may have brought with them should be allowed to die out before the children come into contact with anyone outside the Matron and a small band of helpers.

Would it be possible for you to postpone your visit until the quarantine period has expired? We are very sorry indeed to have to ask you this, but you will, of course, understand our difficulty. We shall be very pleased to show visitors over when we are sure that all danger of infection is at an end.

Yours sincerely,

Phyllis Holman.

Sec: Committee for
Spanish Refugee
Children, Street.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 11 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1937.

CORRESPONDENCE:

EMMA GOLDMAN
and the "DAILY WORKER"

The Editors,
SPAIN AND THE WORLD
Dear Comrades,

In case you have not seen the very kindly tribute paid me in the *Daily Worker* of May 26th I am enclosing the cutting. In view of the ultra fairness of that paper and its insistence upon truth and justice, you will probably be surprised that the tribute was so gentle. I must therefore consider myself in luck. Do you not think so?

When I entered our ranks many years ago I promised myself never to reply to personal attacks. I believed with the great philosopher, Alexander Humboldt, who though violently attacked and maligned all his life, never replied in kind. He held that when one meets filth with filth one is sure to soil one's own garments. My own experience has borne out this truism. I should therefore not take the trouble to answer the attack in the *Daily Worker*, except that I do not want to be guilty of a conscious misrepresentation of any organisation or individual. I am quoted as having said at the Norwich meeting that "not one penny, not one bandage, no relief of any kind has been sent to Catalonia." Unfortunately it should have read "*had* been sent to Catalonia." Anyone who knows the King's English would understand the difference. That is to say, when I said that Catalonia had received no help I spoke of the time of my presence there, and my visits to the Aragon and Huesca fronts. While there, I was assured by our late comrades, Durutti and Ascaso, as well as by the physicians of the Hospitals, that not one bandage or medical supply of any sort had been contributed to their needs. On my return to Barcelona I made it my business to enquire from our comrades of the Comité Regional, and those at the head of the Sanidad (Health Dept.) and in

A

DRAGON'S

ing to the
— and certa
loathsome gen
spittles, and

Whether we
—or refer to
Stalinists or I
life of any en
the same stor
sions and trea

Whatever is
of either side
for Trotsky, I
feather and th
ishly try to c
justice and r
party, are war
with dark af
never underst

Two facts
Trotsky was
hesitate befor
as in Kronst
when Stalin
kills with as

This situati
pathological
this hypocrisy
been drawn
which seeks to
International
in the issues
March 13th 1
p. 330, which
of compromis
unearthed ag
Bakunin's pet
that they had
character of
Marx's unretr

It is really
reassert that
of Bakunin t
the Tsarist /
been abundan
that the Bol
made to make

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 11 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

of any sort had been contributed to their needs. On my return to Barcelona I made it my business to enquire from our comrades of the Comité Regional, and those at the head of the Sanidad (Health Dept.) and in both places the information I received at the fronts was verified. Moreover, I learned that from all the money collected in the United States by labour bodies, ~~not one~~ ^{England, not one} penny had been contributed to the CNT/FAI or the Sanidad in Catalonia.

I am glad to learn that £30,000 has since been contributed to Catalonia's needs and I am surprised at the same time.

I had occasion to be thrown together with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee who were on the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I saw their antagonism and their determination that nothing of their efforts

reassert ~~the~~ ^{the} discredit of Bakunin has ever been found in the Tsarist Archives—and this has been abundantly proved by the efforts that the Bolsheviks themselves have made to make capital out of the revolutionary glory of Bakunin's life and writings.

They published a "governmental edition" of his works by which they helped to interest and placate those people friendly to his ideals, and they even tried—without success—to transport his bones to Moscow, clearly as those of a hero of the Russian Revolution. It is true that several fair and valuable works on Bakunin were pub-

lished. This regrettable weakness has been abundantly proved—and in no case better than that of Bakunin. Even the greatest admirers of Marx, like Franz Mehring, saw through this weakness, and tried to make amends for it. Now the *International Press Correspondence* reinstates Marx in his full glory as a past master in slander, the man who was "absolutely right" when he described Bakunin as a scoundrel. The poor fellow who wrote this nonsense must have trembled in his shoes lest he could not satisfy the Stalinists who held the knout over him—or perhaps he was a joker on the sly! X. X. X.

should go to Catalonia, much less to the CNT/FAI. It took several sessions and no end of argument to convince these ladies of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee that Cata-

lonia is also on the Spanish map and that the CNT/FAI are the most dominant organisations in Catalonia. No, they would have nothing to do with any political party, they claimed. This was absurd on the face of it because the leading spirits in the Spanish Medical Aid Committee are Communists, either direct members of the party or carried away by the glory that is Stalin. They are therefore ultra political and fanatical to the extreme in their zeal to monopolise everything. They simply cannot bear that anyone outside of themselves should have the credit for what is being done in Spain. Especially when it concerns the anarchists and syndicalists.

On more than one occasion I wanted to withdraw from the Spanish Exhibition Committee, in fact I admit I should never have joined it, for I came out of Spain with material as rich as gathered there by other bodies. It was only due to Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose that I remained in an atmosphere with the poison of hatred and antagonism. After weeks of wrangling the delegates of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee kindly consented to my proposition that if any profit should accrue from the Exhibition it should be divided in three parts and sent to the Sanidad of Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao. Unfortunately the expenses of the Exhibition proved so excessive that not only was there no profit left but I believe the Exhibition is still collecting funds to make up the deficit.

Having had this experience with members of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee, I am perfectly justified in doubting their concern in Catalonia and the amount they are supposed to have spent for the needs of that part of Spain. However, I am quite willing to believe this to be true, but also I know from my experience in the United States and in this country that Communist channels are limited to party needs; certainly no group outside of this Holy of Holies has ever benefited by their generosity.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

ST MEETING IN PARIS

Paris Correspondent

The workers will continue to see that their only chance of social freedom is in the CNT and FAI organisations as long as the bourgeois civil war continues.

Pon, of the FAI, said: "The Proletariat of Catalonia will not give up the social conquests it has gained at so great a price." The FAI and the CNT were the only organisations which had not been paralysed by the desertion of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, thinking the danger past, wished to steal back its privileges and therein lay the causes of the events of May 3rd organised by the PSUC.

Cortes, of the CNT, said: "The workers are about to start their own revolution. The 19th July was not a revolution in the sense of the Great French Revolution, but a military uprising against which the workers rose." The Middle Classes, the right-wing of the PSUC, were serving the policy dictated by England, France and Russia to re-establish the bourgeois republic as if nothing had happened since July 19th. The governmental crisis was provoked by Hernandez, who demanded that Caballero should obtain the resignation of Galaiza, Minister of the Interior, as he had not been sufficiently energetic in the campaign for the suppression of the Catalan proletariat after May 4th.

Caballero revolted and said that it was infamous to provoke a political crisis at a time when Bilbao was threatened. Prieto sided with the Communists. "The workers are not beaten, the workers are now about to start their revolution.

"We are not the revolutionaries of yesterday. We are the old guard of the revolution. We remain Anarcho-Syndicalists always and we shall know

how to bear the historic responsibilities dictated by the necessity of the moment."

Lucien Haussard, of the French Youth, said that the international proletariat must assure the safety of the Spanish Revolution. He also said that the CNT Congress had 1,200,000 adherents. On May 3rd, between four and five hundred soldiers were sent by Salas to capture the post office.

The humanity of the Anarchists contrasted with the cruelty of their adversaries — cruelty exemplified in the murders of Berneri, Barbieri, Ferrer. The torturing of the Spanish youth, some of whom had their ears cut off. The sexual organs of one were cut off and hung in his mouth. Sebastian Faure said "We are against all governments, against all parties, against all social rule, which is on the side of authority, which for thousands of years had held authority in human slavery. We wish to crush all idolatry and we will not even support the élite who pretend to be better than we. As for our friends they are filled with such a flame of enthusiasm that they are prepared to make any sacrifices—even the laying down of their lives. They are fighting against the past to prepare a better world for the future."

"Thanks to them, it can be no longer said that the Anarchists are the jabberers who do not know what they want. You have shown that you know what you want and how to bring it about.

"Anarchy is not a barren but a fecund woman! She has already had one child—and if this dies, it will be replaced—and around the cradle, our hearts will be more affectionate, our attentive care more watchful, our guard more effectively set."

Faure was cheered to the echo. Clearly a sign that the workers are tiring of Moscow dictators.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850911038

[Letter] 1937 June 11 [London to] Spain and the World, [London] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 26 x 21 cm.

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

THE WORLD, FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1937.

Aims of the A.S.U.

(Cont. from page 3, col. 5)

after the revolution—to avoid the usurpation of power and the re-establishment of some form of statism. To destroy is easy—but that is only the negative part of the revolution. To construct—that is more difficult. It is the positive part of the revolutionary work; and Anarcho-Syndicalism is concerned to develop the constructive capacity of the proletariat not only its destructive capacity. But even for destruction it is absolutely necessary to know what is wanted and that, too, is the function of Anarcho-Syndicalism.

The A.S.U. is really a propaganda body working at this time to spread the Anarcho-Syndicalist ideology throughout the length and breadth of the country in the hope that industrial syndicates will in due course be established and that they will in turn be synthesised and federated horizontally and vertically along Anarcho-Syndicalist lines. Once these syndicates are formed their immediate purpose would be concerned with improving the conditions of the workers under existing capitalist conditions, but in addition to that and even more important, these syndicates would keep always in mind the main object of their being—namely, to prepare for the complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of a new society.

S.V.C.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

We draw our readers' attention to the fact that our offices are no longer at 207 Goswell Rd., E.C., and that no further correspondence should be sent to us at that address.

Until we find new offices in London, all communications should be addressed to:—

"SPAIN and the WORLD"

Whiteway Colony,
STROUD,
GLOUCESTER.

SOLIDARITY FUND.

Vth List.

Canada, Montreal: L. Martinis 4/-; Providence, R.I.: per S. Cimini on behalf of Gruppo Severino di Giovanni £2/0/10; London: Testo 5/-; Mayo 2/-; Tab. 5/-; New Haven, Conn.: per P. Giacobbi £1/12/4; Newark, N. Jersey: (List No. 39 per Osvaldo) Calabrese 60c., J. Danton \$1; F. Rasioppi 50c.; J. Amorosi 50c.; N. di Domenico \$1; P. Eusebio \$1; M. Petito \$1; J. Piccone 50c.; A. Calvani \$1; J. Contella 50c.; Louis Cosentino \$1; Osvaldo 40c. (Total \$9) — £1/16/0; Detroit, Mich.; Int. Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain (per E. Vivas) £1/4/0; Belfast; H. Compton 5/-; London: P. 5/-; London: List No. 82 per A.R. (T.U. 5/-; E. M. 1/-; J.K. 1/-; Osip 6d.; A. Jarvis 2/6; Anon 2/3)—Total 12/3; Australia, Sydney; F. Carmagnola 15/6; New York, per Ray Randell, £1; London; List No. 81 per W. Farrer—(J. Thomson 2/6, E. Whya 1/-; B. Bloom 2/6; T. Brown 6d.) — 6/6; Bristol: J. Richfield 2/6; Newark, N. Jersey: (List No. 144) Ateneo de Educacion Social 8/-; London: V.R. 5/-; London: Libertarian 5/-; — Total £11/13/11; Previously acknowledged £38/16/1; Total: £50/10/0.

ORPHANS FUND. Vth List.

Previously acknowledged £67/11/0

No.

67. London: E.M. 2/-.
68. Greenock. J. Marletta Jr. 1/6.
69. London: W. 1/-.
70. London: Anon 5/-.
71. London: C.R. 7/-.
72. U.S.A. Springfield: L. Borgo 4/-.
73. U.S.A. Bronx: L. Zanvier £1.
74. Detroit, Mich.: International Libertarian Committee against Fascism in Spain £10/0/0.
75. Detroit, Mich.: Gruppo Cultura Libertaria £1.
76. London: V.R. 5/-.
77. London: Libertarian 5/-.
78. London: G.R.T. 10/-.
79. London: A. D. B. (Collecting Box) 7/8.
80. London: Dick & Barbara 10/-.
81. Bristol: J. Richfield 2/-.
82. Plymouth: Mrs. L. Avery (made up by 60 contribns.) £1/14/2.
83. London: W. 1/-.

A CORRECTION

Dear Comrades,

"Spain and the World,"

The statement of monies received by the CNT-FAI London Bureau in your last issue of June 11th needs some correction: first of all the collection were on behalf of the Evacuated and Homeless women and children in Spain. Secondly the money was contributed in response to my appeals at the various meetings I addressed in London and in the provinces. Also in response to the appeal made by Dr. Stella Churchill at our benefit concert on April 25th at the Victoria Palace. The rest came in contributions, some to Dr. Stella Churchill and the balance to me. Thirdly, the contributions from Palestine were not from comrades but personal friends of mine who though in sympathy with us are not Anarchists. The £20 credited to "anonymous donations" are from the same friends—in other words the full amount from our Palestinian sympathisers was £39. It is very important that anything connected with my work for the CNT-FAI and the unfortunate victims of Fascism should be correctly stated.

Will you be good enough to reprint all the figures and my explanation in your next issue.

Faternally,

Emma Goldman.

1937

Jan: Conway Hall Meeting	57	0	0
Jewish Students Meeting	7	0	0
Feb.: Plymouth Meeting	4	2	9
Glasgow Meeting	27	0	0
Paleley Meeting	3	0	0
Friends House	79	0	0
less I.L.P. share	15	16	4
	63	4	0
Bristol Meeting	100	0	0
March: Neath Meeting	4	0	0
Southend Meeting	2	12	6
Glasgow second meeting (Capt. White)	7	0	0
Mile End Baths Meeting	10	0	0
April: Bristol 2nd Meeting	12	4	0
Plymouth second Meeting	1	10	0
Norwich Meeting	8	8	0
Victoria Palace Concert	201	3	9
Contributions:			
Palestine comrades	19	0	0
N.A.O.P. Plymouth per T. Edmunds	10	0	
Three anonymous donations of £2	4	0	0
Two anonymous donations	20	0	0
H. Lipman	5	0	
Mrs. Jaeger	2	6	

Total £554 2 6

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921007

[Letter] 1937 June 11, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12477

C. N. T.

A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

Paris 11 de Junio de 1937.

A Emma Goldman.
18 Casteltown Road.
West Kensington.
LONDON W-14.

Querida amiga,

Recibida la tuya, junto con otra para el Comité Nacional y una para el camarada Antona. Con lo que respecta a la mía, debo contestarte sin demora y hacerte comprender que no he habido por mi parte ningún retraso ni tan siquiera negligencia para corresponder contigo. Más bien al contrario, he puesto siempre toda mi buena voluntad para tener buenas relaciones contigo, porque lo he creído necesario e indispensable.

Ahora bien, debes de saber que en los días de los acontecimientos, yo me encontraba en Barcelona, como los otros camaradas. Creo hay un error en ti, o quizás el compañero al que yo le entregué el informe amplio de que hablas en tu carta, no supo explicarse debidamente. Dicho informe se lo entregué yo y ha sido redactado por mí de acuerdo con las organizaciones de España.

Puesto que lo has hecho traducir al inglés, me ahorrarías un gran trabajo si me remitías una copia de la traducción, pues tengo el propósito firme, por mandato de la Organización, de publicarlo en dicho idioma en un libro, que en francés aparecerá ya esta misma semana. Te ruego, pues, que me mandes esta copia para evitarme trabajo y a la vez, también, gastos económicos de traducción.

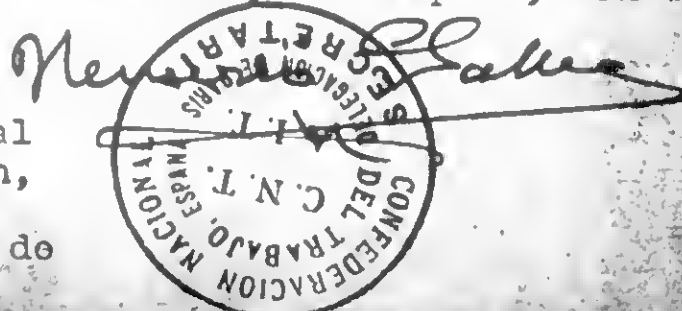
Me satisface encontrar bien el informe, puesto que el mismo responde a los hechos sucedidos en Cataluña, de los cuales fui testigo presencial.

Con lo que respecta a tu venida a Paris, puedes efectuarla cuando mejor te plazca. Yo estoy siempre dispuesto a ayudarte en todo cuanto sea necesario y a darte las explicaciones convenientes para mejor poder coexionar el trabajo. Igualmente trataremos aquí de la manera práctica para que puedas tu llegar a España, puesto que ésta es tu satisfacción.

Nada más por el momento, querida Goldman. En espera de que llegues a ésta para charlar detenidamente de cuanto nos interesa, se despide, con saludos anárquicos, tu amigo y compañero,

NOTA. Me mandas un sobre urgente para una tal Agustina, que yo no conozco ni sé su dirección, ni menos de quien se trata. Explicame en tu próxima correspondencia para quien es, afin de poderle dar curso rapidamente.

Adjunto dos manifiestos.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

497

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726298

[Letter] 1937 June 11, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor. — 2 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23973

TELEPHONE
N° 20225 (THREE LINES)
TELEGRAMS
"TAYSONIA" BRISTOL

COLLEGE GREEN,
BRISTOL, 1.

June 11th 1937

My dear Emma

Margaret is away in Scotland and I am not sure if she will be returning this week. and or not. Shall probably know definitely by tomorrow in which case will try and get in touch with you at your London address as I have a business appointment there tomorrow. We have already done something to ward helping these children and everyone seems very sympathetic and ready to assist. I am very sorry at the state of affairs in Barcelona, it must be a great disappointment to you. The one important thing it seems to me, is to win the war at all costs and try and settle the differences later.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726298

[Letter] 1937 June 11, Bristol [England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest Taylor. — 2 p. ; 22 x 14 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25974
We should both like to meet you on
Sunday if it is possible and will
see what I can do to. Morrow.

This is just to catch the early post

Yours very sincerely

Ernest L. Taylor

I saw Mr Lewis for a few minutes
this week and he explained the present
position.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726059

[Letter] 1937 June 15 [London to] Marion Rosselli, Paris / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

15th June, 1937.

Madame Marion Rosselli,
79, rue Notre Dames des Champs,
Paris.6.

Dear Madame Rosselli,

I know from personal experience how banal messages of condolence sound to those who have sustained an irreparable personal loss. Yet I feel I must write you how deeply affected I was by the tragic death of your husband. His cruel end shocked me terribly. I can imagine what it must mean to you.

It seems so recently since I saw Professor Rosselli every day when I was in Barcelona. It was there that I learned to know and esteem him for his great courage and his complete consecration to the anti-Fascist struggle. At his request I arranged an interview with my comrade D. I. de Santillan who was then at the head of the militia, and so hard worked it was not possible for him to see people in a quiet and undisturbed moment, but he arranged to see Professor Rosselli. The next day your late husband came to tell me that Santillan was impressed by the plan he submitted to him and had promised cooperation and help.

Having been so closely connected with Carlo Rosselli the news of his foul murder and that of his brother came as a great shock and it was the thought of your loss and your sorrow that made me want to tell you of the affection my comrades of the CNT/FAI entertained for your husband and how much we all feel his loss.

The deadly hand of Mussolini is like the deadly hand of the other dictators and it strikes everyone within reach whether in the name of Fascism or the Socialist Republic of Soviet Russia - a point in fact is the murder of my comrade Cayilo Berneri who met with a similar end as your illustrious husband. The only difference is that Berneri was killed by Communists in the dead of night because he dared to point out the danger of Moscow to the Spanish Revolution. Though of different political views, Berneri was a comrade in arms of Professor Rosselli in the anti-Fascist struggle, and the most devoted champion of its cause.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

500

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726059

[Letter] 1937 June 15 [London to] Marion Rosselli, Paris / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23443

2.

One has to put side by side the faces of the two idealists and compare them with that of Stalin and Mussolini to realise the abyss which exists between them. Rosselli and Berneri expressive of their inner light of a vision of a regenerated humanity, the others brutalised by their consuming passion for power and equally consuming hatred of all those who dare to stand in their way. And yet the future belongs to the Rossellis and Berneris - their lives and their death indelibly engraved on the minds and the hearts of all liberty-loving people, their shining example to inspire us all to go on with the battle until Fascism will be eliminated from the earth.

Deep as your sorrow is, dear Madame Rosselli, I know that you will continue the work of your husband and that you will not relax in the task so ardently served by Carlo Rosselli.

With my deepest sympathies.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

501

880726340

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

June-15

Mme E G Colton
c/o Mollie Alperne-23 Rue des Volontaires
Paris XV France.

Love van.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

871005058

[Letter] 1937 June 15, London [to] Emma Goldman, London / K. M. Murphy. — 1 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE

24-27 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C.1

TEL: CHANCERY 7880

Telegram: LINGUAPHONE HOLB

Cable: LINGUAPHONE LONDON

Board of Directors:
LONDON

Branches:
BALDWIN PLACE - E.C.1

15th June, 1937.

DIRECTOR OF STUDIES
LONDON

Miss Emma Goldman,
18, Castletown Rd.,
London,
W.14.

LANGUAGES:
ARABIC
CHINESE
DUTCH
ENGLISH
FRENCH
GERMAN
GREEK
HINDI
ITALIAN
JAPANESE
KOREAN
LATIN
MAGNETO
PERSIAN
PORTUGUESE
RUSSIAN
SPANISH
SWEDISH
SYRIAC
TAMIL
URDU
VIETNAMESE
YIDDISH
ZULU
ETC.

Dear Miss Goldman,

Thank you for returning the Spanish
Conversational Course which you had on loan. I want also
to thank you for your letter of 3rd June.

It is indeed a great pity that you are not
able to devote enough time to learning Spanish as it would
have been very interesting to have heard from you regarding
the result later. We sincerely hope however that when you
have more leisure you will be able to resume your studies.

With many thanks for your letter,

Yours sincerely,

K M Murphy

General Manager.
THE LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE.

KMM/KA.

BRANCHES OF THE LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE IN LONDON

THE ONLY INSTITUTION IN THE WORLD DEVOTED TO THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES BY MEANS OF MAGNETO RECORDING

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726363

[Letter] 1937 June 16, Paris [to] Emm[a] Goldman, London / Mollie [Steimer]. — 3 p.; 30 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Paris----June 16th 1937. 24056

My dear good Emmotchka,

To your letter of June 12th and yours to Rudolf & Millie of the 10th, I can only say this: you do not realize yourself how much you contradict yourself. In one part you are apposed to the attitude of the National Committee of the CNT, in another, you are criticising those who speak their minds openly!

This attitude of an Anarchist: to have one opinion in privat and another in public, is a new appearance in the Anarchist movement. If it were only you, I would say it is your motherly feeling towards your children that prevents you to take a position. But, it isn't only you, it is the same with some of the l e a d i n g members of the CNT (including memebers of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE!!!). I must refrain from giving names, because when they speak to you they say "it is strictly privat", but you can believe me when I say that a part of them are LEADING MEMBERS of the CNT and the N. Com.! One of these comrades said: "I do not agree with the attitude of the National Committee. I have have an opinion of my own which is entirely different from what they are doing. But when the organization takes a decision, even if it is against my opinion, I accept it and defend it officially". Another-one who has a most responsible position in the CNT and N.C. uttered these words: "I am in the OPPOSITION but officially no one must know about it"! This, at a time when he carries on a national and international propaganda in behalf of the official stand adopted by the CNT!!! Say what you will, this may be worthy of a diplomat but never of a sincere revolutionary. Therefore I think that we have a perfect right to put the question: "Is this attitude right and can the Anarchists justify it? Or, are these active comrades right who say: "though we are personally against, we abide by the decision of the organization"?

An organization consists of individuals. These individuals express their opinions and after analysing certain facts, the members of the org. come to a common conclusion which is adapted in the name the Org. For this, Three conditions are necessary:

1. The facts must be seriously analysed. This necessitates open and free discussion.
2. The opinions must be sincere and should be expressed with unlimited liberty.
3. As many members ~~xxx~~ as is possible to reach within a limited time must be consulted when important problems are concerned.

It is a FACT that when the National Committee called for peace at any price during the May Uprising in the name of the organization, the ORGANIZATION WAS NOT CONSULTED, and that the large masses of the CNT-FAI listned in astonishment and confusion!!! The rank and file had the burning desire to continue the fight for our cause. The calls for peace puzzled and discouraged them, ~~but~~ and if they stopped, it is not because they a g r e e d, but because of their infinite faith they had in their leaders. In any event, if they were consulted, they have shown by their action that they preferred to die for the Revolution much rather than for a national war, a bourgeois Republic or be killed in small groups by the Kommunists! Yet, inspite of the fact that the great majority of the CNT-FAI militants are for revolutionary action and not for being at the mercy of the political

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726363

[Letter] 1937 June 16, Paris [to] Emm[a Goldman, London] / Mollie [Steimer]. —
3 p.; 30 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24057

2

parties, it is the small (the very small) group of officials who has its way, who ruins the organizations CNT-FAI morally and materially; and the most tragic part of it is, that: they are doing it in the name of the "organization"!.....

In reality the Montseny's, the Olivers and the Vasquez do NOT represent the CNT-FAI but their personal opinions. Further more, they have stopped being Anarchists, they have become Governmentalists! Hence, those comrades like: Besnard, Shapiro, Volin, Jenson, Albert de Jong, and a l l the organizations belonging to the A.I.T. and Anarchist French Federation, who criticise the attitude of the National Committee of the CNT-FAI, do not ~~represent~~ criticise the organizations, but the l e a d e r s! And I am sorry for those Anarchists who refuse to see the difference. The MILITANTS of these two organizations (CNT-FAI) HAVE AND ALWAYS WILL HAVE THE ADMIRATION AND SOLIDARITY OF THE ANARCHISTS AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS the WORLD OVER, but the National Committee, NEVER. Now, why not say so openly? I thoroughly agree with the representative of the C.G.T.S.R. at the Plenum who said: "By telling the truth openly and frankly we render the greatest service to the Spanish Revolution. By telling our comrades: Halt! Do not ~~let~~ slide any more for you are going to SLIP!" Yes, by telling them that the road they are taking has become too dangerous and they will kill themselves morally and physically, we ~~are~~ helping them much more than those who say: "You have our confidence no matter what you do".

As I am writing these lines P.K. came from Barcelona! For three hours we talked. She says that the militants of the CNT-FAI are eagerly buying the "Friend of the People" paper published by the FRIENDS OF DURRUTI (now expelled from the CNT!) because it is the only paper of the Anarchists where opinions are ~~freely expressed with~~ being censored. That it expresses the sentiment of the rank and file. That the Friends of Durruti are good devoted comrades who have sided because they have an independent opinion!

Now you say the French Anarchist Federation should not have used the words "traitors and cowards" in its declaration. If I understood the french comrades right, they meant that the N.C. betrayed the Revolution not by selling out, but by the lack of faith in its own forces. And the expression ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "cowards" is also meant in the moral sense because the leading members of the C.N. (and Regional) keep on saying "We couldn't make the Revolution alone", in other words: they dare not take the responsibility on themselves. It is this hesitation - which is causing the ruin of the Revolution, the lives of thousands of the active militants of the CNT-FAI - which the french comrades ~~cowardly~~ and unjustifiable. Be- cause the CNT is the strongest and best organized ~~worker's~~ org. in Spain with a membership of 2 million people! Neither the French nor the Russian Revolution had any such an organization when they made their Revolutions. No country in the World had such a REVOLUTIONARY organization and such tremendous possibilities as our Spanish com. had. Yet they failed to make use of these possibilities and preferred to adapt the ~~reformist~~ methods of pure and simple reformists; Bending their heads before Companys, before the Communist Party, before Negrin and before all the counter-revolutionary forces in Spain

505

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726363

[Letter] 1937 June 16, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Mollie [Steimer].—
3 p.; 30 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24058

In this sense, the Anarchist French Federation is right. Our comrades ~~of~~ of the National Committee DID NOT DARE. Doesn't Souhy in report -- which by the way is a terrible indictment against the leaders of the CNT-FAI -- say that: "there is no doubt that they could have been victorious within 24 hours!" But....."they didn't want to!" ???

.....
You say, you could never believe that such devoted revolutionaries as Federica and Oliver or the other comrades in the C.N. who have suffered ~~so~~ so many years of imprisonment and persecution could become traitors to the cause they have preached all their lives.

My dear Emma, at one time, Staline too, was a revolutionary, Staline too, suffered years of imprisonment! And what about Mussolini? Fact is (and I am so sorry that ~~this~~ is a fact!) that the N.C. of the CNT has adapted a political program which is a DESGRACE in the full sense of the word. That they are preparing the ground to go in into the NEGRIN GOVERNMENT! Yes, the Federicas and Olivers who all their lives preached a g a i n s t Government have now become x fervent believers in Government. And you think that they shouldn't be treated as traitors to their ideas? You should have seen the delegates to the Plenum of the A.I.T. -- I mean the Spanish delegates -- they didn't answer ~~any~~ to any of the charges against them. They only kept on jabbering about the possible intervention. Then they brought a "Program" adapted by the CNT -- which you will find in this last number of the "Combat Syndicalist" and they had the synicism to ask of the A.I.T. -- the anti-authoritarian and anti-State International to a p p r o v e this Program! Of course all the delegates from all the countries (and there was wonderful Unanimity) refused to even discuss it! It is published in the "Combat" of June 18th "à titre d'information".....

About the possible intervention. No one seeks to diminish its danger. But why should it be OUR comrades who should make all the sacrifice? Why aren't the Communists and the Socialists taking this into consideration? And how do we know: maybe these ships that stood there wouldn't succeed in much? Weren't there ships in front of Malaga for weeks and weeks yet nothing was accomplished by Franco ~~until~~ and his success came only thanks to the TRAITOR in the Malaga Government? I heard some of the militants (who came here sick and discouraged) say that the rank and file is convinced that they could have carried the struggle to a successful end and that the sailors sent against them would have -- in many cases -- joined the revolutionists like was often the case in Russia (1917--1920) and that they would have ~~had~~ had the support and approval of all the fronts and the majority of the active Spanish proletariat and peasantry. That is, if they would have DARED.

You say "we will discuss these questions when you will be here and that: I "will probably censor you as I do the Spanish comrades". Well, while you want others to be careful in their expressions, you don't seem to be particularly careful about YOUR OWN. For I never censored anybody and never will. I have my opinion about certain events and you have yours; and I have the right to express this opinion even though it does not exactly coincide with yours. But if this is the attitude you take, then I suggest that we should not discuss at all. We all have the facts about the happenings in Spain, and each one of us has the liberty to draw his own conclusions.

*Let us know when you expect to come.
we ~~will~~ embrace you lovingly. Mollie*

506

The Emma Goldman Papers

890317124

[Letter, 19]37 June 17, London [to Max Nettlau, Vienna] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
2 p.; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Nettlau Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.



London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

June 17/37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade
Enclosed is the article
in the New Statesman of May
15th. I know it is not
going to convince you
that "our" minister Radek
brings the Revolution to
a sorry state. Now will
I succeed. For why go on?
I have just learned that
one of our ablest Spanish
comrades Isglas has been
put on trial before the People's
Court as the perpetrator of
the May Revolt. Just like
Stalin with his opposition. It

507

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Max Neillau Archive.

is too small.
You need not be
about my ~~existence~~ ^{existence}
in acting as ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~official~~ ^{representative}
of the D. L. I. representative
the moment I have caught
it and put myself in regard
to a public stand, I will
give up my credentials
that I have not yet come
to a definite attitude should
you see that I do not
act rightly.
I leave you Davis True
C. G.

The Emma Goldman Papers

850517013

[Letter] 1937 June 18, London [to] The New York Times, New York / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Naïve Anarchists

Emma Goldman Writes of Conditions in Spain

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Though far removed from my erstwhile country, I have never lost contact with it. I know pretty much what is going on in the States, by no means only through the American press. And I also know what your paper has been writing of the events in Spain. I cannot say it has always been accurate or friendly. Especially is this true of the uprising in Barcelona in the early days of last month. Since the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have been charged with having caused the uprising, perhaps you will be willing to hear their side.

That anarchism and anarchists have been a target for every sort of calumny from the ignorant as well as those who pose as the banner-bearers of education and culture is nothing new. Of course one does expect more from intelligent people than from those who have never had a chance to learn anything first hand. Though why one should, I do not know. The utter confusion of mind and the insensibility to every wrong since the world slaughter have proved that the educated are far less capable of independent thinking than the masses.

Thinking an Offense

The gravest offense today is independent thinking. A case in point is dictatorship of varied hues. Its defenders are the pseudo-cultured. They justify every crime committed in its name, anarchism and anarchists still adhering to the old-fashioned idea that life without freedom is a monstrous delusion even if "trains run on time" and "our beloved comrade in the Kremlin has made Russia the most comfortable and joyous country in the world." Small wonder anarchism and anarchists should continue to be grossly misrepresented and their struggle distorted beyond belief.

You will no doubt be surprised to find that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain, but that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade," we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly

New Court Plan Viewed As Perilous as Old One

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The amendment proposed by Senator Robinson to the President's court bill should receive condemnation as vigorous as that to which the original bill has been subjected. It differs only in raising somewhat the age limit and reducing the maximum number of justices that may be appointed at any one time, but the coercive effect would be there and the breakdown of an independent judiciary just as great as under the first proposal.

The amendment is a blunt demand that the elder justices yield to the demands of the Executive. It is no less pernicious because the number of the justices requested to resign has been reduced. The evil of the original bill was not that it threatened six justices. On the contrary, it was that it threatened any justices. JACOB J. KAPLAN.
Boston, Mass., July 2, 1937.

Historical Sidelights

Seldom-Recalled Facts About Independence Day

To the Editor of The New York Times:

July 4 we celebrate Independence Day. The Declaration of Independence was signed by the members of the Second Continental Congress, representing the 2,500,000 Americans. All of them, fifty-six, were of Celtic-Saxon lineage. Seven were foreign-born. England gave us two, Wales one, Scotland two, and two came from Ireland. The immortal document was written in seventeen days by the delegate from Virginia, Thomas Jefferson.

Replying to an inquirer who asked where he wrote it, Jefferson wrote from Monticello, Sept. 16, 1825, that it was in a "new brick house, three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlour and bed room ready furnished. In that parlour I wrote habitually, and in it I wrote this paper particularly. The proprietor Graaf, I think, was a German. . . . This house was on the S. W. corner of Market and Seventh Streets." Philadelphia records disclose that this house was owned and occupied at the time by Messrs. Gratz, merchants.

The Philadelphia Boycott

The first decisive step leading to the

That (

The Ev Cri

To the Editor of

In his letter H. R. Tolley Administrative granary scheme its good features its fatal weaknesses are in order.

1. Professor economic in American agriculture is the ideal Wallace versus of State Highway Secretary E world trade surplus food surplus raw capitalism in the United States on us by our would be a standard of

2. Professor scheme wheat and carryovers and since America, violation of double in good cover. Crops carried over Commercial

The fact is system in tury has u and at a Tolley cond as evidence wanted car 1933.

This is an Professor huge and cumulated by but by a namely, the colossal car and a blur trade and these foiled government groups.

3. Professor ary scheme pose, namely he labels name of " us how the by the sim

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 18, London [to] The New York Times, New York / Emma Goldman.— 2 p.; 28 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

that Stalin's crushing hand does not lie heavily only on his own domain, but that it also played its part in the Barcelona events of May.

Knowing the nature of "our beloved comrade," we in Barcelona, at the time when the Soviet Government offered to send arms to Spain, saw only too clearly the price the C. N. T.-F. A. I. (National Confederation of Labor-Anarchist Federation of Iberia) will ultimately have to pay. We warned our Spanish comrades against the sudden show of Stalin's brotherly love after the criminal delay of the most critical three and a half months in the anti-Fascist struggle. But the singular faith of the Spanish anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists in the inner goodness and honesty of man made them scorn the idea that the Communist had and his blind followers could or would play them false.

Trusting Anarchists

I wish I could quote at length from the historic account of the attempt to break the anti-Fascist front, to crush the Spanish revolution and to exterminate the dominant parties in Catalonia—the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. It would show how very naive and trusting the Spanish anarchists are and will probably continue to be. That is their great charm even if it is also a great drawback in dealing with allies who will have it that the highest aim justifies the most reprehensible methods. There is, however, one fact of more than usual significance. It is the change of the leaders of the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia from their tradition of direct revolutionary action to passive resistance.

These anarchists, repeatedly charged with fostering confusion, terror and destruction—these men and women all through the four days of armed attacks—cautioned peace and patience and did their utmost to hold back the pent-up wrath of the rank and file of their organizations. And that, if you please, in the very sight of the mowing down of their comrades by Communist and other reactionary forces. Nevertheless, the misrepresentation goes merrily on.

While I believe that situations in the social struggle may arise that would call for passive resistance rather than direct action, I am not at all sure that the wanton assault on the C. N. T.-F. A. I. by the enemies of the Spanish revolution presented such an emergency. But, whether it did or not, the fact remains that the anarchists and syndicalist leaders and no other party urged loyalty to the anti-Fascist unity and that they called a halt to fratricide.

Politically Free

The outstanding phase of Catalan life that so impressed me during my visit was the political freedom everybody enjoyed. Certainly, as far as it is possible to enjoy such rights under any government and in the face of war and revolution, the freedom all the parties of the anti-Fascist front had was truly extraordinary. This was entirely due to the C. N. T.-F. A. I., numerically and morally the most important party. Headfastly they refused to have any truck with dictatorship. Dictatorship turns everybody into abject slaves.

The present reaction in Spain denotes the danger of dictatorship once more. But also it demonstrates that my comrades were babes in the political woods; that they naively underestimated the perfidity of their enemies.

I suppose I am one of these incorrigibles. I have abiding faith in the resiliency of the Spanish people. Persecution, prison, torture, suppression of their movement, their publications and their works—they overcame everything. They rebounded with new strength and new determination to go on and on until their ideas would triumph. I am certain that this will again happen in the near future despite all plots and connivance to crush them and to undermine the social edifice of the C. N. T.-F. A. I.

EMMA GOLDMAN,
London, June 18, 1937.

particularly. The proprietor Graef, I think, was a German. . . . This house was on the S. W. corner of Market and Seventh Streets. Philadelphia records disclose that this house was owned and occupied at the time by Messrs. Graef, merchants.

The Philadelphia Boycott

The first decisive step leading to the Revolutionary War was the Non-Importation Resolution of 1765, a boycott by the Philadelphia merchants of all imported British goods, in retaliation for unfair taxes imposed by King George III's Ministers. This historic document is now preserved in Independence Hall. Together with the names of 390 Quakers and Episcopalian signers we read the names of Nina Jewe, Bernard and Michael Gratz among them. It was Rebecca Gratz, a descendant, whom Sir Walter Scott, at the suggestion of Washington Irving, chose as a model of fine character and charm for Rebecca of York in his great romance "Ivanhoe."

The bell in the tower of the Pennsylvania State House, where the Congress sat, rang out to celebrate the adoption of Jefferson's declaration. This bell, the Liberty Bell, Jefferson's declaration, and the original Constitution are America's three priceless historic heirlooms.

Voice of Democracy

Encircling the tower of this Liberty Bell runs an inscription, in bronze letters six inches high, "Proclaim liberty throughout the Land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." Leviticus xiv, 10. This excerpt out of the Old Testament has, with the passing years, become, by popular acceptance, the voice of our American democracy.

In 1836 the bell cracked, tolling as the funeral cortege of Chief Justice Marshall passed Independence Hall. The crack runs up from its lower lip, clear across the face. It stops just short of the ancient inscription. The call to liberty is, as it was on July 4, 1776, still intact—a symbol and a prophecy for us in these troublous and challenging times?

JUSTUS HYMAN,
New York, July 1, 1937.

these "volting" government Ho groups.

8. Professor Tolsty's scheme is a pose, namely, to have labels with name of "establishment" to show the price of the simple domestic surplus is rather a naive surplus does. Therefore the surplus from the total prices. Worked out, determine prices.

Unanswered Questions

Professor Tolsty's four ambiguous questions:

1. How many questions would I ask?
2. How long would I ask?
3. When would I ask?
4. What would I ask?

If and when upon this grand are certain to follow.

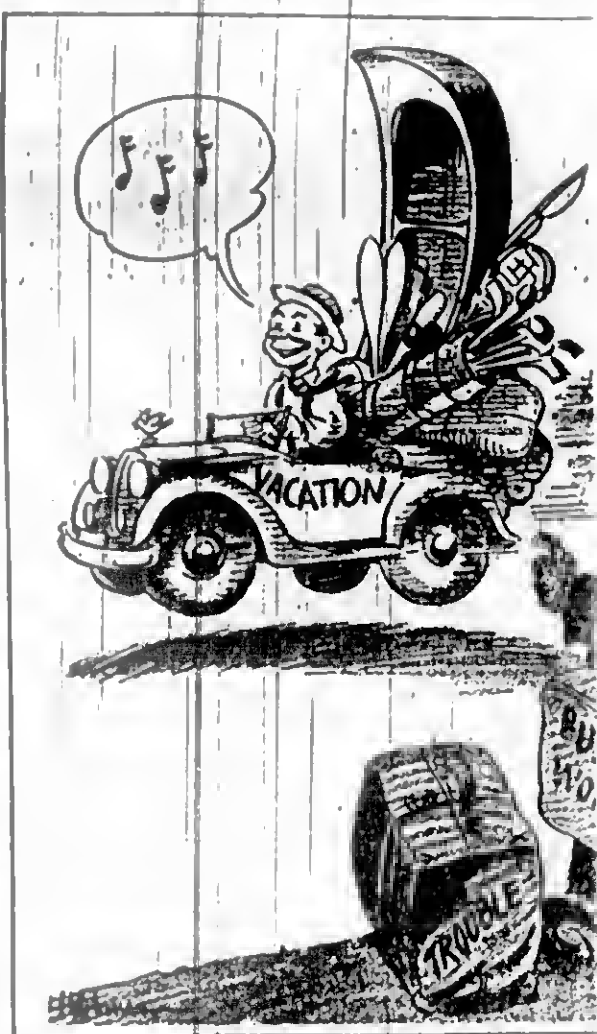
1. It will discontinue.

2. It will not be the former.

In conclusion to cite one story where the needed for any of the price of an I ask Professor the words of preceding Secretary Henry C. Wallace and in which related:

"The history of price seems to be that in attempt of the people in artificially settling people are not change one set of to greater."

Professor Cornell University



Na room for him.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880510030

[Letter] 1937 June 18, London [to] Ben [and] Esther [Laddon, Toronto?] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

Dearest Ben & Esther. This is also intended for you. I just have
C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 18th June, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Ben,

I don't know what you will think of me coming to you for help every time I find myself in a hole. I know that your interest is a great deal more in me than the ideas I represent; perhaps that makes me bold to come to you with my intention of returning to Canada. I did not think I would care to do it so soon. I was so wrapped up in Spanish struggle, in fact I wanted nothing better than to end my last years in Spain and help my comrades in their struggle against Fascism and for a new social life. I have been kept busy since last December raising funds for the hapless and homeless women and children in Spain. While the result is nothing to boast about I have raised \$554 for that purpose. I was to return to Barcelona last month, but the whole picture changed as you will see if you will take the trouble to read the enclosed document which I received from Barcelona sub rosa and have printed since. The reaction seems to be growing from day to day, so much so that it is very doubtful whether I will be able to enter Spain, or if there to remain. Of course there is nothing definite about the Spanish Anarchists; they are marvellous people as they have proven again and again, no matter how defeated they have always come out on top. They may do so again; in that case I would, of course, prefer to return to Spain.

However, things look black for the present and as it is impossible for me to remain inactive it occurred to me that I might resume the work in Canada. I have written to my comrades asking whether they are prepared to raise my expenses. I have also written to personal friends, among them Jeanne and J. Levey. You see I want to use Canada as a possible wedge of getting into the U.S.A. Some friends are working for a visa. I can't say that I am very hopeful about you, but I feel certain that they will not succeed with me so far away. I will have to be near enough to keep at them, or I will never get back. That is another reason why I want to sail for Canada, if possible, in September. Were it only a question of the fare I

not the time to write you separately. with love, Emma

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

C.N.T. A.I.T. F.A.I.

Affectionately,

Emma

[illegible]

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 19 [London to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

June 19th 37.

My beloved children.

Once more I have to delay my departure for Paris. There are so many odds and ends to finish up. After all I have been here six months and though not at all satisfied with what I have achieved it has been an extensive campaign. Its difficult to leave it without attending to a lot of detail. Another reason of my delay is a mass meeting here at which Heinrich Mann, Picasso and other internationally known people will speak on Spain. In case they too will misrepresent our comrades as nearly everybody in the British labor, Trade Union and Communist have I will demand a hearing. I feel it has to be done. I therefore feel I ought to remain the extra two days. The meeting takes place the 24th next Thursday. Friday morning I will leave for Paris on the New Haven Dieppe line. Tuesday I will go for my ticket I will then send you the exact time. I had a very warm letter from the Kaminskis. I am sure they will meet me and take me to then. Naturally I want very much to see you and dearest Senyusha. Perhaps you two will come to the Kaminskis Friday after dinner. Or if Senia is too tired I will come to you Saturday afternoon and remain with you if you will have me. Of course I know you will my darlings. Only I want it to be the easiest for you. I know how Senia works and how worn out he is at the end of the day. So arrange it the best for him. I should like to see your dear face Rollitchka and take you in my arms on my arrival. But it will just be the time when you are busy with dinner for Senia. Please feel free to do as you please. I will understand.

I don't know what to do about Emy. I have not heard from her in six weeks. Eaven only knows why. I do not want to hurt her by not letting her know that I am coming. At the same time I would rather not have her meet my train. I want to ask her to meet me at your place Saturday afternoon. Will that be alright? Drop me a card please.

I inclose a copy of my letter to the Manchester Guardian. I don't know whether it will appear. I was all borken up with the appeal sent to the Plenum of the I.A.A. by the CNT-FAI begging the comrades should not forsake them in their crucial hour. It is heart rending. And the news from Spain, the situation grows more desperate every day. Surely, surely our comrades will not go on in their stupid course. Their whole past speaks against it. I am therefore clinging to the hope that they may again come out on top.

I am lloking forward to seeing you again my own children and to take you to my aching heart. Love.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

513

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029123

[Letter, 19]37 June 19 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4133

June 19th 37.

Dearest Auntie. Your letter from Nice came within two days. ~~My dear~~ You know that I have always admitted that my handwriting is vile. But for one with such a script as yours it is cruelty to animals to complain of mine. It was always difficult to read your writing. But try as I might I cannot decipher yours written in some bar. Well I am looking forward to a real, typewritten letter that will tell me what I have so far been utterly unable to even guess. The main thing is you are having a good time and with the man ~~who~~ have always so admired. I am delighted you have his company and that of the interesting people who come to visit Norman Douglas.

About my coming South. That is still far off. If I can get into Spain I will probably not get to St Tropez until August. And when I do you might come to Nice to see me. Hence means nothing to me except that it holds you. So its alright if you should not be in a position to have me.

Now about the Flat. Here is my arrangements. I am responsible for the July rent which Nellie will share with me as she will the rent for this month. About the 15th of July I may know whether I will have to come back to England or not. If not then Charles will see you agent and ask him to put your Flat up to let furnished if possible, or unfurnished. Naturally I am hoping it can be let for at least three months or for any period furnished. It would give me a chance to get back the cost of the outfit. I really could use some of it. But if not ~~then~~ it will be alright. If your agent can not let the Flat furnished Barr will take everything away outside of your silver and linen. That Nellie will turn over to your sister before she leaves the end of July. I have arranged with Charles that he is to give the Flat a thorough cleaning when Nellie leaves. I hope this is a satisfactory arrangement for you and will meet with your approval.

I cannot make out in your letter who was supposed to pay Winnie for the stairs. All I know is she told me you had been paying her. Naturally I could do no less. So I have been paying her since you left. But I think you ought to write Charles about the matter when I will be gone. By the way, Nellie has arranged with Winnie to come only three times a week. She will pay her accordingly. Winnie is satisfied I suppose she is in desperate need of the few coppers.

I had intended to leave Monday. But I am staying over until Friday. There is a big meeting in Albert Hall arranged by the National Committee for the Basque children. Heinrich Mann, Picasso and other Internationally known people will speak. I am interested to know

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029123

[Letter, 19]37 June 19 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

ABOUT THE COMMUNIST AND THE POUM PEOPLE
The god damned Communists in Spain are doing their Masters bidding
They are blackening the character of the POUM people and the CNT-FAI
as they do their victims in Russia, eight additional men butchered. 4154
I am sending you this weeks SPAIN and the WORLD. It contains a four paged
Supplement ~~ix~~ of a MSS that came to me via Paris. Read it carefully.
Auntie dear and you will see to what depths the Communist will go.
You used to think me obsessed on the question. See if you can wonder
READ the Story carefully.

It is really Stellas fault that I am staying over. She invited
me to come to the meeting. Thursday I was at Stellas so she could go
over all accounts of the Concert which David had audited from Barrs
books and receipts. So thats all right, Now I am only waiting for the
receipts in Valencia. Then James Harrison will take it to the Excise
people to try and rescue the £35 paid in amusement tax. I hope he
succeeds. Stella invited Nellie and me to dinner last night and to
the Ballet. It was a grand treat and quite lifted me out of myself
and the ever present thoughts of my poor people in Spain.

As I said I am definitely leaving Friday the 24th. So
if you can get a moment write me to Paris. Write your agent if you wish
But I am going to see him next week and I will tell him that he will
be notified about whether he is to go ahead to let the Flat furnished o
or without the furniture about the 15th of July and that it will
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ obtainable from August first. That of course if I do not
return to England for a renewed campaign. Everything else will be
looked after by Barr. Dear please be sure to write Charles about
Winnies pay for the stairs.

Nellie sends her love. So does Ethel Mannin
She was here for tea. She just left.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

19 de Junio de 1937.

Mientras sigo sin noticias de vosotros en contestacion a mi carta ultima os envio estas lineas, especialmente porque me estoy preparando para salir de Inglaterra con direccion a Paris. Confio que encontrare algo de vosotros para mi en casa del camarada Galvez, Paris. He preparado una larga relacion de mis actividades durante los ultimos meses en este pais, la cual, el camarada que me ha traducido todas mis cartas para vosotros, se ocupa ahora de traducir. La tendra lista antes de mi partida, de forma que la pueda enviar a vosotros a mi llegada a Paris.

Al ju gar por las noticias que aqui se reciben, no solo se hace
 dificil entrar Espana, sino tambien muy dificil el poder circular por
 ahi. Os agradeceria mucho su pudierais arreglar mi entrada de ~~alguna~~
 alguna manera y tu bien prepare las cosas de forma que pueda entrar en
 valencia.

No os podeis imaginar, lo importante que es que oigais lo que yo tengo que deciros acerca de una mayor y mas intensiva campana de propaganda en Inglaterra y otros paises de habla inglesa. Las calumnias y difamaciones contra la CNT.FAI antes de los sucesos de Mayo ya eran bastante malos. Desde entonces la prensa entera de Inglaterra y por supuesto la hoya comunista han hecho una historia tan desfigurada de los hechos que es imposible desenmascarar esta criminal actuacion. Os incluyo copia de nuestro suplemento, especialmente publicado para demostrar el inicio complot en contra de vosotros y de la Revolucion. Tambien enviamos copias a los periodicos mas importantes de Inglaterra y de America, si bien no estoy seguro si alguno de ellos lo tomara en cuenta. El Manchester Guardian es la unica esperanza que tengo. He escrito al editor explicandole la verdad del complot. Si lo publican os enviare una copia. En cualquier caso, si lo publican, podreis realizar vuestro objetivo de conseguir una consulta con vosotras. Haced el favor, por tanto, de darme vuestras noticias a vuelta de correo.

111

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

516

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921008

[Letter] 1937 June 19 [London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12479

La Independent Labour Party se han hecho cargo de 41 niños del contingente de 4000 que vinieron de Vizcaya. Oreo, según me dicen, que son hijos de militantes en la CNT-FAI. He prometido contribuir cien libras de la suma que he colectado para las mujeres y niños españoles. Espero que vosotros estareis de acuerdo con esta decisión que he tomado. Pero como hay cierta duda acerca del parentesco de los niños, he arreglado con camaradas aquí que saben español que los visiten, después de que sea levantados los días de cuarentena a que han sido sometidos. Es importante que nuestros camaradas hablen con los niños y obtengan de ellos sus pensamientos y reacciones. Una vez hecho esto hare efectiva mi promesa. Los camaradas que hagan la visita me comunicaran el resultado a París y entonces decidire.

Nada mas por ahora. Tan pronto que te va noticias de vosotros en París con indicación de la forma e en que puedo ir España completare mis planes. Por de pronto estoy muy desorientada y no las tengo todas conmigo en lo que toca a la situación en estos momentos de la CNT-FAI y el peligro que los amaga de todas partes. No demoreis vuestra respuesta al cuidado del compañero Gálvez.

Salud.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

517

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921009

[Letter] 1937 June 19 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12480

19 de Junio de 1937.

Querido camarada Galvez:

He pedido a nuestro querido camarada que me hace mis traducciones que te escribiera una linea en contestacion a tu carta del 11 de Junio. Esta carta se la dicte por el telefono y espero que la recibieras.

Por separado te envio nuestro suplemento en ingles, que hemos impreso del manuscrito que me fue enviado por el camarada Augustin Souchy. No se si armoniza con el texto en frances entregado por ti a nuestro camarada cuando estuvo en Paris y que tu explicastes en tu carta habias preparado de acuerdo con las instrucciones "oficiales" que habias recibido. Me parece una perdida de tiempo y de dinero el traducir el texto en frances y publicarlo. Si tu puedes hacer uso del texto en ingles que te envio te mandare mas copias si las precisas.

Te incluyo varias cartas las que te ruego reexpedidas a Barcelona tan pronto como puedas. Una es para nuestra companera Mercedes Camoposada, Mujeres Libres, Plaza de Cataluna, 4, y es muy importante que la reciba cuanto antes. La otra es para Augustin Souchy, y tambien de importancia. Nunca dude un minuto, querido camarada, que tu no eres completamente a prueba de toda eventualidad en la transmision de correspondencia. Supongo sea la falta de los que actuan como portadores de ellas. De cualquier manera, estoy convencida que tu haras lo mejor de tu parte para que los adjuntos lleguen a destino lo mas pronto posible.

He hecho arreglos para salir con destino a Paris el Martes; pero ahora me encuentro con que tengo que estar aqui dos dias mas. Deseo atender un mitin de importancia en esta, en el que tomaran parte Picasso y otros nombres conocidos internacionalmente. Estoy interesada en saber lo que va a decir. En caso de que repotan las mismas calumnias que estan siendo publicadas por la Prensa acerca de la CNT-FAI, pedire que se me conceda la palabra. Luego el viernes por la mañana saldre para Paris.

Ruegote te comuniques con mi amigo el sabado por la mañana entre 11 y 12. El numero del telefono es Etoile 3377 de forma que podamos arreglar cuando podremos vernos. Naturalmente, deseo verte lo antes posible despues de mi llegada.

Fraternamente,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

518

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921010

[Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Mercedes [Comaposada, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12481
London June 20th 37.

My dearest Mercedes. Your letter of the 8th of this month reached me only yesterday. I was going to write you in regard to the inclosed copy of a letter written you by the sect. of an important woman's organisation in this city, THE SIX POINT CLUB. In case it has not reached you the inclosed will tell you that as a result of a conference of women which Monica Whately had arranged for me to address it was decided to send you and the other comrades of Mujeres Libres an invitation to the International Conference in Geneva women from all parts of the world will hold in September. I hope that you and possibly one other comrade will be able to accept the invitation especially as you are asked to come as a guest and your traveling expences are all to be paid. The question will be whether passports will be given you to leave Spain or to enter Switzerland. I think this end the women of the SIX POINT CLUB might help to arrange. The passports from Spain you will have to secure. Judging from the present situation at your end it looks hopeless to me. What a come ~~down~~ down for the CNT-FAI from its heights and importance of six months ago. And all due to our leaders and their wading in the muddy waters of politics. It is heart breaking. Well, if there should be a possibility to attend the conference in Geneva you should accept the invitation. It will of course be very much of a government affair though the English women are going as perfectly independent organisations. But you would have a chance to make a wonderful stand both for the work of ~~Mujeres~~ MUJERES LIBRES and for the struggle of the CNT-FAI. You will also be able to reach women all over the world and get their support. So you see how important it will be to attend the sessions.

I have written Monica Whately to ask if you cannot get out of Spain would I be acceptable as the delegate of ~~Mujeres~~ MUJERES LIBRES and its correspondent. So you see my dear good comrade I have forseen your request in your letter of the 8th to act for you and your group. Indeed I will be happy to represent you and the MUJERES LIBRES GROUP and do my best for you. That goes without saying. So you can send me credentials as soon as you like. The question is whether the SIX POINT CLUB will ~~consent~~ agree to my attending the Conference in Geneva. You must understand that my name is anathema to all governments and all political parties. In fact I am surprised that the S.P.C. should be so liberal to accept me. As I have become a member to be better able to help you. But the other women's organisation may not want it known that E.G. is attending the Conference as a delegate. I will let you know when I hear from Monica Whately.

Now as to your appeal for funds. My dearest I am afraid I can do nothing about it now. I am leaving London for Paris the 25th. I have no way now to reach anybody. As to the money I have raised for the help of women and children under instruction from the National Comite in Valencia I have used more than half for the CNT-FAI campaign in England. I have already ~~promised~~ promised a contribution to the care of the Basque children who are supposed

519

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921010

[Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Mercedes [Comaposada, Barcelona] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12482

to be of CNT-FAI parents. They are being taken care by the Independent Labor Party. Naturally I feel that some money of my collections should go to our children. That will leave very little of the collections which only were 554 pounds. However I will write the comrades in Valencia to ask for permission to contribute to the needs of MUJERES LIBRES. If they consent I will be only too happy to do so. I will let you know when I hear from them.

At the gathering of women which I addressed in May it was also suggested that a general conference of all women's organisations should be called in London in July which I should address. But as the date has not yet been set I cannot possibly sit around here indefinitely. Nor could I afford the expense of returning here for the conference. Fortunately Ethel Mannin a good comrade and a novelist offered to pay my fair to enable me to come back for the conference in July. So I am now writing Miss Whateley that I will attend provided I can make an appeal there for financial aid for MUJERES LIBRES. I will keep you informed from Paris about this and other matters.

By the way Ethel Mannin is writing a book about Spanish women in the Revolution. She needs material. Can you furnish some. Can you let her have as quickly as possible some data on our women comrades who were the pioneers in the revolutionary movement. We had a very important one who was I believe among the martyrs of the Montchuic tortures in 1897. I cannot remember her name. She was still alive in 29. I visited her with Fedrica. Her first name was I think Therese. Can you get some data about her and any other woman forerunner of your group and your ideas? I confess I am impatient with Montseny for her political manoeuvres still she has played a great part in emancipating work. Will you interview her about it and write me. It must be done quickly my dear because Ethel Mannin wants to finish her book at the end of August. We simply must ~~xxxxxx~~ help her. Do not send material by post. Send it by courier for me either c/o Mollie or Galve who represents the CNT in Paris 30 rue Saint Augustine. And also write me via this route.

I am writing Monica Whateley to day asking if she could not raise some money for your group among the members of the S.P.C. I know she will try. But I am not sure she will succeed. I will let you know of course.

Send me credentials. Make them out as follows
Emma Goldman (Mrs E.G. Colton)

With devoted love.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

520

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921011

[Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12463

June 20th 37.

Dear Augustine. I hope you received my letter which I wrote in answer to yours of May 29th. I sent it via Paris and Galve. In as much as it took your letter two weeks to reach me and came censored as well I think it useless to write you by the regular route. I am sure Galve got my letter to you much quicker. No sooner had I sent off my reply when yours dated the 31st of May arrived with a copy of your article you asked me to place in some "sympathetic" paper. In the first place we have no such papers except the Manchester Guardian which does take a letter from me occasionally, but will not take such articles. In the second place I had already received a minute record of the May events which SPAIN AND THE WORLD printed at my suggestion in a Supplement of the paper. Surely you must have gotten some copies as it was certainly sent to you. I have written a letter to the Guardian copy of which I inclose and I have sent the Supplement to the editor. I am not sure the Guardian will bring it nor whether the editor will comment on the record. One tries and tries. But one thing is certain there is no paper in England or America outside of the Guardian sympathetic with our side of the May plot. You should know this by this time. In case the Manchester Guardian should print my letter perhaps the Soli or Tierra will translate it provided the comrades do not think it treason to refer to them as babes in the woods. They are certainly that or they would not make such many mistakes. Well, it does not matter if my letter is refused by our own press in Spain. I only want to help them in the best way I know how.

I was amused at your request to come to Spain and bring Barr along. Why did you not also suggest how this can be carried out? Or do you too live in a fools paradise. Do you not know the tragic change that has taken place in Spain and that the CNT, much less the FA, no longer have anything to say? It is a sad come down in six months.

I leave for Paris ~~in~~ Friday. From now on until further notice write me c/o Galve or Hollie. Please see that the inclosed to Mercedes is delivered without loss of time. It is most important.

Affectionately

The Emma Goldman Papers

870216035

[Letter, 19]37 June 20 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6335

June 20th 37.

Dear Monica Whately.

Yesterday I had a letter from my friend Mercedes Compadre —
Guillon. She writes a desperate plea for material help for MUJERES
LIBRES and the work of her group. The frightful cost of the war and
the care of the hundreds of thousands of evacuated and homeless
women have been sapping the National Confederation of ~~Workers~~ Labour
to the extent that they can not afford to support the brave women who
in the midst of all the horror still feel the need of continuing
no matter at what hardship. The Central government has unfortunately
not done anything for Catalonia, not even a loan of 150 million
pesetas to build up the Catalan social economy. The results is that
every avenue had to be strained to keep going. Needless to say the
work of the ~~free~~ women for the emancipation of their sex is considered
of secondary importance except by the MUJERES LIBRES group itself.
Can you think of any way of raising some funds for this purpose?
If not do you think an appeal could be made to the conference you have
in mind for July? I am glad to let you know that a friend of mine
offered to pay my fare back to London from Paris for the conference.
Unless I succeed in getting back to Spain I should be only too happy to
come back to London. Will you please keep me informed when the
conference will take place.

Perhaps you will find a moment to call me up
tomorrow or Tuesday. I leave for Paris Friday.

Please remember me most kindly to Dr Foor.

Cordially

I don't know whether any appeal to individual women would be in place
if only fifty pounds were raised it would be of very considerable
help to the group of women in Barcelona who have both prejudice and
poverty against them in addition to a frightful war and a revolution
to meet. Do let me know.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

522

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726347

[Letter] 1937 June 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. —
2 p. ; 35 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE SIX POINT GROUP

24041

Telephone No.
HOUNTVIEW 1717

31. BROOKFIELD.

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.6.

Vice-Presidents.

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.
LADY BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH
MISS VERA BRITTAIN
CAPTAIN CAZALOT, M.P.
LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER
PROP. WINIFRED CULLIS, C.B.E.
MISS CLEMENCE DANK
ALDERMAN A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

MISS AGNES DAWSON, J.P. L.C.C.
MRS. BRUCE DICK
MR. ISAAC FOOT
MISS CECILY HAMILTON
MR. E. L. MALLALIEU, M.P.
MISS WINIFRED MAYO
MISS EVA MOORE
MRS. FRANK OOLIVY

MRS. JAMES O'HEA, C.B.E.
VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA
SYBIL VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA, D.B.E.
DAME ETHEL SMYTH, D.B.E., M.B. DOG.
LORD STRABOLGI
DR. JANE WALKER, M.D., J.P.
MRS. CHALMERS WATSON, C.B.E.
MRS. MARGARET WINTRINGHAM, J.P.

Executive Committee.

Chairman: BETTY ARCHDALE

FLORA DRUMMOND
DOROTHY E. EVANS
MARION GRAHAM
MARY GREW
MILDRED HAY
ELSIE CLIFFORD JONES
GERTRUDE LIEBEN

CLAIRE MADDEN
ELSIE MAITLAND
CHARLOTTE A. L. MARSH
ANNA MEHTA
MONICA WHATELY
LOTTE WHYTE

Hon. Auditor: MISS L. M. HARRIS, A.C.A.

Hon. Solicitor: MRS. CROFTS, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS E. M. HAY

Chairman Nationality Committee: MISS D. E. EVANS

.. Social .. MISS E. MAITLAND

Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY,
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

21st June, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

Very many thanks for your letter of 20th instant. First of all it is not at all certain whether the Six Point Group will decide to call a Conference, though it will be brought before their next Executive Committee. I think they will probably favour the idea of assisting the Spanish women to come over to Geneva.

I do not think that a Conference in Spain would be at all feasible at the present time nor do I think it would be right to ask people to go over there and eat up the food so badly needed by the Spanish people, and become a responsibility on the Spanish Government when all their thoughts must be focussed on getting the enemy out of their country. Bringing the women to Geneva would enable them to make those international contacts which they could get in no other way. It would then be possible to discuss the possibility of a Conference at a later date, though frankly I do not see that we can do anything very much until the war is over. If Franco wins, the rights of the Spanish women will be taken away in the same way that the dictators have taken away the rights of the women of Germany and Italy.

Frankly I think it would be quite impossible for my Group to organise an appeal for another society unless we were quite convinced that that society was working along the lines which are covered by the policy of the Group, and that it why I suggested that we might be able to raise the money to bring the women to Geneva where they could work with us to obtain support of the Equal Rights Treaty, the chief article of which reads:-

"The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdiction."

You see, I have a certain amount of difficulty which you will appreciate when I tell you that our Group contains men and women of all political views but who co-operate on this one question of equality. I have to be exceedingly careful to see that no one shall say that I am using the Group for any Party political object and internationally I feel sure that we are a much more valuable organisation in that we have extreme Tories, like Lady Astor, Liberals like Mrs. Wintringham working side by side with those of us who are Socialists or even Communists.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726347

[Letter] 1937 June 21, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. —
2 p. ; 35 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

24042

So that if I cannot help you in the way that you suggest, you will, I feel sure, realise that it is not lack of interest in the magnificent work you are doing, nor apathy for the magnificent fight being put up by the Spanish women, but that my hands are tied directly I attempt to use my organisation for any object other than that for which it was formed.

If the Spanish women are not able to come over to Geneva, I feel sure that we should be delighted to welcome you as their representative, and your linguistic powers would be tremendously valuable in interviewing representatives of different countries in support of the Treaty.

With my very kindest remembrances.

Sincerely yours,

Monica Whately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010214

[Letter, 19]37 June 21, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
2 p.; 25 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

V., June 21, 37. 25174
Dear P. Mrs. P. C., Thanks for the cutting
(New Statesman — May 15) which I return.
It is a product of the professional
laziness and assumption of superiority
by American journalists who have no
possible idea of the subjects which they
discuss. But they know to go to the
cheapest market, that is to the intriguers
who wish to spread their venom by such
means, in this case to the unspeakable
Nin and Doum and they sneer at the
weaker, the anarchists inevitably. In the
last paragraph he is ashamed of himself
to some slight degree and proclaims that
Franco also is confronted by problems,
but that does not undo the harm he
did. The anarchist with a bolshevist
mentality and methods, Nin's and his
ideal — is ~~as~~ very much more a lie as
the "wild irresponsible boozigan". It is
exactly this which the anarchists
did not become nor wish ever to
become in July and ever since — and
that which Nin-Doum-Batalla
egged everybody on to become since the
first hour. Then the other side
came, Rose whom I detest so much, as
I know, and egged on the anarchists
to be absolute destructionists and
fools — and between these two friends
stood and stand the reasonable and
sensible anarchists and did and do

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010214

[Letter, 19]37 June 21, V[ienna to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / M[ax] N[ettlau]. —
2 p.; 25 x 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

what they could, what was and is
humanly possible. Francisco²⁵¹⁷
Togleaf is the type of them, and
if you still feel any ties of solidarity
with them, as expressed by your accepted
mandate, do help to make the fools
in Paris and elsewhere stop their jawing
so as not to ruin such and other
victims altogether. They can only do
harm and no good by whatever they
do or say. You see how easy it was
for Nih to poison a well-meaning paper
as I take the New Statesman to be by
means of this American journalist
who bores the Idum and makes the
Marxists look fools. — We must
take it now as a fact that Russia-
Germany-Italy-Japan will stick
together to raid and loot the rest of
the world. Stalin and Trotsky are
the grips of one pair of tongs and
the three others suck the blood of the world
on their side. They may quarrel later,
first they wish to grasp and plunder.
In this situation we must use
commonsense and send the intriguers,
doctrinaires and fools to hell. The
years 1918-36 were ruined by that
pro-bolshevik tenderness which you know.
Things are infinitely more serious
now — it is our last chance. Internationally
M.N.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925363

[Letter] 1937 June 21 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 1 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Monday June 21st 1937

17000

Dearest Emma,

I thought you would perhaps like to see the contents list of my book on Women and the Revolution. I am so very glad you will accept the dedication, and so grateful for your promise to get me some material from Spain; I do very much want to cover what is being done there - and what would have been accomplished had the revolution been allowed to come to fruition.

I'd like to include something about the woman's movement in America, too; I don't want to bother you now, but sometime when we are having a quiet chat... perhaps over a glass of something in a cafe in Paris! A Negro friend of mine, Griffiths, who lives with George Padmore, said something about Brookwood College, and a woman you would be sure to know, but I forget the name. I'll get it.

I'm sad that you're going, Emma, and sad that all the time you've been here I've been so 'book-bound', first finishing that long and difficult book on adolescence, and then right on top of it starting this book for Warburg and Secker. I wish that I had been free, to be more of a comrade helping you with the things we both care about, and more of a friend to do little things for you to help you relax. But between my inadequacy on the platform and my work-preoccupation I feel I've fallen short both as political comrade and as loving friend, ... yet you know that I am devoutly both. One needs to be not one person but several, as you may have discovered, though perhaps you've lived more single-purposedly than I have. I sometimes think I should be a writer and nothing more; but there's this anger that blazes in one, and the fight and the dream that go with it ... and for me all the time, tearing at me, are the demands of a young daughter, and of a 'husband'. (Before Reg there was the storm of my unhappy Paris life; it's easier now all that's over, but even the gentlest of people make their demands of one, and if one loves there's the need to give some part of oneself, emotionally and mentally as well as physically; I feel you know all this, my dear. You have known great love and great pain and bitter disappointment - and there's no peace for people with the revolutionary flame in them, not whilst life lasts)

I want to come and see you off, Emma, and will if you will let me know the train and time, and I want to come and see you in Paris, and will - if you'll let me know where you get to.

The disappointment over Spain is so bitter; it leaves one empty, with nothing to say. I intend trying to expose the Salvation bloody Army; I hear now that they inflict corporal punishment on the unfortunate children in the name of 'discipline'...

Too tired and sad to write more, dear Emma, but this letter comes to you with my love and my utmost devotion.
Don't let's lose touch.

Ethel

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509016

[Letter] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to] Emma Goldman, London / Comité Nacional, [CNT-FAI]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

21 de junio del 1937

Emma Goldman
18 Castletown Road.
West Kensington
London, W 14

Estimada compañera:

De acuerdo con la tuya del 10 de los corrientes, hemos de manifestarte que nos parece erróneo el concepto que sobre nosotros tienen los compañeros de Inglaterra y otras naciones que no son Inglaterra. La lucha y la tragedia del pueblo español, la vivimos nosotros, de acuerdo a ella, trabajamos y actuamos, sin importarnos nada lo que otros compañeros, alejados del terreno donde la lucha se está desarrollando con criterio y un pensamiento muy del siglo pasado, que desde luego, no encuadran en nuestros días, puedan tener.

Si en realidad, de verdad los que se dicen revolucionarios, desearan ayudar a la España antifascista, se dedicarían en vez de a la crítica que a ningún fin práctico de conductas, hace: labor efectiva, práctica entre la clase trabajadora de otros países para interesarles en la defensa del pueblo, y de las libertades de España, que son las libertades del mundo.

Esto es lo que hay que hacer, lo demás son cuantos y en ellos no podemos ni estamos dispuestos a creer.

Y nada más, somos mayores de edad, sabemos lo que tenemos que hacer, y no admitimos la crítica venga ella de donde venga.

Te adjuntamos los recibos que nos pides y redactados en las condiciones que señalas.

Fraternamente tuyos

Por el Comité Nacional
Sección Información y Propaganda.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509019

[Receipt] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

21 de junio de 1937

Received from the Committee to AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN, per E.G. Colton, London, Hon. Secretary, the sum of 201.3.9, derived from the Concert held in Victoria Palace, London, April 25 th, 1937.

Por el Comité Nacional
Sección Información y Propaganda.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880509018

[Receipt] 1937 June 21 [Valencia, Spain to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / [Comité Nacional, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Salamanca, Spain. Institutional Location: Newspaper Library or the Sección Guerra Civil, Sección Político-Social.

21 de junio de 1937

Recibido del Comité para la ayuda de los niños y mujeres
desamparados españoles, Secretaria E. G. Colton, Londres, la
suma de 201.3.9, recaudadas en el concierto dado en el Teatro
Victoria Palace, Londres, el 25 de Abril de 1937.

Por el Comité Nacional
Sección Información y Propaganda.

530

The Emma Goldman Papers

840306080

[Letter] 1937 June 22, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 22nd June, 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Arthur,

I wrote you a little while ago. I am writing again in behalf of a friend of mine who is trying to dispose of Tolstoy manuscripts. You will see by her enclosed circular what they are. I suggested to her that you may know manuscript collectors and that you may be able to interest them in the sale. I can assure you that you would do a great deed because my friend ~~xxx~~ is much of an invalid and yet forced to labour every day to make ends meet. She is a woman of great culture, a linguist and altogether very worthy of any help we can give her. I have come so often to you, my dear, that I debated with myself whether I should also come in this case, but I know no one in America so willing to help and also in a position to contact all sorts of people. That is why I am writing you. Should you be able to act as the representative of my friend whose name, by the way, is Madame Doris Zhook, please get in touch with her direct at 12 Hillside Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex. Or you can write me to my Paris address: care of Mme Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des volontaires, Paris, 15. I am going there on this Friday. I don't know for how long, but my mail will be forwarded.

I am sending you a copy of a document which I had printed in the city for distribution about the events last May in Barcelona. You will see how far reaching and how deadly is the hand of Stalin. Only six months ago Catalonia enjoyed political freedom and was filled with hope of a new social order begun on the 19th July. To-day reaction reigns supreme, and the great achievements of my heroic comrades is already partly undermined. It is true that the machinations of Stalin do not represent the only source of collapse in Spain; my own comrades have contributed considerably towards this. The leaders in the CNT and the FAI, by entering the ministries and making concessions to the demands of the Soviet government, have proven once more the truth of the anarchist contention that governments and politics are disastrous. I am glad to say that this applies only to the leaders and not to the rank and file in the CNT-FAI. You can imagine that I am not very happy over the present situation in Spain. I do not even know whether I will be able to enter there again.

531

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 22, London [to] Arthur [Leonard Ross, New York] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

Life in general is so uncertain to-day that one should not lose heart over all the shocks that come like bolts from a clear sky. I try to face them hard as it is, but I often feel the futility of it all.

I am trying once more to get back to America though I have no more hopes^{of} that than of returning to Spain. However I have written Roger to make an effort for a visa. I wonder if you will see him and talk the situation over with him. I feel that I will never get anything done in the matter unless I am near enough to pester my friends. I have therefore decided to go to Canada where I shall be closer to you all and perhaps help with my nearness to move Washington. Write me to Paris, please. Care of Mme. Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des Volontaires, Paris, 15.

Love to the family,

Affectionately,

Emma.

P.S. Will have to send you the document with the next sailing. I have none left just now.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726348

[Letter] 1937 June 22 [London to] Monica Whately, [London] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p.; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24043

22nd June, 1937.

Dear Monica Whately,

Thank you for your letter and your explanation of your position in the Six Point Group. I understand perfectly that you cannot go out of its range. I appreciate more than I can express the interest you have already shown and the willingness to help Spain and the Spanish women as far as it is in your power. Thank you very much.

You are quite right, an International Conference in Spain is out of the question now and you are right that the presence of my friends at your Conference in Geneva would be of great benefit to them and to their work for their sex. I will try hard to persuade them to attend. Indeed I know that they will be very happy to do so; it will depend however on whether they can get passports and will be admitted in Switzerland. The whole world has become one big prison. It boggles its protestors within and without; it is therefore very hard to move about in the world but one must try. I know that my Spanish women friends will leave nothing undone to avail themselves of your generous offer of hospitality.

Thank you very much for suggesting that I would be accepted as the representative of the Mujeres Liberas group. Should the latter not succeed in being present at the Conference I will try my best to take their place. Please don't over-estimate my inefficient linguistic powers. True, I do speak outside of my own language, which is English, Russian, German and French - the latter rather haltingly, but I will be glad to be of help in any way possible.

With kindest greetings to you and Dr. Foot,

P.S. I leave Friday for Paris where my address will be c/o Mme Mollie Alperine, 23 rue des volontaires, Paris, 15.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

533

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929124

[Letter] 1937 June 22, Manchester [England to] Emma Goldman, [London] / The Manchester Guardian. — 1 p. ; 24 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

TELEPHONE:
BLACKBURN 2345
TELEGRAM:
GUARDIAN MANCHESTER

LONDON OFFICE
45, FLEET STREET
E.C.4

The Manchester Guardian

PROPRIETORS THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND EVENING NEWS LTD.

GUARDIAN BUILDING
MANCHESTER

RJP/HW

22 June 1937

Dear Madam,

We are much obliged by your letter and enclosure and are glad to have the information they contain. We do not think it would be advisable to include your letter in our correspondence columns as it would probably start a fruitless controversy, but we are filing it and the supplement to "Spain and the World" for reference.

Yours very truly,

for the Editor,

G.H.

Miss Emma Goldman.

534

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519593

[Letter, 19]37 June 23, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Dearest Ethel. London June 23/37
 you can not imagine how
 much your letter meant to me.
 I have longed so much for
 loving friendship. You saw
 I had no response to my letter.
 I suppose I was a bit out
 that I have hated you lately
 so much. He kept a place
 in England. In the old days
 I have been coming here &
 tried and tried to make
 friends. I have no friends.
 Some have been kind to
 me. But I have not
 any. You said so little of me
 and I have known since
 that you were. I have always
 been changing. But I have
 I feel very lonely and
 miserable. I have been
 and I have the same feeling
 with everyone including
 you. I have tried.
 You are the only one who

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

535

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519593

[Letter, 19]37 June 23, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

free work and at ease. I have
open in your case I believe
it was all common sense and
saying and the revolution and
struggle that held us together.
I never dreamed you felt
anything more for me.
I wish you could learn all
social things. I am so glad
so very glad you do, and
that all my searching for a
year being contact has not
been in vain.

My dearest I would have
liked to have seen you
at the Paris. But it is not so
in this week. I am sure
my pay for the work - I am
sure I would have been
high. So much so I could
have got an my best work
the grade is made because
in my mind. I am a worker.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

536

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

[illegible]

537

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 23, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 8 p. ; 28 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

[illegible]

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Enima Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

[illegible]

539

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

many more than she painted
by no means, very adequately
the greatest woman realist
economist, Francis had
produced was economic
philosophy. I have, a long time
ago, written a good deal on
my side. I do not call it
your work. I have a little
written in the economic
philosophy and in the
economy all
which is impossible to do.
I have written a good deal
on my side - the economic
philosophy and the economic
philosophy. In a damned name
that I have had a long
an material philosophy, economic
all these subjects. I have a good
thing I have written of the
Christian philosophy and the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

The pleasure of having
 been an equal right to a
 name - known as known as
 I don't know what
 the recent history of
 the state of Kansas, which
 is a member right
 subject to land in the
 specified a more specific
 and the road which
 around the river it is
 the same as the road
 the all right to the
 Missouri Territory. The
 agreed, and the same
 the regulated cooperation
 of conduct in the
 if I can not get to
 and the road will be
 such a great a gain I would
 please you come in to
 of the state. I could appear
 my presence and you will
 know I have all the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519593

[Letter, 19]37 June 23, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. —
8 p. ; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox
and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

you are writing and mean
while I am sick. But I
can't see a table to
write on. I am so
weak. When can you come?
I love me. You come.

Thank you my dear
for your long letter
to me. My loving and
caring heart.

Emma.

I hope you can read
my small scribble. I cannot
use my typewriter, my long
prayed up neck, throat,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

542

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921012

[Letter] 1937 June 23 [London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12484

23 de Junio de 1937.

Querido camarada Galvez: Salud.

Estaba ansiando que llegara el sabado para hacerte mi anunciada visita. Desgraciadamente no me sera ahora salir el viernes debido a haber sufrido una caída con motivo de la cual me he leccionado una rodilla de tal forma de parezco un soldado herido si haber estado en el frente. Tal vez pueda estar en condiciones de caminar otra vez para principios de la semana entrante, si bien no estoy segura de ello.

Como no quire demorar por mas tiempo el envio de mi informe para la CNT-FAI, te lo incluyo con la presente para que me hagas el favor de enviarlo a Valencia. Esto desde luego por conducto de algun camarada seguro. No por correo. Acompaño una copia al carbon de este informe para que tu te enteres de su contenido. Despues te arradecere lo envies al Comite Regional, pues despues de todo yo vine al principio como delegada de ellos y creo justo que sepan de mis actividades aqui. Al mismo tiempo te ruego les envies mis fraternales saludos.

Si recibes correspondencia para mi, la puedes reexpedir aqui, hasta que este en condiciones de ir a Paris.

Querido camarada ¿Has recibido algunas noticias acerca de las condiciones en Barcelona aparte de las que publica la prensa? Aqui esta una completamente aislada y tengo mucho interes por conocer la posicion actual de la CNT-FAI.

Fraternamente,

The Emma Goldman Papers

900625025

[Letter] 1937 June 24, London [to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 1 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London ²⁴ de Junio de 1937.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Queridos camaradas: Salud.

Tenia intencionado salir para Paris el próximo viernes. Desgraciadamente he sufrido un pequeño accidente, que me ha lesionado una rodilla, por lo que no puedo moverme. Espero estar bien a principios de la semana entrante cuando saldré para Paris. Mientras tanto os envío con la presente una nota del trabajo realizado por mí aquí desde diciembre del año pasado. Además de esta relación, deseo decir que varias cosas fueron realizadas que estimo de gran valor. Una es la tirada del recto de lo trágicos sucesos de Mayo, el cual ha sido publicado en un suplemento especial de SPAIN AND THE WORLD. 250 ejemplares fueron enviados a secciones del Partido Independiente Obrero y una copia a cada diario de Londres y los periódicos importantes de Nueva York, Chicago, Saint Louis y Toronto, Canada. Por supuesto que esto no es garantía que los diarios hagan algún comentario sobre el asunto, pero al menos estarán enterados del complot tramado contra la CNT-FAI.

También he escrito una carta acerca de la lucha en España al Manchester Guardian y cartas similares a los diarios en las ciudades antes citadas. El Manchester Guardian ha rehusado publicar mi artículo con la excusa de que sería causa de muchas controversias. Le pediré al camarada que me ha ayudado tanto con las traducciones, que lo traduzca y luego os lo enviare. Si lo encontráis interesante podrías hacerlo publicar en Fragua Social.

Estoy esperando contestación a mi carta de hace dos semanas y también por los recibos sobre £201.5.9, que os tengo interesados.

Enviad vuestra contestación al cuidado de Ualves en Paris.

Fraternalmente,

Emma Goldman

P.S. Dentro de unos cuantos días os enviare un detalle de las sumas recaudadas en las colectas y los gastos habidos.

544

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921013

[Letter] 1937 June 2[4 London to Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12485

23 de Junio de 1937.

Queridos camaradas: Salud.

Tenia intencionado salir para Paris el proximo viernes. Desgraciadamente te he sufrido un pequeno accidente, que me ha leccionado una rodilla, por lo que no puedo moverme. Espero estar bien a principios de la semana entrante cuando saldre para Paris. Mientras tanto os envio con la presente una nota del trabajo realizado por mi aqui desde diciembre del ano pasado. Ademas de esta relacion, deseo decir que varias cosas fueron realizadas que estimo de gran valor. Una es la tirada del recto de lo tragicos sucesos de Mayo, el cual ha sido publicado en un suplemento especial de SPAIN AND THE WORLD. 250 ejemplares fueron enviados a secciones del Partido Independiente Obrero y una copia a cada diario de Londres y los periodicos importantes de Nueva York, Chicago, Saint Louis y Toronto, Canada. Por supuesto que esto no es garantia que los diarios hagan algun comentario sobre el asunto, pero al menos estara enterado del complot tramado contra la CNT-FAI.

Tambien he escrito una carta acerca de la lucha en Espana al Manchester Guardian y cartas similares a los diarios en las ciudades antes citadas. El Manchester Guardian ha rehusado publicar mi articulo con la excusa de que seria causa de muchas controversias. Le pedire al camarada que me ha ayudado tanto con las traducciones, que lo traduzca y luego os lo enviare. Si lo encontras interesante podrias hacerlo publicar en Traves Social.

Estoy esperando contestacion a mi carta de hace dos semanas y tambien por los recibos sobre £201.5.9, que os tengo interesados.

Enviad vuestra contestacion al cuidado de Gálvez en Paris.

Fraternalmente,

P.S. Dentro de unos cuantos dias os enviare un detalle de las sumas recaudadas en las colectas y los gastos habidos.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

545

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305865

[Letter, 19]37 June 24, London [to] Doris [Zhok, Edgware? England?] / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

London

June 24/37

X

Dear Doris

Thank you for your note and the translations! Yes to know how hard you work & your physical handicaps. That's why I appreciate your help. Besides work and comrades in Spain periodically fighting and trying what we do seems small in comparison.

Dear, I wrote my friend Arthur Leonard Ross at One Cedar St New York and, asked him to see some MSS collected, who would be interested in them. I included him with the letter. I asked him to write me. I included your address. Now to something else not so tragic as painful. Tuesday when

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

546

The Emma Goldman Papers

840305865

[Letter, 1937 June 24, London [to] Doris [Zhook, Edgware? England?] / Emma [Goldman]. - 2 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Tamiment Library, New York University.

NOTICE: This material may be protected by copyright law (Title 17 U.S. Code). THIS COPY IS FOR PERSONAL USE ONLY. No part may be sold, loaned, copied or published without the express permission of the Tamiment Library.

I rushed to the locker room to dress
so I could go to the Victoria Station
as my ticket to Paris is valid
and badly hurt my knee. I have
been laid up since. Harry Clements
was here yesterday and today
he feels sure no bone was broken
but the ligaments are stretched and
possibly also torn. Harry holds
out no hope for speedy recovery
so here I am crippled and my
trip to Paris postponed indefinitely.
Feel more rotten about this
than the pain. But there is nothing
to be done. No so-called
such an knee joint devel as
my old friend
Maurice Alperine 23 rue des Volontaires
Paris XV
is address.

Love Emma

The "Paris" mentioned here is
Harry Clements, Sonia's husband

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

547

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010324

[Letter, 19]37 June 24 [Crompond, N.Y. to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] /
Milly [Witkop Rucker]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24/627

25996

Fond
love from
the three of us
(Milly)
affectionately

Dearest beloved Emma,
I can see you getting mad, and scream
out: Damned you! Again the cursed "secretary".
Darling you are right, a million times
right. But alas, it simply cannot be helped.
Spanking and cursing will not make it better.
The book has to go to press, and he has
to hold out to the bitter end. Reading and
rereading the proofs, putting in the index
et. et. you must have a few days more
patience and you will hear from the
fellow. I promise.

It is not politeness what the secretary
wrote you about the time, when he can begin
to write the book, she is in the habit that
woman not to make any promises
which the chief will not be in the position
to carry out. I know how long the work will
take until he is through with all he has in
hand, now you see that I am right.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010324

[Letter, 19]37 June 24 [Crompond, N.Y. to] Emma [Goldman, London (fragment)] /
Milly [Witkop Rocker]. — 2 p. ; 29 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25997
our boy friend — works hard, I assure you
dearest. When I shall tell you that during
the 6 weeks since we are living here in Quakertown
where there is a beautiful lake and he is ~~not~~
been out a single time to swim you
~~will~~ ^{will} realize how he is ~~staying~~ ^{staying}. As a
matter of fact, he was ~~not~~ ^{not} out of the
house, so that is that darling, and don't
sweat.

Believe me that he realize what it means
to publish a book on syndicalism by a
publisher where we could reach quite a
different circle of readers, and important
it is, it is just wonderful. He will do it
with great pleasure, and will do it well,
as soon as he is through ^{with the} work in hand,
and just have one or two seasons to
that good enough darling? Say yes, and
smile, do, please.

Telling, don't go to Spain. We implore
you, don't do it. You know what the
Gangsters are capable of. They are a horrible
pest, worse than Hitler, Mussolini and Franco ~~etc.~~

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

549

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726165

[Letter] 1937 June 24, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Modest Stein
41 West Ninth Street
New York

June 24-1937

Dear Emma.

Sorry about the delay. I had a
slight relapse and had to slow down a bit.
By the way, this was not my old car trouble.
It was a brand new thing - right mastoid.
The other one was the left mastoid. Now having
had mastoids ^{operations} on both sides, most of my bones
broken etc. the only thing that I may get
still is house maid's knee.

I am enclosing the Power of attorney.
B I think that in view of the decline
of the franc you should adjust the selling price
of Bm Export. A year ago the franc was
quoted at 6.60 american cents - today it
is only 4.40. In other words if you had sold
your place a year ago for 70,000 francs.
it would have been \$1680.00 dollars
To-day 70,000 francs would only be
only 3280.00 dollars

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726165

[Letter] 1937 June 24, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

It seems that there is an effort being made
in France to stabilize the franc —
Perhaps it shall already have been
stabilized by the time this reaches
you. At any rate I think you
should modify the price for Am. spirit
according to the low value of the
franc. It would be a pity to
to give practically the place away.
So far as I am concerned — don't worry
about me. Anything you think fair
will be O.K.

I am beginning to get back on my
feet again. Have started to work
and am able again to pay attention
to my liquor and all the other things
worth while paying attention to.

This country is at present in the throes
of phobias, C.I.O., W.P.A., communists,
fascists and politics. Roosevelt seems
to have bitten off more than he can chew
with the result that he is trying hard
to backpeddle. Under the circumstances
to approach the State or Immigration Dept.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726165

[Letter] 1937 June 24, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
4 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23604

3/

Modest Stein
41 West Ninth Street
New York

with a request for an entry permit
it would require a great deal
of pull and diplomacy —

Unfortunately I have rather of those
qualifications! But I would be more than
willing to cooperate and do my utmost
to if something could be started. I believe
the request should come from ~~some~~
some organization for a lecture tour by
you on the Spanish situation and other
subject not connected ~~directly~~ even
remotely with the situation in the U.S.A.

It is quite true that I offered
Lorca to obtain a permit for him to
come to U.S.A. But that was for a
specific purpose — medical treatment,
and some doctors that I know assured me
that the matter could have been
arranged —

I am still thinking about a trip
to Europe but I am broke with

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726165

[Letter] 1937 June 24, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein. —
4 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

a huge doctor an Hospital bill facing me.
However I may get a hold up on
money and then I will surely
come to France.

as ever
Modest

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127025

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

June 25th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Comrade
I received your letter, among
a lot of mail forwarded to me by
you, dear comrade Mollie. I was
to be in Paris tomorrow. But
the ground carries decided difference
between I fell to the floor in
no way. He left a room and
hurt my knee badly. Fortunately
no hands were broken. But I
succeeded in my movements. It is not
succeeding in my movements. I must
keep it in mind, at least I am
another person. A nice girl has
a young son who will be 68 in
London in 27th. Seriously
speaking I feel more worried

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

554

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127025

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

that I have to postpone my trip to
Paris than the pain in my knee.
My going to Paris is only a
means to get through to Spain
though I have not much hope
of succeeding. Stalin's letter came
in Spain now. Our comrades
sanded by the agency and
some of them have been killed by the
way-side. It is a frightful come
down from the strange position
the C.N.R. had when I was
there. I am really sick over it
in addition is the confusion
created in our ranks through the
compromises of the leaders of the
C.N.R. You will see by the
enclosed copy of my statement
that I finally had to state my
fund. Please tell Mayke he can
bring it in the Dutch Hamme. And
I would also use the Spanish
Revolution in the Vanguard of
June 25. They are always
at it. I include 2 other things on
about the murder of Prof. Raschke
the other a letter in the Manchester.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

555

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127025

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Guardian which they refused
because it would create contran-
diction. I also wrote the same
letter in the NY Times & Herald
Tribune. If they do not
print it perhaps Spain and
the Daily Worker Spanish Revol
it can have it. I am advised to leave
that as it is. I B C and an advertisement
to appear in a new edition
It was needed more, needed
but I was advised by your sug-
gestion that I should resign
the word situation in writing
about Savina in 2 pages. My
dear comrade, I am not a man

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

556

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127025

[Letter, 1937 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman. — 6 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

mean, I can not perform under
the world situation is too
vast and too complicated
to treat in a dozen pages
of one is to do it adequately
and I am not and can also
not be described in a line
The greatest drawback, I think
even in your work, I think
that you look up in a mirror
your letter writing dated 19th
th. means that I could have
have to me off by 12th
4th. So day is the 25th. I think
see how impossible it is. Besides
the summer is the worst possible
time to circulate a work. It
would spell failure. I am sure
for I have not to appear
during the hot summer months
I therefore strongly urge post-
ponement
all my books are prepared
and in St. Paul. I will have
and a copy here to release

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

557

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

CNT.

3

AIT

F.A.I.

Leader Of:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE : FULM 6829

WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

A. Don't think I know it by heart, it is still necessary to read it in order to bring out its application to the struggle in Spain. I will read some a few more. But it certainly will not be an easy education.

Very truly yours, I. Macdonald

There is much more I would
like to write, more. But my knee
has begun to hurt & I want
to get on the telephone
I will write you again in
the 2 or 3 weeks to Monday. But
I suppose you arranged the
marriage meeting for Sunday
evening at 10 o'clock. I'll be
there. I feel utterly lost without

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

558

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, London [to Samuel Freedman, New York] / Emma Goldman.— 6 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

my old pal.
In haste with fraternal
greetings to all the comrades,
as yourself
Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

559

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029116

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch].— 2 p.; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence
25/6/37

Dearest Emma,

Nellie's letter just received
telling me of your accident -- as dear
I am so sorry - I don't know what
to say. I pray it is not going to be a
long business thing well; send me a
line - I was just about to write
you to Paris - a letter for the 27th -
now this won't reach you in time
as the 27th is Sunday. Emma dear
I am so sad about it all I can't
tell you - then poor Nellie & her watch
what a tale of woe. Have you got
a good doctor? Nellie will help
you I am sure.

I got your letter re 'phone & am
sending advice to the post office as
you suggest. I don't know what-

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029116

[Letter, 19]37 June 25, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

1814

4133

now to see, - I am writing this
having coffee with Norman. I come
round with his letters & we have
breakfast together - he asks me to tell
you how sorry he is

There is no news. I still am
living a very gay life - no meals in
the house & interesting people all the
time. These things don't happen often.
& I am accepting it all with
grateful avidity. I wish you could
meet Oscar Fey - he has charm enough
to draw ducks off a pond - nearly
as much as Norman - between the
two I am kept in a state of elation.

Emma darling I will drink to
you on the 27th - my feelings as you
can guess will be very varied. But
please know I send you my love
& lots of it. Bless you Auntie

will you ask the publisher to send
Norman 1/2000 feeling my love. he has not read it & I want
to give it to him

561

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726188

[Letter] 1937 June 25, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. — 2 p.; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23664

Emmy Eckstein
Hotel Paris-New York
148 bis, Rue de Vaugirard
Paris XVe

den 25 Juni 1937.

My dear Emma:

I got your letter and I am very sorry, dear, that you had this accident. I know very well what it means since the same thing happened to me a month ago. It lasted about a fortnight until I could walk about freely, and now even, here and then I feel the weakness in the right foot where I had the accident. But do not be impatient, Emma, it will pass by and by and especially if you give your foot a good rest. That is the only thing to do.

Yesterday I ~~hurt~~ broke a tooth and I have to have made a new one. The first false tooth I will have to have. That is in a way also a festival, isn't it? I hope it will not be too expensive.....

Well, dear, it is true that I do not write you often. Though I did answer your long last letter very surely. I wrote you a long, long letter in response. Wonder why you did not get it. May be you will remember now.

I was running about for a whole month, from morning to noon, and also afternoon for work. Having no card, I will not get a work so easily. Had also some typing to do, but you know it is by far not enough to exist. So, you may understand that my situation is far from being brilliant.

Kay Boyle and Vails came again to Paris last week, and they are, as usual very sweet to me. I feel, dear Emma, that they like me, and even if you doubt that people do anything else but dread my presence, I must tell you better. I had another invitation from them, and so I will leave for Megève (H.S.) the 6th of July. I will be there invited for a month or more. The fare is high, about 150 or 160 Francs, and until now, I have not got it. That is so. Though I have paid already my room, and then I have to pay the dentist, and I may have to pay a certain sum. In case I should not have the fare, Emma, I will ask you to lend me 10 dollars, which I will return from Megève as soon as I get the 10 dollars from New York. It would be very calming.

I will take along my typewriter, of course, because I hate to be idle and I have to work and be useful, and also the helping Kay will prevent me from the feeling to accept hospitality for no return whatever. So I am glad I have a chance to show them my appreciation.....

I will leave the 6th of July here, and

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726188

[Letter] 1937 June 25, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy Eckstein. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

23665

be at Salange in the evening, from where, I think Laurence will take me home with their car...

Anyway, until now I have no negative answer for the letter I send them a few days ago, in which I decided to leave the 6th of July. But since there are always plenty of people, they may not have a room empty which I doubt, though.

Did you ever meet Campbell, a writer? I typed for him and he was very satisfied with my work..... I wished I had some more before my voyage.

So, then, I will be the 27th in thoughts with you, and Emma, what shall I say more? I want you to know that deep within my heart I love you anyway. And that a part of a failure in my life is the continual misunderstandings between us. And I have to tell you, that there was nothing at all in your letter that was hurting, but that here and there remarks of people and so forth make me understand the way you see me and think about me?..... But never mind, Emma. I tried hard enough to be your friend, and if nobody knows you do. And you remember how purely friendly I received you the very last month in my home.... And-- because I know how I tried hardly all those years to be near you, THEREFORE I do not care what people think and what you say and write. Only I want you to know that I am not such a "fool" as you may think at all. If people like me I know it definitively, and do nothing imagine. I may tell you that Dr. Cohn himself was very fond of me, and that circumstances and his funny small ways made this feeling between us, I even would have wanted that card back which I asked you to send back to me so very much, in which they all ask me to see them... But nothing matters. Nothing at all..... dear.

The great sun of my life is dead. And the worst has happened.

I have very nice friends, and those boys who were my pupils for English lessons, are devoted to me as I do not deserve it. I have more affection as I ever expected. And strange it may seem, MY FRIENDS WHO LOVE ME are all very fine people, and those who are near to me, exceptional fine ones... You are one of it, because if even I have sometimes to give a hard answer in return, I know that you have a very great side. And that you are an exceptional woman.....

Well, dearest Emma. I embrace you for the 27th and may you soon be well again.

EMMY



563

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010325

[Letter, 19]37 June 26, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 2 p. ; 29 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Crompond N.Y.

26/437.

22994

Dearest Emma,

Here is the required document for you, & with
the agreement with the publisher.

Do you think dearest that the enclosed copy
of the letter to the publisher is alright?

There is a mistake in the letter to the publisher
it should be: by the end of September,
instead of: by the end of August. But the
letter is gone, and Rudolf wants you to know it.
So when you make the contract, you must
not promise to deliver the manuscript earlier
than the end of September.

Rudolf will be through with his task to day.
He was working the whole night for the copy
has to be to-day with the publisher. He feels
a wreck, but I hope that when he rest up
a day or two he will be able to work again.
You will have a letter from him with the
next mail, meantime these few lines
with the enclosed.

We heartily embrace you and send you
all our love affectionately.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010325

[Letter, 19]37 June 26, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 2 p. ; 29 × 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Crompond is the name of the postoffice.
They do not deliver mail, therefore there
is no need for anything else to write. You
can say Makegan if you like, but
it is not necessary.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726335

[Letter, 1937 June 26, Crompond, N.Y. to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] /
[Milly Witcop Rocker]. — 1 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24028

Crompond, N. Y.
June 26, 1937.

Mr. Frederic J. Warburg,
Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd.,
22 Essex St.,
London, England.

Dear Mr. Warburg:

I have today sent Miss Goldman a letter with power of attorney to act for me and you will no doubt hear from her shortly.

I shall be able to start work on the book within a day or two, having just finished an extensive index for my book "Nationalism and Culture" which Covino Friede will publish next month. I plan to be able to complete the book on Anarcho-Syndicalism by the end of August. Meanwhile I should be glad to have a letter from you giving me some of your ideas regarding the book.

My work on "Nationalism and Culture" has already been published in Spanish and I control the rights for England and foreign countries. As soon as the book is off press I shall take pleasure in sending you a copy for inspection. I am enclosing the jacket.

The translation into English has just been completed of my book "Behind Barbed Wires and Bars" - Recollections of my four years internment in England during the World War. This book has appeared in German, Dutch and Yiddish editions and as soon as the typing of the manuscript is completed, I shall submit it to an American publisher.

Yours sincerely,

Rudolf Rocker

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

566

The Emma Goldman Papers

900628042

[Letter, 19]37 June 28, London [to] T[h]om[as] H. Keell, Stroud, England / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Vernon Richards Collection.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

June 28/37

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear Tom.

I wonder why I never hear from you? Of course you may ask the same question about my silence. But then, you heard from me indirectly, through Grace and the World, and other mediums. But there is no way of hearing from you unless you write.
I was to leave for Paris last Friday. But on Tuesday I met with an accident. I had a nasty fall on my back to the kitchen and hurt my knee. I am having Harry Clemens treat it. He does not think any bones were broken. But the ligaments are stretched and the condition is very

567

The Emma Goldman Papers

900628042

[Letter, 19]37 June 28, London [to] T[h]om[as H. Keell, Stroud, England] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Vernon Richards Collection.

painful. It's a rotten business to be
laid up when all my thoughts are
in Spain and I had made plans
to get there. But I can do nothing
for the present. Now do, I know
how long I will be laid up.

I suppose you have read Buid
Ford's article in Reynolds. He has
at last come to "see the light." I
want to encourage him though I
know Reynolds will not take it.
But it is worth trying. I need
Berkman's ~~the~~ pamphlet on
Kranstadt. I need it because
it was Duchacowsky who directed
the attack on Kranstadt. Please
let me have a copy.

I need another work of
Berkman, his A. B. C. of Anarchist
Communism or now it is called
it was called The ABC of Anarchism
is getting out a new edition. They
want me to write a preface. Naturally
I will do it. But I want to see
the book. You sure do have some

12

568

The Emma Goldman Papers

900628042

[Letter, 19]37 June 28, London [to] T[h]om[as] H. Keell, Stroud, England / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Vernon Richards Collection.

(3)

2

copies. Be a dear and send me
one together with the pamphlet
on "Kranstadt".

Spain seems to be a fright-
ful debacle. I mean as far
as the C.N.R. & A.L. are concerned
our leading comrades have
compromised for nothing as I
had foreseen and partly while
yet in Barcelona. But I do
not agree with you, young French
comrades that Montseny, Clavel
and the others are traitors
or "corrupt politicians". I have
written a statement for Spain
and the world for the coming issue
where I stand in regard to the
entry into Ministries, the pact
with Russia, and the call to
retreat last May.

Get me dear from you soon
dear Tom & send me the 2 books
or rather pamphlet & book

The Emma Goldman Papers

900628042

[Letter, 19]37 June 28, London [to] T[h]om[as] H. Keell, Stroud, England / Emma [Goldman].— 4 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Vernon Richards Collection.

4)

Best greetings - to Lilian. and
Ann if he is absent
Sincerely
Emma

570

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921014

[Letter] 1937 June 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Nemesio Galve.—
1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

Paris 28 de Junio de 1937.

A Emma Goldmann.
18-Castletown Road.
West-Hensington.
LONDON-W14.

Querida Goldmann,

Acabo de recibir la tuya de fecha 26 de Junio, la que te contesto seguidamente para poderle informar debidamente de todo cuanto en ella me solicitas.

Referente a los dos camaradas de que me hablas en la misma, el camarada Rudiger que se encuentra en este momento en mi compañía me informa que a Bluestein nada le ha sucedido y que su salud es perfecta. Con lo que respecta a la otra camarada, él mismo me informa y me precisa que ocupa un lugar en el servicio de prensa de la Generalidad de Cataluña.

Queda parte cuanto, por lo tanto, que ambos se encuentran perfectamente bien, tanto físicos como moralmente.

Querida Goldman, lamento verdaderamente tu accidente, que te ha imposibilitado de venir a visitarme a Paris, y espero que en breve podrás hacerlo cuando tu salud sea completa.

Sin más por el momento, te saluda fraternalmente tu amigo y compañero,

Nemesio Galve

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

571

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929630

[Letter] 1937 June 28 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / K.B. Kavanagh. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

SPANISH EXHIBITION COMMITTEE

formed by a group of people belonging to organisations for sending medical aid to Spain, including Lady Hastings, Lord Churchill, Mr. Duncan Grant, Mr. Francis Meynell, Mr. J. Langdon-Davies and Mr. Fenner Brockway.

17, FLEET STREET, E.C.4. CENTRAL 8571

28rd June, 1937

Miss E. Colton,
18, Castletown Road,
W.

Dear Emma,

I send you herewith a report of the sub-committee, and you will see that this office has done its best to repair any slackness of the original Exhibition committee. Enquiries and bookings come in steadily, and I am hoping to organise a big, proper show of the Exhibition somewhere in North London. This, I hope will be the real thing, with the support of all the local parties, meetings, film shows, etc.etc.

The loss, as you can see, is still pretty bad, but I am not letting it bother me, and actually hope that the London showing will pay it all.

Yours very sincerely,

K. B. Kavanagh

P.S. Was very sorry to hear about your leg, and very much hope that it will soon be better. K.B.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

572

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214230

[Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh].— 5 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Sub-Committee consists of Miss A. [unclear], Miss E. [unclear],
Mr. D. R. [unclear] and Mr. K. B. Kavanagh.

1. In accordance with the decision taken by the Committee advertisements for the Exhibition were inserted in the Daily Worker (three insertions), the New Leader, The Tribune and the New Statesman.

These advertisements drew a good number of enquiries, and fully paid for themselves.

2. 3,000 leaflets were made and distributed through the Head Offices of the I.L.P and the C.P. Medical Aid, Union of Democratic Control, and the National Joint Committee and Left Book Club. There were also a large number sent direct.

FINANCE.

A meeting was held between J.P. McNulty, Thomas Gray and K.B. Kavanagh. M. Shapiro was unable to be present. It was decided that Thomas Gray's personal fee of £20. be paid to him; that £100. should be paid on account of "Display Needs" and that other small accounts should be paid off until only £20. would remain on hand for the current expenses of the Committee.

This was done. It was also agreed that the Exhibition should be insured for £100. A decision was taken to abandon the Exhibition offers owing to the difficulty in procuring a license for them.

ACCOUNTS. Attached hereto.

BOOKINGS.

Bookings have been steady, as under:-

Whitechapel	10 - 18th April	£10.
Finsley	24 - 25th April	£1. 10. 0
Southampton	10 - 15th May	£ 5.
Edinburgh	17 - 22nd May	£ 5.
Leeds	24 May 5 June	£10.
Hull	6 - 12th June	£ 5.
Mapperley	13 - 19th June	£ 5.
Harrogate	28 - 3 July	£ 5.
Bristol	5th July 10th July	£ 5.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214230

[Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh].— 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-2-

Manchester	12th July - 19th July	£5.
Newcastle	19th July - 26th July	£5.
Aberdeen	26th July - 31st July	£5.
London	1st - 7th August	£5.
Edinburgh	9th - 15th August	£5.

The chief difficulty of these bookings is that the Exhibition has to be transported over the weekend.

At first Sub-Committee decided to book for periods of so many days (minimum four days) but it was then found that the various Exhibitors all wished to start on Monday and finish on Saturday.

This offered the alternative of:-

1. Booking for every alternate week.
2. Booking every week and relying on the goodwill of the Exhibitors to see that the transference was completed in time.

During the Whitsun weekend the Exhibition had to be transported from Southampton to Edinburgh, which was only done through the help of the Spanish Medical Aid and Thomas Gray. The Medical Aid loaned the Exhibition Sub-Committee an ambulance which Thomas Gray drove to Southampton and then to Edinburgh, driving all night, arriving at 1 p.m. Monday.

The Exhibitors are now warned, immediately they book, that they will have to make a special effort for sending on the Exhibition when they have finished and an appeal ~~at~~ is made to their goodwill.

CENTRALISED SALE OF CERTAIN ARTICLES.

This was done as per decision of the Committee, but the sales were so small that they did not actually cover the postage. Therefore the Sub-Committee decided to stop this branch of their activity. It was decided that the shops which held stocks of Spanish material belonging to various members of the Committee, could if they wished, send their material to the Exhibitors on trade terms.

EXHIBITION POSTERS.

Thomas Gray reported that as these were lithographed it would be impossible to reprint. In any case there are enough on hand for at least six months.

A dozen are sent out to each exhibitor, who usually return two or three undamaged.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

574

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214230

[Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh].— 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

DEFICIT

The accounts appended herewith show the present situation of the Exhibition Committee's finances.

So far the Sub-Committee has made no appeal for funds except to the Spanish Medical Aid who stated they had made it clear from the beginning that they could not give us financial help, but they were to write to all their branches recommending that the Exhibition should be shown, and as above stated they very kindly loaned us an ambulance, without which it would have been impossible to transfer the Exhibition from Southampton to Edinburgh. The Sub-Committee have been informed that the Unity Theatre Club would be willing to give special terms for showing the Exhibition in their hall. They would also aid by giving plays, etc.

The Sub-Committee is at present working on this matter, and is hoping to organise another show, if possible a fortnight, sometime in the Autumn. They are starting to approach all local organisations of that district with a view to obtaining their co-operation, and will not actually proceed with the matter unless they receive such backing as will enable them to make a decided profit.

It is obvious that this arrangement, with very little expense to the Committee, will, if properly handled cancel the deficit and should realise a good profit.

ADAPTORS AND ADVERTISERS TO THE EXHIBITION.

Two new groups have been added showing:-

1. The Red Army
2. The Bisque Children's Camp at Southampton

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214230

[Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh].— 5 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dr.

to Loan from ...	£11. 5. 0	by Initial ...
" I.L. ...	90. 0. 0	" ...
" Emma Goldman ...	30. 0. 0	" ...
" Disc. subscription ...	205.19. 0	" Rent at ...
" Colln. at Exhibition (inc. sale of catalogues)	115.18.6	" (inc. Soli ... fee)
" Sale of Chairs ...	1.12.0	" Salaries ...
" ... from Elec. Co.	5.19.1	" Petty cash
" ... of Exhibition...	30. 2.0	" Thos. Gray account
		" Thos. Gray fee (£20. less balance of £1.17.4 from above)
		" Stationery ...
		" Advertising ...
		" Posters & literature
		" Metropolis Estates (cleaning & Phone)
		" Elec. supply and equipment)
		" Insurance
		" Refreshments at opening ...
		" Chairs ...
		" Firearms (licences et ...)
		" Photographs ...
		" Cheque books ...
		" Display Needs ... 100
		" Transport of Exhib.
		" Cleaning at Ludgate Hall ...
		" Expanded Metal Co.
		" Bank charge ...
		" Balance ...

£490.15. 7d.

£143.10.0d. is still owing to Display Needs of which £15. was paid on 9th June - £128.10.0d.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

576

The Emma Goldman Papers

891214230

[Letter, 1937 June 28, London to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [K.B. Kavanagh]. — 5 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

No Displ. 125.10.0
" R. Siell
(packing cases
and storage) 6.0.0
" New Leader (advert) 1.0.0 Balance
135.10.0d.

Debit Balance £122.5.3d. against which there is £20. due
to the Exhibitors who have already shown the exhibition.

The Exhibition is booked every week (except one) to the
middle

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

577

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414009

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
5 p.; 30 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

My dear Helmut, London June 29/37
Hattie will read you this letter
as I am afraid you may not be able
to decipher my handwriting. She has
no doubt told you the unfortunate
accident that prevented my coming to
Paris last week. The news that you
have come and that I am unable
to see you makes me feel doubly
miserable. I have longed so to
meet someone from Barcelona,
especially one I could talk with
freely about the events and the
irreparable stand of our friends
reading comrades. And here you
are in Paris and I am crippled
and can not get to you.
It has been sheer madness to
carry on a campaign in England
with authentic material of the
events in Catalonia. Do you
such must understand that
official sources such as the
Bulletins of papers are not enough
for a publicity campaign. They
arrive too late in the first place



H. Rüdiger
Vol 1: 1937

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414009

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
5 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

and by the second they are too, closed.
I write the May events. I at least
had some letters from Martin and
Saucy, you write me twice
since I left Spain. But since
then I have been completely
cut off. I have written other
people in Valencia twice this
month. I have written the Blue
stein, Saucy, Mercedes Campuzano,
no reply from anyone. I
have sent my letters to Salpe
for him to forward to Valencia
or Barcelona. No word from
him. Believe me I feel desperate.
Will you please see Salpe?
Ask him why he has not
acknowledged my letters sent to
him for Spain? In all I know
they may still be around in his
office. I write a long report
of my work here and of its poss-
ibilities for the future. I sent this
in Spanish translation to Salpe, one
copy for Valencia the other to the
Comité Regional. No answer. It



The Emma Goldman Papers

830414009

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
5 p.; 30 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

4

another thing I must know is
whether it is true that the B.
Selma is Ethel Mc Donald was
arrested. I got this from
Guy Aldred, Glasgow. He said
they had been arrested and
released after 8 hours question-
ing and that Ethel had asked
for the money. But knowing
how untrustworthy Guy
Aldred is I did not believe
his story. So you see it is
very important to let me know
the facts in the case
and so the Spanish comrades
have sent that Aufschneider Green
in the U.S. It is to laugh.
All I can say is that Green will
not be believed or trusted by
anyone except perhaps by
silly comrades, as silly as
the Spanish who have sent him.
Please, please, write me
Greetings to the comrades with you



580

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414009

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
5 p. ; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

It is simply unbearable to go on like
this. Last but not least I asked
the Comité National how I can
get back to Spain. For my own
peace of mind I must get back
and I must also get back I
am to continue to act for the
C.N.R. Well my dear I implore
you to find out from Salve
what he has done with my
letters. And will you write
me from Paris. I know every
minute of your time must
be taken up. Yet I beg you
to find an hour to write me
what you think about my chance
of getting back to Spain. I really
don't stand the uncertainty. It
makes me positively ill. Write
me about the new Comintern
the attempt to enter the Nequien
Government. You have no idea
the harm the concessions already
made has done the cause
of our comrades in Spain.



The Emma Goldman Papers

830414009

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
5 p.; 30 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

Für den Verleger von R Buch
Zur die Rechte für das Aus-
land. Daran ist unser guter
Rudolf schuld. Als ich ihn den
Kontext schenkte schiedlich
er soll einen Rechtsanwalt
den Kontext durch zum
lesen gehen. Das hat er
wie es scheint nicht getan
deswegen hat der Verleger
hier die Rechte der Übersetzung
in Druck in andere Länder
außer Amerika. Ich glaube
aber er wird mit sich reden
lassen wenn es soweit kommt
Ich lege dir hier die deutsche
Namen der Gefangenen in französische
Gefängnisse. Bitte mache eine
Abschrift davon und sende sie
an H G Kammerer, 5 rue
Delagrange Paris XVI. Du hast
die Namen verlangt: etc.



The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

June 29/37

TELEPHONE FULHAM 6129

Harry, and I. Your letter of the 16th got received
me yesterday. I was delayed in transmission
from Paris. I was in the office last Friday
but a week ago today I had a hard
fall on my way to the left room, and
my knee so badly. I have been
laid up ever since. I have been
unable to work since. I have been
badly stretched of some time. I
Harry Clemens is attending me. He is
an my keeping in my bed. I am at least
another week or so. I am
my writing by hand. I am, I can not
on my "valued" bed, but I can not
my my friends. I have you. I have not
forgotten my impossible hand - writing
I am simply desperate that I am
runned to London when I had arranged
everything to go to Paris. It is just
hell to have for Spain here. I might
as well have been in Spain. One
I was so cut off from Spain. Our
Spanish comrades are hopeless as
correspondents. Now have they any idea of

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman].— 12 p. ; 28 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

The importance of prompt and accurate news in a publicity campaign. They were good enough until the Russian events. They have been misused & misused time since. The only document I've ever since I received was the Mary account I had at once printed in the Supplement to Spain and the World. You must have received it by this time.

The reason I have been trying to get to Paris was that it is close to Spain. Our people keep coming & going from Spain all the time. Last week Mont-Verney & others were here. Now Redeyes of the German Bureau in Barcelona is in Paris. Yes here I am crying and unable to move. I need not tell you on what a frantic state of mind I am.

My dear, dear Harry, now well I understand your sorrow that you can not be active for Spain as you would like to do. More than the Russian Revolution the Spanish is our Revolution. Our comrades have given a fight. They are no one else now and are suffering its future pains. They and no one else have

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM/6829

PA. The which just arrived. Is there
2 Being are.
attempted what had never before been
done - massed construction work.
The Russian Anarchist, who, being
they are a handful of ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~ from
other lands, are ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~ from
unorganised and, at each, ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~
know more or less. The handful they
played, used an insignificant part
and that they remained for a while
his group, a small handful from
the revolutionary ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~ have so
the Spanish Anarchist. They had
needed a complete organisation
in spite of all persecutions, prison
torture they hammered away ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~
25 years had the ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~ of
anarchism, syndicalism and ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~
Communism until they had ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~
flesh of the Spanish militant ^{refugees} ~~emigrants~~
and road of new road, and continue

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

585

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

you people who imagine we can
"retire" have no idea what actual
death has meant to us. We can not
realize that they have been all
very busy doing the most dangerous
motivation of all actions, and all
work. Rep. J. R. Now. It is because
I have seen an even good citizen who
unable to do all I longed to do

586

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London ...

TELEPHONE: FOULM 6830

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

587

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

but in our Spanish campaign, and
and now, especially, we are in the
key gets. That is really what we
need now Russia. It never occurred
to any one of the Spanish line
except that Stalin would play them
false, use them as a pawn in
his big foreign schemes. It is
they knew what he was doing in
Russia as our comrades and as
our own. And he let them know
as he wanted. They comrades argued
"But we are going to see to it
that we claim to be fighting as the
do the anti-fascist line. Ch. you, our
common enemy." How can this
line in fact. He let the comrades
and judgment in these. That is the
case with our comrades in Spain
Harry dear, and that is the case
of the people in the U.S. who are
misled by the media.

But to come back to the present
request of comrades, made at the
in articulate, deep struggle, and
new days in the English-Spanish
world. Because I know I can't
achieve more in one month in
America in than in a year in the
last freezing and my old yearning

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

F. A. I.

London

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6810

to go back has become an obsession
it gives me no peace. It is the
one occasion that I turn to you my
dear in times in my case.
Stephen Harky, if I had you can
do nothing in person. But you can
do everything in response. He is a
man that might make a man. I see
remembered my friend Steve and he
now was ready for me. I had
last year ago when I was in
my room. I got together the committee
of all the names men of influence
in my house name certainly came
injustice. On cause I was kept
after the committee. He had with me
him. But even today I doubt he
made no more of the had not even
checked my such a list of names people
I therefore feel that before everything.

589

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519595

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

a seminar in middle school is getting
up and is more than anyone else
is and is so by. You are known to
by everyone. Walter G. Crook and
not. You can count on many of
standing men & women in the
country is really a great force
and success. I am a member and
you know you must get at the
and there are many others, I am
sure the last of the matter is good,
some are with large part of becoming
a quiet, personal campaign, I will
not be admitted. And who is the
will. You take charge. You are
the party. Lawden on the road and
not only my campaign for so many
years, but a staunch friend. I
will be there one evening in 1917.
I came to you as my nearest. So
Here is what I suggest. I am
Ray for the last. I agree that
the last, involved principle must be
so much, I do not believe he
has much chance in Wash. I think
are certainly others by can make
important though I am not sure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

590

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

Leading Offer:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London _____

TELEPHONE: FELHAM 6229

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

591

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 29, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 28 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

him. But he seems to have got which Rayner
 advised me to do. I am not now what you think
 of him as a personality. In any event you will
 hope to find a good approval of the rather common
 intelligent people in the G & L, and who are
 very etc. I will not remember the name of
 in the past. I know many. Henry, Lincoln
 Jones, Ray Beard and many others. I know
 personally and by reputation where the know
 I just looked at the list of the 2 & 11
 There are not many familiar names
 like Frankfurter, Ray Bealey and a few
 others are known to me. But you please
 say know them all. I am certain you
 can get quite a glimpse of me and
 women. Henry disjunctly should be con-
 sidered. I have not heard from him
 since I left U. 3 years ago. Not even
 when Sarah died. I think he cared
 for I. very much. But I do not know
 Henry. Ray changed towards me
 in the least. He is now a queer duck
 and the more I know of him the more
~~incomplete~~ ~~incomplete~~ I feel like he would
 do what he can.

Dear Harry you and I know that
 the real move to get a campaign started
 involves an experience. I would therefore

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London . . .

TELEPHONE : FULHAM 6829

LONDON, W. 11

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

suggest that you see the Sir John Thompson and
do a reduction with a view to a small
fund to give me a little more money
to start the work. I am not the only
person interested in the subject and not the
last. I am sure the London Committee will
be willing to take the responsibility
I have taken upon myself. I am sure
some money that would have been
used for other purposes can be
reverted to me. I am sure the
if I do it, I shall be able to
continue to do the work in Canada
in providing a committee I might be
able to give them the same in Canada
and some personal friends in U.S.

Well, I have given you enough to
work on. I am sure if you succeed
you will also help in my joining
me in the work. I am sure the work will add some
value to America. By the way, I agree

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

593

The Emma Goldman Papers

810519596

[Letter, 19]37 June 30, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p.; 28 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Dearest Ethel, I got London June 30-2 37
 your letter in the last post 11 30 P.M.
 I can't imagine I could dictate a letter
 to my secretary who comes once a week
 then I remembered that she will never
 get Russian names. And as I am
 very weary & have no energy I did
 not fall asleep until 5 this morning
 & decided to write you a letter
 now. I am still putting my work and
 my very considerable load. But I
 do think my sense is improving. It
 is slow for me, I am getting on my
 feet a little from papers that have been
 comrades from Barcelona & I wanted
 to see the papers that have come
 to see me. It is a great decision for
 to happen when I am crippled
 unable to do so much. I have made
 than a few minutes to a time. I
 have to give them, maybe 10, maybe
 "it is not true we are forced to live like
 do not know that few less than
 even I am & live. My mind is open
 like about rain and my restlessness
 is so accurate, I have to hold

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

595

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 June 30, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p.; 28 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

There are such women now,
and now young. The achievements of
the suffragette in comparison
I am sure my right hand and
my heart the comrades in the
the world today are one. I have
which are material and
there is no paying when I will
get a reply. I have read for the
I thank you. I have read for the
it came to me. I have read
my. I have read for the
with a new morning. It is most
a surprising and your presence in
Spain. I have read for the
Good night dear Ethel.
Emma

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029295

[Letter] 1937 [June] 30, London [to] Robert [Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

30th July 1937.

Dear Friend,

As you see I am still in London - unfortunately laid up with an injured knee. A week ago while in a hurry to get dressed to go to the station to arrange for my ticket to Paris for Friday I had a nasty fall. While I am lucky not to have broken the kneecap I have stretched my ligaments badly. I am having it attended to by massage and hot compresses; but there is no saying when I might be able to get on my feet again. I am simply desperate because I had made arrangements in Paris to meet some friends from Spain; but all I can do is to grit my teeth and practice patience, which as you know is not an easy thing for me.

Naturally I had my mail forwarded from Paris. Your letter of the 25th reached me this morning with other mail.

Dear Robert, I am afraid you did not understand my letter about the sale of Bon Harit. I did not say that I hesitated selling the place or that I am going back on my word. I said that if the value of the franc falls, I would have to insist that the buyer of Mons Polet would have to buy according to the exchange rate when the agreement of sale was made. I am sure you understand that I cannot afford to lose more than I am already losing. Besides if Mons Polet claims that I would have to pay him commission whether I sell the house or not, I should think that the buyer can equally be held to pay the price agreed upon in February. I cannot believe that the legality of the agreement should work only in my case and not in the case of the buyer. Anyway I wish you would see the lawyer and make whatever arrangements possible so that I should be not subjected to the loss of a great amount.

I had hoped to be in St Tropez early next month. Unfortunately I am now not able to say how soon I can travel.

I am terribly worried about the transaction of the sale. I cannot believe that French law protects the agent and the buyer and not the one who is compelled to sell. I have not the slightest intention of depriving the agent of his commission; but on the other hand you will agree that it is the height of injustice to expect me to let the place go at the present rate of exchange when the sale was definitely agreed upon while the franc stood high. As I cannot be in St Tropez right away I want you to act in my stead and get the most reasonable arrangement.

I had a letter from Stein last week saying that he had

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

599

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029295

[Letter] 1937 [June] 30, London [to] Robert [Sandström, St. Tropez] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

382A

4387

just come out of the hospital after another operation for mastoid, and that he was waiting for the legal document from the lawyer, and as soon as it reaches him he will have the document signed and sent back.

I am fairly sick that there is such a delay; but I don't know what I can do about it. I will write you the moment I can get on my feet and leave for France.

Affectionately,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

600

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 30, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf Rucker. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18474

Crompond, N.Y. June 30th 1937.

R. Rucker Crompond N. Y.

Dearest Emma:

Gerade habe ich die letzte Arbeit an meinem Buch beendet, und nun muss ich dir vor allen Dingen schreiben, damit du dir über meine Lage ein klares Bild machen kannst. In allgemeinen magst Du vielleicht recht haben, wenn du mir vorwirfst, dass ich in meiner Korrespondenz and in all matters that require quick action unmöglich bin; aber in diesem Falle ist es wirklich nicht meine Schuld. Lag mich dir erklären, wie die Dinge wirklich stehen: Als ich nach einer Tour von fünf und einen halben Monat nach N. Y. zurückkam, war ich völlig ausgepumpt und hatte ein dringendes Bedürfnis, einmal für einige Wochen auszuspannen, um wieder etwas zu mir zu kommen. Diese letzte Tour hat mich sehr mitgenommen, als dies je zuvor der Fall war. Möglich, dass das Leben der letzten vier Jahre und vor allem die etete Unsicherheit dabei eine grosse Rolle spielten. Kurz ich so kaput, dass ich mich kaum auf den Füssen halten konnte. Aber wenn ich dachte, endlich etwas Ruhe zu finden, so hatte ich mich schwer getäuscht. "El hombre propone y Dios dispone", wie der Spanier sagt. Wir kamen Ende April in N. Y. an und noch dieselbe Woche musste der Umzug nach Crompond vorgenommen werden, wo Fernin für uns ein kleines Häuschen gemietet hatte, wo wir den Sommer verbringen wollten. Schon auf dem Heimwege hatte mich mein Verleger mit Briefen bestärkt, da mein Buch unbedingt anfangs Juli erscheinen sollte. Ich musste also sofort an die Arbeit gehen, denn ich musste den Kontrakt einhalten, um nicht im letzten Moment noch einen Bruch herbeizuführen. Und Arbeit hatte ich noch eine schwere Menge. Ich musste die Korrekturen lesen, die Bibliographie ausarbeiten und den Index besorgen, eine Arbeit, die mich sechs Wochen ununterbrochen an den Schreibtisch fesselte. Tatsache ist, dass ich sechs Wochen lang kaum aus dem Hause kam und von morgens sechs bis spät in die Nacht hinein ununterbrochen arbeitete. Es handelte sich hier um keine Broschüre, sondern um ein Buch von 600 Seiten mit einem sehr schwierigen Material, das sorgfältig übergeprüft werden musste. Dabei musste ich das letzte Kapitel vollständig unarbeiten, um die Entwicklung der letzten Jahre mit einzuschliessen: die Zustände in Deutschland und Italien, die Rolle der sogenannten "demokratischen Regierungen" in Europa, die Prozesse in Moskau und die Ereignisse in Spanien, von kleineren Dingen nicht zu reden. Alle paar Tage erhielt ich von dem Verleger einen Brief mit dem oainösen Wort "Rush" als Leitmotiv.

Als dein Brief ankam, befand ich mich mitten in der Arbeit, die ich auf keinen Fall unterbrechen durfte. Du weisst ja aus eigener Erfahrung wie das ist, wenn ein Verleger alle Vorbereitungen für die Herausgabe eines Werkes getroffen hat. Das Buch war bereits in der Presse angekündigt, und an eine Verschiebung des Datums war nicht mehr zu denken. Tatsache ist, dass ich dachte früher fertig zu werden, aber du weisst doch wie das ist. Solche Dinge nehmen immer länger, als man denkt. Kurz und gut, es war einfach physisch unmöglich, mehr zu leisten, als ich tat. In

Von der Wichtigkeit eines englischen Buches über Anarche-Syndikalismus bin ich ebenso überzeugt wie du, und ich werde mich mit Freude an die Arbeit machen. Vor allen aber muss ich wissen, was der Verleger haben will: eine reine Prinzipienklärung oder in derselben Zeit eine geschichtliche Sammag Darstellung der Bewegung, besonders in Spanien, wo sie die meiste Ausbreitung gefunden hat. Bis ich eine Antwort erhalte, werde ich mein Material zusammensuchen und das ausarbeiten, was unter allen Umständen in das Buch hinein muss. Ich verliere also keine Zeit mit dem Warten, und kann schon morgen mit der Arbeit beginnen. Vor allen möchte ich wissen, ob der Verleger eine Art Propagandaarbeit oder einfach eine akademische

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 June 30, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf Rocker. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18478

Arbeit wünscht, wie es in diesen Fällen gewöhnlich der Fall ist. Wenn ich "akademisch" sage, so meine ich keineswegs eine trockene und gelehrte Abhandlung, sondern lediglich eine theoretische und historische Bearbeitung des Stoffes. Ich kann beides tun, nur muss ich wissen, was gewünscht ist, damit ich mich danach richten kann.

Ich habe gestern an den Verleger einen kurzen Brief geschrieben, von dem dir ja eine Copy zugegangen ist. Die technische Arrangierung der Sache überlasse ich völlig dir, da ich weiss, dass es dort in guten Händen ist. Ich bin also bereit die Sache zu machen und werde mein Möglichstes tun, damit ich so schnell als möglich damit zu Rande komme. Aber vielleicht ist es gut, dem Verleger die Zeit nicht zu kurz anzugeben, damit später keine Enttäuschung einsetzt. Wenn ich erst bei der Arbeit bin geht alles flink, sobald der Plan fertig ist und ich danach arbeiten kann.

Ich würde dir gerne mehr schreiben in Beantwortung deines langen Briefes, möchte aber diese Zeilen sobald als möglich in deinen Händen wissen. Nur ein paar kleine Bemerkungen; alles andere werde ich dir in meinen nächsten Briefe ausführlich klarlegen.

Vor allem, gehe nicht nach Spanien unter den jetzigen Verhältnissen. Du wirst wenig helfen können, und warum einigen gewissenlosen Schafften die Gelegenheit geben, sich mit dir abzurechnen, wenn durch einen mutvollen Schritt gar nichts gewonnen wird. Ein Opfer mag gut sein, wenn es einen gewissen Zweck erfüllt, aber für nichts und wieder nichts sich feigen Mördern als Zielscheibe aussetzen, wäre töricht und unverantwortlich.

In übrigen stimme ich mit deinen Ausführungen völlig überein. Ich habe das Manifest der französischen Genossen in *Terre libre* nicht zu Gesicht bekommen, kann also darüber kein Urteil fällen. Aber ich glaube nicht, dass es unsere Aufgabe sein kann, den spanischen Genossen in den Rücken zu fallen, wenn sie von allen Seiten von den grössten Gefahren umgeben sind. Das haben sie wahrlich nicht verdient. Ich bin der letzte, der verkennt, dass nicht vielleicht verhängnisvolle Fehler gemacht worden sind, aber ich begreife auch die Ursachen und habe volles Verständnis für die Gründe der anderen Seite. Man wird nicht von heute auf morgen Verräter an einer Sache, der man sein ganzes Leben lang aufrichtig gedient hat. Die korrumptierende Wirkung der Beteiligung in einer Regierung macht sich nicht in Handumdrehen bemerkbar; sie zeigt sich bei den meisten erst nach einer langen Zeit, und ohne dass sie sich darüber selber Rechnung abgeben können. Sogar die deutschen Sozialdemokraten waren keine Verräter, als sie ins Parlament eintraten; sie wurden nur die Opfer einer verhängnisvollen Taktik deren 2 unvermeidliche Folgen wir stets im Auge hatten. Gewiss gibt es einzelne, die von Anfang an so machtbesessen sind, dass sie ruhig über Leichen schreiten, um das Ziel ihres Ehrgeizes zu erreichen. Mussolini ist ein Beispiel dafür. Aber solche krankhaften Charaktere gibt es glücklicherweise nur wenige. Wäre ihm das die Regel, so müsste man an der ganzen Menschheit verzweifeln. Die übergrössere Mehrheit, die auf Abwege geraten, sind keine geborenen Verräter, sondern Menschen, die durch den Druck der Verhältnisse, die sie verkannt haben, allmählich in eine Bahn geraten, die sie immer weiter von ihren ursprünglichen Bestrebungen abdrängt. Die Lage unserer spanischen Genossen ist so verzweifelt, dass man darauf verzichten sollte, ihnen Salz auf die Wunden zu streuen, umso mehr, als die meisten von ihnen begreifen, um was es geht. Russland ist auch hier wieder der schlimmste Feind. So Stalin seine blutigen Hände ins Spiel hat, dort wächst nur Unheil, Verrat und Vernichtung. Ich habe das den Genossen in Spanien bei jeder Gelegenheit auseinandergesetzt. Sie wissen es selber; aber ihre einzige Antwort ist: Was konnten wir tun, wenn wir nicht selber zur Diktatur unsere Zuflucht nehmen wollten? Ich gestehe, dass ich für diese Frage keine rechte Antwort habe. Siegt der Faschismus, so sind sie verloren; entfesseln sie den inneren Krieg gegen die Regierung in Valencia, so wird das Odium des Verrates für alle Zeiten an ihnen haften bleiben, denn nur wir und vielleicht einige mit uns, werden die wahren Motive ihres Handelns richtig einschätzen. Die Arbeiterbewegung ist in allen Ländern

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925080

[Letter] 1937 June 30, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Rudolf Rocker. — 3 p. ; 22 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18476

passiv und kann mit ihrer jetzigen Einstellung den Spaniern kaum grosse Dienste leisten. Die Spanier aber im Kampfe mit den faschistischen Mächten von ganz Europa und der feigen Stellungnahme Englands und Frankreichs haben keine Aussicht auf einen Sieg; sie stehen zwischen Mauer und Ambos, und könnten vielleicht nur durch einen europäischen Krieg, die Arme frei kommen. Aber wehe der Welt, wenn es erst soweit kommt. Wir wissen, was der letzte Krieg uns gebracht hat; der nächste Krieg wäre sicherlich das Ende jeder freiheitlichen Entwicklung in Europa für die nächsten hundert Jahre. Ich denke mit Grauen an diese Möglichkeit, und die Haare stehen mir zu Berge, wenn ich mir alle Folgen ausmale; aber wir können an den Dingen nichts ändern, denn wir sind viel zu schwach, besonders wenn die Spanier verbluten müssen. Wir können uns höchstens selber zum Opfer bringen, weil das Leben nach einer solchen Katastrophe so wie so keinen Wert mehr hat für Menschen von unserem Schlage. Vorläufig gebe ich noch nicht alles verloren; aber die Aussichten sind trübe und von unabsehbaren Konsequenzen.

Wir umarmen dich beide von ganzen Herzen. Grüsse alle Freunde und Kameraden von uns

Rudolf

603

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726349

[Letter] 1937 June 30, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately. —
1 p. ; 14 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE SIX POINT GROUP

24044

Telephone No.
MOUNTVIEW 1727.

31, BROOKFIELD,

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.6.

30th June, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

I have been so busy otherwise I should have written before this to tell you how sorry I am to hear of your accident. I do hope it will not prove serious. A long illness always means such a terrible interruption in ones work and one just cannot afford that in these days.

I have written to our Spanish friends and am hoping to hear from them.

Are you well enough to go out for a little drive in the country? For if you were, I feel sure Dr. Foot would love to call for you and take you. Please let me know if there is anything that we can do, and accept our sincere good wishes for a speedy recovery.

Yours,

— Monica Whately.

604

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin].—
1 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17086

Ed

Dearest Emma,

I am re-reading your Russian book and your autobiography with increasing admiration. I must of course write a little about you in my book; how could I write about revolutionary women and omit Emma Goldman?

In yr book you refer to Vera Zissulich shooting Trepov in 1979, but I find that he did not die till 1900, though an attempt was made on his life in 1905. I presume Vera merely wounded him? What happened to her? Was she shot for this attempt on Trepov?

I can't find anything about Jessie Welfman; you rather suggest that like Perovskaya and Vera Figner she died with her lover as a result of her political activities; I ought to know something about Vera Figner, too, I feel, but you don't say anything except to mention her, and I can't get hold of her autobiography, though I am still hoping to. (Don't want to have to go to Brit. Mus. if I can help it; it takes up so much time)

I wish you'd tell me what happened to Spiridonovna in the end? She was a very sick woman when you met her in Moscow? Did she just die of her illness?

I've ordered Margaret Goldschmidt's book SEVEN FAMOUS WOMEN.

I have deleted Fascist woman from the list of 'revolutions' that have affected women and will cover women under Fascism separately.

I hope you have now received CACIUS. I thought you'd be interested in the prophecy of the Spanish revolution which I made at the end (which closes with the collapse of the Catalan riots). I do hope I will be able to get hold of some material about Spanish women for my book.

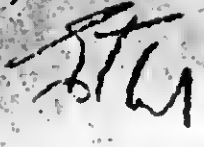
I have the proofs of my book on adolescence on my hands now, which is tiresome when I am in the thick of the book on revolution. However, I suppose all will get done somehow.

I will ring you this week to find out what is happening to you, Emma. I do feel for you, laid up, when you so urgently need to be active.

This is written in great haste; if you can let me have the few facts about the revolutionary women it would be appreciated!

Bless you.

Devotedly ever,



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

605

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July, London to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17276

else. I must try this as well else I will remain a cripple for the rest of the years left me. (I hope and pray there maynot be manny. I am not looking forward with much joy to Paris. The bitternees and finatical feeling towards the CNT-FAI has already posioned everybody. I take it you receive Combat Syndicalist. Perhaps I had better send you my copy together with Terre Libre. Chapiro answers Vasquez article in re the criticism in Terre Libre and the Syndicalist. Of course Vasquez is stupid or he would not have denounced the comrades because they criticised. But on the other hand Chapiro is nasty in his tone and bitter. Anyhow Mollie, Senia, Volin and Chapiro, the very people I will see in Paris are so bitter and so sectarian I will not feel very happy there. But I must see some of the Spanish comrades. And I cannot go through the strain of going from here straight to the South of France. But I ~~must~~ stop I won't stop long in Paris.

There is no chance to endanger my life since I can not get to Spain. There is no way of going legally as England will not give me a visa and in my present condition I can not risk going illegally. Besides, I really do not think the National or Regional Comite want me to come. They have not replied to all my letters, nor the report of the campaign here. So what is the use of imposing myself on them? I dare say the comrades know I would be in danger. Arrests take place every day. The latest is the German group has been raided and arrested. Rudiger who came to Paris is now unable to go back, he is hanging around in Perpignan all the French comrades are in Jail. A nice end to a glorious beginning in just one year. It is heart breaking.

I have no idea what will become of me. I cannot continue in England without means to carry on the work. America looks ~~absolutely~~ hopeless. Baldwin is evidently afraid to make a move. And Dubinsky refused point blank. So who is there? And without a chance to get into the States it seems useless to go to Canada. The comrades write I will not be permitted to do anything in Montreal in re Spain. The Catholic church has inaugurated a veritable rain of terror against everybody who dares say a kind word for the Anti Fascist struggle. Some government representatives came nearly being run out of town. Halle can be gotten only with permission of the authorities and they must be told what the meeting is for. In another words Montreal seems out of the question for ~~any~~ my purpose. Neither in Winnipeg, or any other western town do we have connections. Remains only Toronto. It would be crazy to spend couple of hundred dollars for one city. All in all my position is desperate.

I am expecting some people to organize a ~~little committee~~ small committee to launch a film Frank made of the events in Spain. He left to me for my work. If had only come a few months ago I could have moved mountains. Now with the summer here, a rotten summer at that, it is impossible to do much with it. But the I.L.P. wants to help launch it and some of their members are coming to day to talk over the best way. I arranged a private showing last Tuesday and collected hundred and ten pounds of which hundred were given by a friend of mine the writer Ethel Mannin. We need the money to make the film non-flammable as in its present ~~form~~ form we cannot find a whole licensed for inflammable pictures.

Better write me c/o Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd London W.12 He will forward my mail as I do not know now just where I will be after Paris. Something may come up to prevent my going south.

I am so glad dear Rudolf that you are still

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].— 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

1st July, 1937.

Dear Tom,

I wrote you last week by hand owing to the fact that I am laid up with a sore knee and stretched ligaments. I rushed a letter to let you know that I could not consent to the publication of my last letter to you. It would not be fair to either Chapiro or Nettelau. My correspondence with them is not for publication, not because I have a private opinion and another one for the public but because they themselves do not want our correspondence published. To consent to your suggestion that my correspondence with you in regard to Spain be given to the readers of the *Fr.ARB.Stimme* would necessitate to publish Chapiro's and Nettelau's letters as well. Otherwise they would not understand my objections to both of them. The fact is that you yourself, my dear, ~~xxxxxxx~~ are wrong in your supposition of the contents of Chapiro's letter. I will come to that later, for the present I wish to say that my objection to Chapiro was not due to his criticism of our Spanish comrades. I agreed with him on that entirely. It was only his method that I couldn't agree with. As to Nettelau I am afraid he has gone somewhat gaga; he simply can't stand the least opposition to the leaders of the CNT-FAI. He once used to speak as you do in regard to absolute freedom Anarchists must practise, and against every compromise on our part. Today he approves of every compromise. He has turned into a regular zealot who would burn every heretic at the stake. He hates us all because we do not accept 100% of everything done by Montseny and Oliver. I have actually stopped writing to him.

Now as to the various points raised in your letter. First, if you think that Chapiro's criticism of the leaders in Spain is due to their inconsistencies in re their anarchism you are mistaken. Ch. believes in arbitrary measures. His objections are due to the fact that the CNT-FAI have not from the very beginning taken hold of power and have directed it to their ~~xxxxxxx~~ own needs. I do not think that there need be any lengthy argument between you and myself regarding the practice of anarchist principles. I have maintained the same

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].— 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

position all my life. Since the Russian experience I have repeatedly pointed out that a great aim cannot afford to use contemptible means. I have done so in the last chapter of my DISILLUSIONMENT OF RUSSIA and in fact in everything I have written and so did Sasha. His little book the A.B.C. of Anarchist Communism stresses that point again and again. I know that you did not agree with Sasha, that you did not consider his last work very important - that is naturally a point of view and you are quite entitled to it, but I consider it the most simple exposition of Anarchism and anarchist tactics written since the Russian Revolution. In other words you and I need not argue about the imperative necessity to practice Anarchism at all times and to harmonise the means with the end. Now

However, in regard to Spain you contradict yourself on several occasions. For instance, you say you have always admired the practical sense of the Spanish Anarchists, their courage and their fighting spirit. In the next moment you find them inconsistent because they have not practiced Anarchism to the last degree. Again you say that you believe with the Spanish comrades that armed resistance to armed attack is unavoidable, yet you want them to have absolute freedom of speech and press during the period of war and revolution. I am sure that this inconsistency arises from the fact that you are not on the scene of present day Spain. I doubt me very much whether you would be more willing to concede utmost freedom to the Fascists and all the other parties connected with the CNT-FAI. Actually that is exactly what the Spanish comrades have done. They have given the utmost political freedom to all their allies, though I admit that they did not include the Fascists. The result of this unconditional freedom has been that the Communists and the Right Republicans have used that freedom to increase their numbers, their arms and their strategic points. That they have plotted against the Revolution and against the CNT-FAI. This has been definitely proven by the document which we published here as a supplement to SPAIN AND THE WORLD, and which you have undoubtedly already received. Do I mean to suggest that Anarchists should not carry out in practice what they have preached? That they should limit anyone's freedom? Not at all. I only mean to say that life is stronger than theory and that the Anarchists have not given enough thought to the emergencies arising out of a Revolution and even more so of a Civil War. For myself I would rather have my liberties taken away than be guilty of depriving others thereof. But I cannot expect large groups of comrades to submit to a similar course. It is therefore extremely difficult and has so far been impossible to live up to the fullest to our Anarchist ideals.

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

2.

Reason

difference between

It seems to me that the ~~reason~~ for the ~~difference~~ between Anarchist principles and tactics lies much deeper than the inconsistency of our comrades. It lies in the fact that Anarchism and the Revolution are of themselves separate and distinct. Revolution is always coercive and violent — it is always the culminating expression of the accumulated wrong and injustice as well as brutalities ~~caused~~ by our system, to expect therefore that people who have for centuries known every physical and mental torture should during the Revolution deal with their enemies with kid gloves and gentleness, this is expecting the superhuman of the individual and the most impossible of the mass. Now while we realize that fundamental changes have never taken place without a revolutionary upheaval we must face the fact that we cannot expect Anarchism expressed to the fullest during the revolutionary period. All we can expect is that Anarchists should avoid organized Dictatorship and organized Terror; that is precisely what the Spanish Anarchists have done and for which they deserve the highest credit.

You express surprise that I should give as the alternatives confronting our comrades the entry into ministries or Dictatorship. I hope that you do not think I approve ~~the~~ of either. I have considered, and do at the present time, two great evils. But our comrades insisted that their part in the government is a much lesser evil than Dictatorship. That they can at any time withdraw from their government position, ~~but~~ but once Dictatorship turned into a system it becomes a ~~system~~ *Hymanstein* which ultimately pulls down the whole edifice. Anyway our comrades didn't seem to think and do not now that they had another alternative. That Government means nothing to them, has again been reiterated by Garcia Oliver in his brilliant speech which he delivered at a very large meeting in Paris. There is not a single Spanish Anarchist who is deceived about the value of government during revolutionary period. They participate in it because they think it is the nearest approach to making the anti-fascist war successful. I am not arguing whether they are right or wrong. I know that there was a third alternative; the comrades could have refused alliance with all other parties and the revolutionary procedure by their own numbers and their own strength. This is really also Chapiro's point of view. Evidently our people did not feel themselves strong enough; in point of truth they admitted as much in their last congress at Saragossa. They said that they did not feel ~~themselves~~ strong enough to carry out revolutionary measures by themselves. Added to this was also their apprehension that if they proceeded on their own Franco would conquer and they would stand exposed before the whole world as having brought about the anti-fascist collapse. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that there is a good deal of truth in that; even now though the CNT-FAI has been the greatest contributor in men, arms and provisions for the anti-fascist struggle, their so-called allies have attacked them on all sides and have held them responsible for all the sins committed by themselves. Imagine what it would have been had they taken the final — consistent but desperate — step of standing alone in the attempt to defeat Fascism.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

609

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

Aside of everything else it would have involved the danger of complete extermination of the CNT-FAI, the Revolution and whatever constructive efforts our comrades had made. Here again I can only repeat that it is very well to decide such actions for oneself, but it is quite another matter to make such a decision when it involves the lives and liberties of millions of people. I confess I find it difficult to judge our comrades ~~human~~ *reality* up to Anarchist principles in toto. I fear that it will take more than one revolution before it will be possible for Anarchism to emerge in all its beauty and all its humanity.

To come back to your demand that Anarchists should give absolute freedom to everybody including the ~~Marx~~ Catholic Church. You ridicule the idea that the Churches were arsenals and that many of the priests were armed; permit me to say that you are wrong. Nobody of our comrades insisted at all churches were arsenals and all priests armed, but that there were any guilt of this Fascist position no one has been able to disprove. Actually many leading Catholics in Spain who are opposed to Fascism have admitted this fact, but why go for surer proofs than the position of the Basque churches and the Basque Catholics? The very fact that no churches were burned in that part of Spain and no priests killed by the anti-Fascist forces (Franco was not so particular when his German and Italian planes threw bombs on churches, monasteries and cloisters) should be proof to the most credulous that the Anarchists and Revolutionists in other parts of Spain ~~did not~~ *did not* burn churches and ~~did not~~ *did not* kill priests out of the love for it. It certainly proves that the Basque Catholics joined forces with the anti-Fascists whereas the rest of Spain joined forces with Franco. I can only repeat what I have written you at the beginning of my stay in Barcelona, that there is incontestable proof that the Catholic church was aligned with the military and Fascist conspiracy, that large fortunes were found hidden in the palaces of the Bishops in a number of cities, and that priests fired on crowds from the high church windows. Besides, you who know Spanish history surely know that the church has always been on the side of Feudalism and against the people, and that always the people show their loathing and their hatred of their enemies in the church by burning churches. So why be so surprised if this was done once more in the beginning of the struggle last year. Incidentally it is nonsense to say that the churches were burned by irresponsible bands of Anarchists, or that acts of violence were committed on priests and nuns or the owners of large estates by criminal gangs. The element which differentiates the Spanish revolution from any other revolution consists in the fact that the masses themselves, the peasants and the workers, had risen from the very bowels of the earth. There is actually no outstanding leader who could compare with Lenin or with Trotsky in the Spanish struggle. It is entirely a mass uprising and it is the mass itself which vent its wrath and its hatred against those who have exploited and ill treated them for centuries. I firmly believe that our people would have been swept aside by the mass avalanche had they attempted to stem it.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

610

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman].— 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

3.

I hope you know me well enough to know that I do not glory in violence. If ever I believed in taking a human life no matter how dangerous that life and how evil, I was entirely cured from it after Sasha's act. I am certain that if the introduction of Anarchism and its success of the revolution would depend on my killing people or ordering them to be killed, I should prove a bad revolutionist. But I have always tried to understand the individual act and the collective act of the oppressed and the disinherited. And I feel that they are justified in breaking the bounds in which they have been held from generation to generation. I can therefore not wax indignant over the death of a few priests when I know that thousands of workers, innocent women and children, have been enslaved and degraded in the past and have been and are daily slaughtered in Spain. After all, is there any comparison between the loss of lives of the priests and the terrible bombardment of Guernica, of Madrid, of Bilbao? You may say that two lives do not make one right or that any retaliation is compatible with Anarchist principles. I admit all that, but I insist again and again that life is stronger than theory, and that we cannot expect the bulk of humanity to act as consistently as we cannot have the right to expect from an individual. You seem to lose sight of the fact that the CNT-FAI, though numerically the largest organisations in Spain, are still a handful of people compared with the rest of the so-called allies, and with the rest of the Spanish population. It is the first time in revolutionary history that the Anarchists were able to take some initiative, that they have made the first halting steps towards the defining of a new social structure. I cannot see therefore how we can possibly hold them to account because they did not and do not give us 100% to Anarchist thought. I am sorry, dear Tom, but I cannot agree with you in your demand, which doesn't mean that I deny you the right of criticism of our Spanish comrades. I have criticised them myself and as you will see by my statement as to my position, I will continue to criticise them. But at the same time I cannot be blinded as to their position and to their possibilities, and I consider it childish to expect the CNT-FAI to include fascists and all other forces engaged in their destruction further from extended sex in the extension of complete political freedom. The comrades are paying heavily for the unlimited liberties extended to the communists, and they would pay a double price had they also included the fascists. *They would have to revert to your demand of freedom for the Catholic Church and its spokesman and religious exercise. I say, dear Tom, can you explain why the Protestant churches have not been touched and why they continue religious exercises without let or hindrance? You may not believe it but that is a fact. Perhaps you think that I am partial to the comrades who have not interfered with them. In that case I call your attention to a similar report by such people as Lady Atholl,*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

611

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] Thom[as H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. - 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

and other lily-white liberals have found the same situation. Evidently there must be a deep rooted reason for the violence committed against the Catholic churches and priesthoods, and you so familiar with the phases of the Spanish church in the Spanish people should know better than anyone how unprotected that reason is. I simply did not find a trace of it in the reports of Spain I have visited. I am surprised to find that you give us your authority for this sort of belief in the outrage against nuns the Los Angeles Times. Since when has that scurrilous sheet given any authentic and reliable news? Has it not always misrepresented and maligned every labour effort and every one of us? How many have you taken for granted that you see or read in the pages of that arch reactionary Harrison Grey Otis? I don't care where the paper got its photographs. I can only tell you that though I tried very carefully to find proof for the accusation that the nuns were outraged and killed; there was not a scintilla of truth. On the other hand I did find a number of the wealthy residences and palaces direct connections of priests with military conspiracy and fascism. Such evidence as letters and documents urging the owners of these palaces to contribute lavishly to the struggle of Franco whose fighting "holy cause". I cannot imagine that you will take the word of the Times as against my word in this case.

Two more points in your letter: first "the compulsory collectivisation" and the equalisation of pay. There was no compulsion or violence used in forcing the poor peasants to enter the collectives. On the contrary. The poor peasants were not only given a chance to continue their small holdings but have since the 19th July been given every possible help in the way of irrigation and the exchange of products in open market. Do not let anybody make you believe the contrary. It is a comedy if it were not so tragic, for the Communists to be so virtuous in their opposition to the coercion of the peasants. They who have exterminated millions of peasants in Russia have the brazen cheek to charge our comrades with having used coercion. There is not a scintilla of truth in this charge, and here again I speak from personal experience and investigation. I admit that violence was used with these owners of large estates who had succeeded in escaping, and only because they opened fire on the peasant committees who came to collectivise the land. I don't see for the life of the people that blood has been avoided. I don't believe in compensation for the ownership of property. I thought that you like all of us believe that property accumulated at the expense of others is robbery and that those who have been robbed of the labour have the right to expropriate their misdeeds; anyway only those were driven off the estates who would neither listen to the peaceful approach of the peasants or to their attempts to make the land accessible to all the peasants and not only to the privileged few, or misdeeds.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

612

The Emma Goldman Papers

860417052

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to] T[h]om[as] H. Bell, Los Angeles / [Emma Goldman]. - 7 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.

Obtained from the private collection of Millie Desser Grobstein of Cranbury, New Jersey.

4.

I am afraid I cannot now argue the difference between your position as an individualist Anarchist and mine as an Anarchist Communist. That has always been a bone of contention between us and other dear comrades and friends of mine who were opposed to Anarchist Communism. I can only say that if ever I doubt it, the injustice of a variety of payments in return for labour Russia has destroyed that doubt. The cause of all the trouble that began in Russia were the thirtythree varieties of ~~relations~~ and of pay to the workers and all the other sections in Russian life. It undermined the faith of the masses in the justice of the Russian Revolution and it set one layer of the masses against another. I do not mean to suggest that once Anarchism is established there should not be the widest and broadest possible remuneration of four different efforts contributed to the welfare of all. But to hold the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm of the people it is absolutely essential that there should be no preferences and no privileges. That everyone should be remunerated on an equal basis, according to the real usefulness to society of the labour contributors. For myself I consider the workers who work in sewers is infinitely more important to the health of the community than the novelist, the dramatist or the poet. ~~And~~ you certainly know that I never maintained the fallacy that the economic element in human society is the only driving force of ~~the~~ social changes. That is why I ~~insist that the philosophy of Anarchism includes all human beings and not merely those belonging to different classes.~~ At the same time I cannot close my eyes to the fact that in the great struggle two dominant forces play their part. The haves and the have-nots. I admit that the have-nots are often guilty of more stodgy middle-class ideas and feelings than the haves. In fact I have always maintained that the middle class is a deadlier weight on society than the aristocracy or the workers. But nevertheless it is true that there are two opposite forces struggling for a place in the sun - the rich and the poor. X There are many ~~different~~ *layers from all backgrounds* whose background are these different layers. Indeed I have often maintained that revolutionists coming from all backgrounds have often been more dedicated to the struggle for freedom than the enslaved. There is no more brutal master than the slave of yesterday. We hardly need argue that. But we do need to see clearly the danger of maintaining the wage system during the Revolution or in a free society. Aside of the need of a terrific bureaucracy and government to maintain such a system it is intrinsically wrong and diametrically opposed to the system of equality. But as I said we will never agree on this point because you lean towards individualism and I have been and am an Anarchist Communist. I would say an Anarchist-Syndicalist with libertarian communism as the basis of a free society. With my old affection, comradeship and friendship, I remain

x many layers in society among the workers as well as middle class. Often those who have come from wealth.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

613

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. —
7 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25696

1st July, 1937.

Copy

Dear..

I wrote you last week by hand owing to the fact that I am laid up with a sore knee and stretch ligaments. I rushed a letter to let you know that I could not consent to the publication of my last letter to you. It would not be fair to either Chapiro or Nettlau. My correspondence with them is not for publication, not because ~~they themselves~~ ~~do not want our correspondence published~~ I have a private opinion and another one for the public but because they themselves do not want our correspondence published. To consent to your suggestion that my correspondence with you in regard to Spain be given to the readers of the *Pr. Arb. Stimme* would necessitate to publish Chapiro's and Nettlau's letters as well. Otherwise the reader would not understand my objection to both of them. The fact is that you yourself, my dear, are wrong in your supposition of the contents of Chapiro's letter. I will come to that later, for the present I wish to say that my objection to Chapiro was not due to his criticism of our Spanish comrades. I agreed with him on that entirely. It was only his method that I couldn't agree with. As to Nettlau I am afraid he has gone somewhat gaga; he simply can't stand the least opposition to the leaders of the CNT-FAI. He once used to speak as you do in regard to absolute freedom Anarchists must practise, and against every compromise on our part. To-day he approves of every compromise. He has turned into a regular zealot who would burn every heretic at the stake. He hates us all because we do not accept 100% of everything done by Montseny and Oliver. I have actually stopped writing to him.

Now as to the various points raised in your letter. First, if you think that Chapiro's criticism of the leaders in Spain is due to their Consistencies in re their Anarchism you are mistaken. Ch. believe in arbitrary measures. His objections are due to the fact that the CNT-FAI have not from the very beginning taken hold of power and have directed it to their own needs. I do not think that there need be any lengthy argument between you and myself regarding the practice of Anarchist principles. I have maintained the same position all my life. Since the Russian experience I have repeatedly pointed out that a great air cannot afford to use contemptible means. I have done so in the last chapter of my *DISILLUSIONMENT OF RUSSIA* and in fact in everything I have written and so did Sasha. His little book the *A.B.C. of Anarchist Communism* stresses that point again and again. I know that you did not agree with Sasha, that you did not consider his last work very important - that is naturally a point of view and you are quite entitled to it, but I consider it the most simple exposition of Anarchism and Anarchist tactics written since the Russian Revolution. In other words you and I need not argue about the imperative necessity to practice Anarchism at all times and to harmonise the means with the end.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

614

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman].—
7 p.; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

23697

However, in regard to Spain you contradict yourself on several occasions. For instance, you say you have always admired the practical sense of the Spanish Anarchists, their courage and their fighting spirit. In the next moment you find them inconsistent because they have not practiced Anarchism to the last degree. Again you say that you believe with the Spanish comrades that armed resistance to armed attack is unavoidable, yet you want them to have absolute freedom of speech and press during the period of war and revolution. I am sure that this inconsonant tendency arises from the fact that you are not on the scene of present day Spain. I doubt no very much whether you would be more willing to concede utmost freedom to the Fascists and all the other parties connected with the CNT-FAI. Actually that is exactly what the Spanish comrades have done. They have given the utmost political freedom to all their allies, though I admit that they did not include Fascists. The result of this unconditional freedom has been that the Communists and the Right Republicans have used that freedom to increase their numbers, their arms and their strategic points. That they have plotted against the Revolution and against the CNT-FAI. This has been definitely proven by the document which we published here as a supplement to SPAIN AND THE WORLD, and which you have undoubtedly already received. Do I mean to suggest that Anarchists should not carry out in practice what they have preached? That they should limit anyone's freedom? Not at all. I only mean to say that life is stronger than theory and that the Anarchists have not given enough thought to the emergencies arising out of a Revolution and even more so of a Civil War. For myself I would rather have my liberties taken away than be guilty of depriving others thereof. But I cannot expect large groups of comrades to submit to similar courses. It is therefore extremely difficult and has so far been impossible to live up to the fullest to our Anarchist ideals.

It seems to me that the reason for the difference between Anarchist principles and tactics lies much deeper than the inconsistency of our comrades. It lies in the fact that Anarchism and Revolution are of themselves separate and distinct. Revolution is always coercive and violent - it is always the culminating expression of the accumulated wrong and injustice as well as brutalities caused by our system, to expect therefore that people who have for centuries known every physical and mental torture should during the Revolution deal with their enemies with kid gloves and gentleness, this is expecting the superhuman of the individual and the most impossible of the mass. Now while we realize that fundamental changes have never taken place without a revolutionary upheaval we must face the fact that we cannot expect Anarchism expressed to the fullest during the revolutionary period. All we can expect is that Anarchists should avoid organized Dictatorship and organized Terror; and that is precisely what the Spanish Anarchists have done and for which they deserve the highest credit.

You express surprise that I should give as the alternatives confronting our comrades the entry into Ministeries or Dictatorship. I hope that you do not think I approve of either. I have considered them, and consider them at the present time, two great evils. But our comrades insisted

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

615

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. —
7 p.; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23698

3.

that their part in the government is a much lesser evil than Dictatorship. That they can at any time withdraw from their government position. But once Dictatorship turned into a system it becomes a Frankenstein which ultimately pulls down the whole edifice. Anyway our comrades didn't seem to think and they do not now that they had another alternative. That Government means nothing to them, has again been reiterated by Geroin Oliver in his brilliant speech which he delivered at a very large meeting in Paris. There is not a single Spanish Anarchist who is deceived about the value of government during revolutionary period. They participate in it because they think it is the nearest approach to making the anti-Fascist war successful. I am not arguing whether they are right or wrong. I know that there was a third alternative; the comrades could have refused to take the initiative in refusing alliance with all other parties and the revolutionary programme by their own numbers and their own strength. This is really also the Pire's point of view. Evidently our people did not feel themselves strong enough; in point of truth they admitted as much in their last congress at Barcelona. They said that they did not feel strong enough; ~~in point of truth~~ to carry out revolutionary measures by themselves. Added to this was also their apprehension that if they proceeded on their own Franco would conquer and they would stand exposed before the whole world as having brought about the anti-Fascist collapse. It is hardly necessary to emphasise that there is a good deal of truth in that; even now though the CNT-FAI has been the greatest contributor in men, arms and provisions for the anti-Fascist struggle, their so-called allies have attacked them on all sides and have held them responsible for all the sins committed by themselves. Imagine what it would have been had they taken the final - consistent but desperate - step of standing alone in the attempt to defeat Fascism. Aside of everything else it would have involved the danger of complete extermination of the CNT-FAI the Revolution and whatever constructive efforts our comrades had made. Here again I can only repeat that it is very well to decide such actions for oneself, but it is quite another matter to make such a decision when it involves the lives and liberties of millions of people. I confess I find it difficult to judge our comrades for not living up to Anarchist principles in toto. I fear that it will take more than one revolution before it will be possible for Anarchism to emerge in all its beauty and all its humanity.

To come back to your demand that Anarchists should give absolute freedom to everybody including the Catholic Church. You ridicule the idea that the Churches were arsenals and that many of the priests were armed; permit me to say that you are wrong. Nobody of our comrades insisted at all that churches were arsenals and all priests armed, but that there were many guilty of this Fascist position no one has been able to disprove. Actually many leading Catholics in Spain who are opposed to Fascism have admitted this fact, but why go for surer proofs than the position of the Basque churches and the Basque Catholics? The very fact that no churches were burned in that part of Spain and no priests killed by the anti-Fascist forces (Franco was not so particular when his German and

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

616

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. —
7 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

28699

4.

Italian planes threw bombs on churches, monasteries and cloisters, should be proof to the most credulous that the Anarchists and Revolutionists in other parts of Spain have burned churches and have killed priests not out of the love for it. It certainly proves that the Basque Catholics joined forces with the anti-Fascists whereas the rest of Spain joined forces with Franco. I can only repeat what I have written you at the beginning of my stay in Barcelona, that there is incontrovertible proof that the Catholic church was aligned with the military and Fascist conspiracy, that large fortunes were found hidden in the palaces of the Bishops in a number of cities, and that priests fired on crowds from the high church windows. Besides, you who know Spanish history surely know that the church has always been on the side of Feudalism and against the people, and that always the people show their loathing and their hatred of their enemies in the church by burning churches. So why be so surprised if this was done once more in the beginning of the struggle last year. Incidentally it is nonsense to say that the churches were burned by irresponsible bands of Anarchists, or that acts of violence were committed on priests and nuns or the owners of large estates by criminal gangs. The phase which differentiated the Spanish revolution from any other revolution consists in the fact that the masses themselves, the peasants and the workers, have risen from the very bottom, and have elected their own leaders, instead of having a leader who could compare with Lenin or with Trotsky in the Spanish struggle. It is entirely a mass uprising and it is the mass itself which vent its wrath and its hatred against those who have exploited and ill treated them for centuries. I firmly believe that our people would have been swept aside by the mass avalanche had they attempted to stem it.

I hope you know me well enough to know that I do not glory in violence. If ever I believed in taking a human life no matter how dangerous that life and how evil, I was entirely cured from it after Sasha's act. I am certain that if the introduction of Anarchism and its success of the revolution would depend on my killing people or ordering them to be killed, I should prove a bad revolutionist. But I have always tried to understand the individual act and the collective act of the oppressed and the disinherited. And I feel that they are justified in breaking the bounds in which they have been held from generation to generation. I can therefore not wax indignant over the death of a few priests when I know that thousands of workers, innocent women and children, have been enslaved and degraded in the past and have been and are daily slaughtered in Spain. After all, is there any comparison between the loss of lives of the priests and the terrible bombardment of Guernica, of Madrid, of Bilbao? You may say that two wrongs do not make one right or that any retaliation is compatible with Anarchist principles. I admit all that, but I insist again and again that life is stronger than theory, and that we cannot expect the bulk of humanity to act as consistently as we have the right to expect from an individual. You seem to lose sight of the fact that the Anarchists though numerically the largest organizations in Spain, are still a handful of people compared with the rest of the so-called Allies, and with the rest of the Spanish population. It is the first time in

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

617

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. —
7 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23700

5.

revolutionary history that the Anarchists were able to take some initiative, that they have made the first halting steps towards the beginning of a new social structure. I cannot see therefore how we can possibly hold them to account because they did not and do not live up to the anarchist thought. I am sorry, dear Tom, but I cannot agree with you in your demand, which doesn't mean that I deny you the right of criticism of our Spanish comrades. I have criticised them myself and as you will see by my statement as to my position, I will continue to criticise them. But at the same time I cannot be blinded as to their position and to their possibilities, and I consider it childish to expect the CNT-FAI to include Fascists and all other forces engaged in their destruction in the extension of complete political freedom. The comrades are paying dearly for the unlimited liberties extended to the Fascists and they would pay a double price had they also included the Fascists. Actually the CNT-FAI would no longer be in existence.

I have to revert to your demand of freedom for the Catholic Church and its religious exercises. My dear can you explain why the Protestant churches have not been touched and why they continue religious exercises without let or hindrance. You may not believe it but that is a fact. Perhaps you think that I am partial to the comrades who have not interfered with them. In that case I call your attention to a similar report by such people as Lady Atholl, and other Lily-white liberals have found the same situation. Evidently there must be a deep-rooted reason for the violence committed against the Catholic churches and priesthood, and you so familiar with the place of the Spanish church in the Spanish people should know better than anyone how deep-rooted that reason is. As to any violence committed on nuns, I simply did not find a trace of it in the parts of Spain I have visited. I am surprised to find that you give as your authority for this sort of belief in the outrage against nuns the Los Angeles Times. Since when has that scurrilous sheet given any authentic and reliable news? Has it not always misrepresented and maligned every labour effort and every one of us? How can you take for granted what you see or read in the paper of that arch reactionary Harrison Grey Otis? I don't care where the paper got its photographs. I can only tell you that though I tried very carefully to find proof for the accusation that nuns were outraged and killed, there was not a scintilla of truth. On the other hand I did find in a number of the wealthy residences and palaces, direct connection of priests with military conspiracy and Fascism. Such evidence as letters and documents urging the owners of these palatial homes to contribute lavishly to the struggle of Franco who is fighting "a holy cause" I cannot imagine that you will take the word of the Times as against my word in this case.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

618

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. —
7 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6.

23701

Two more points in your letter: first "the compulsory collectivisation" and the "equalisation of pay". There was no compulsion or violence used in forcing the poor peasant to enter the collective. On the contrary. The poor peasants were not only given a chance to continue their small holdings but have since the 19th July been given every possible help in the way of irrigation and the exchange of products in open market. Do not let anybody make you believe the contrary. It is a comedy if it were not so tragic, for the Communists to become so virtuous in their opposition to the coercion of the peasants. They who have exterminated millions of peasants in Russia have the brazen cheek to charge a comrade with having used Russian coercion. There is not a scintilla of truth in this charge, and here again I speak from personal experience and investigation. I admit that violence was used against the owners of large estates, and that only because they opened fire on the peasant committees who came to collectivise the land. I don't see for the life of me how that could have been avoided, unless you believe in compensation for property. I thought that you like all of us believe that property accumulated at the expense of others is robbery and that those who have been robbed of the labour have the right to appropriate their masters. Anyway only those were driven off the estates who would neither listen to the peaceful approach of the peasants or to their attempt to make the land accessible to all the peasants and not only to a privileged few.

I am afraid I cannot now argue the difference between your position as an Individualist Anarchist and mine as an Anarchist Communist. That has always been a bone of contention between us and other dear comrades and friends of mine who were opposed to Anarchist Communism. I can only say that if ever I doubt it, the injustice of a variety of payments in return for labour, Russia has destroyed that doubt. The cause of all the trouble that began in Russia were the thirty-three varieties of rations and of pay to the workers and all the other sections in Russian life. It undermined the faith of the masses in the justice of the Russian Revolution and it set one layer of the masses against another. I do not mean to suggest that once Anarchism is established there should not be the widest and broadest possible remuneration ~~at~~ for different efforts contribute to the welfare of all. But to hold the revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm of the people it is absolutely essential that there should be no preferences and no privileges. That everyone should be remunerated on an equal basis, according to the real usefulness to society of the labour contributors. For myself I consider the worker who works in sewers infinitely more important to the health of the community than the novelist, the dramatist or the poet. You certainly know that I never maintained the fallacy that the economic element in human society is the only driving force of social changes. That is why I insist that the philosophy of anarchism includes all human beings and not merely those belonging to different classes. At the same time I cannot close my eyes to the fact that in the great struggle two dominant forces play their part. The haves and the have-nots. I admit that the have-nots are often guilty of more stodgy middle-class ideas and feelings than the haves. In fact, I have always maintained that the middle class is a deadlier weight on society than the aristocracy. But nevertheless it is

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

619

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726209

[Letter] 1937 July 1 [London to Thomas H. Bell, Los Angeles] / [Emma Goldman]. — 7 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23702

7.

true that there are two opposite forces struggling for a place in the sun - the rich and the poor. There are many who are willing to win the struggle for freedom. I certainly welcome all layers. Indeed I have often maintained that revolutionists coming from all backgrounds have often been more dedicated to the struggle for freedom than the enslaved. There is no more brutal master than the slave of yesterday. ~~Thamavis nowman~~ We hardly need argue that. But we do need to see clearly the danger of maintaining the wage system during the revolution or in a free society. Aside of the need of a terrific bureaucracy and government to maintain such a system it is intrinsically wrong and diametrically opposed to the system of equality. But as I said we will never agree on this point because you lean toward individualism and I have been and am an Anarchist Communist. I would say an Anarchist-Syndicalist with libertarian Communism as the basis of a free society.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

620

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein. —
6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I received your letter about a week ago, but I did not have time to answer it before. Although all the letters that you have sent me have been reproaches, which I both deserved and did not deserve, paradoxical though it may sound, still I have welcomed them. The tone is so strong, and still so confident. You have being a marvellous job all your life and you know that you have been doing the best that you could. And now, faced with a problem fully as perplexing as that which faced you during the Russian Revolution, you once again remain true to your own conscience, and refuse to allow yourself to be stampeded into anything that you might regret later on. I myself have been puzzled. I am staying at the house of a Russian comrade who is in agreement with the FAP and is very bitter toward our "leadership". He attributes to them all the characteristics of the political parties and declares over and over again that they have betrayed their ideas (and ours), and that they are leading the workers into a trap, in which the revolution will be betrayed and they, the leadership, will reap huge benefits from it. Of course I have been ~~always~~ arguing with ^{him} continually, absolutely refusing to accept such a thesis.

Emma, ~~xxxxxxx~~ I was in the Casa CNT-FAI during the entire period of conflict. I saw them making their plans, military plans, figuring and calculating and preparing. I saw who was doing it and under what conditions. One would imagine that in a military situation those who were directing the strategy would keep themselves isolated, would refuse to permit people to stay in the same room with them, would have stinking little orderlies carrying out their orders for them, would keep a certain distance between them and their "followers". Absolutely nothing of the sort was taking place here. First of all we were not known at all to these comrades. Yet, because it was just about the only room in the Casa in which one could relax at all during those days, we spent some time in there several times a day, whenever we would grow tired of walking around, examining our positions and listening to the shooting. We sat not more than five feet from them, at the very next table. More than that, we would walk over and examine their maps and try to follow their discussions. One comrade with us, who knows Spanish very well, but has nothing to do directly with the organisation here, felt free to intervene and ask questions or even to offer suggestions. It was taken for granted that everyone in the Casa during those days was a comrade. They did not treat (with us) suspicion or keep as at a distance. Nor was this the case because we were, perhaps, foreigners. There was not a worker in the Casa who did not feel free to come and listen; who did not feel the equal of everybody else around that table-- and let me tell you there were some big shots there at the time.

~~say~~ ~~Montgomery~~ ~~mobbed~~ by a bunch of angry and very indignant

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

621

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein.—
6 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

23815

her. And believe me, not only was she not regarded as a leader who had to be handled with respect and kid gloves, but they did not even regard her as an older comrade who might have more experience and whose opinions might be worth listening to. Nor did she expect it. She argued with them on a plane of equality----thorough equality. Nothing could be better to see. At the time, she was still the "Minister of Health" etc.. In any other movement not only would the rank and file have held her in awe, but she would have done everything possible to keep them awestruck. In our movement, not only do the comrades refuse to regard such stuff seriously, but it was quite evident that she herself did not regard it as such. She was one of the comrades responsible for directing the movement at the moment; she was not an infallible leader. As a matter of fact, she yielded to them at the end, and that was the only way the argument finally ended. Little as I could understand, I got the meaning of her final shrug of the shoulders and the last few words that brought the discussion to a close. She said something to the effect, "Give us one more chance to end this conflict peacefully. If we fail you have the full freedom to act and do as you please." This took place on Thursday afternoon. By Friday, the fighting actually did die down. After seeing that, and after seeing her jostled about in a crowd by the comrades, including Garcia Oliver; and after seeing them moving in the crowd, talking to the comrades, all of them, the great anonymous mass of our comrades, no one can tell ~~that~~ that a chasm has developed between the "leaders" and the rank and file, that there is a distance between the two.

At the present time, a conference ~~xxxx~~ of the Local Federation of the FAI is being held. They have only had three sessions so far, but it is becoming evident already that the FAI is preparing to take a firmer attitude from now on. At least that seems to be the trend. But during all these preliminary talks of the comrades, in which the sentiment of the movement is being sounded out, there is no reproach for the "leadership", for Oliver, Montseny and the others. They must give a report of their stewardship, but they are not being reproached for what they have done, because what they done they have done with the consent and upon the advice of the Movement. And if anyone wants to tell you that the FAI is composed of job holding bureaucrats or would-be bureaucrats, "bop him over the head" as we say in picturesque American. It is as much a movement of workers as any union could be. A movement of selected workers, of the most idealistic, the most class conscious, the most devoted. I don't believe you could have a finer gathering of men any place as at a FAI gathering. No union could ever have that selectivity, that opportunity for free and open discussion, that complete cordiality, that unanimity of basic principles that a gathering of FAI workers shares.

Then again, the unions have also been holding Congresses and Conferences galore. Every day there are announcements of new such meetings. And certainly the delegates to these sessions come directly from the workers, instructed by them. Nor are the decisions of such sessions valid until

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein. —
6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

23816

they are ratified by the local unions represented. Every month local and regional and national plenums of the CNT are being held, in which the delegates gather from their local organisations with direct instructions of the membership. How can one say that the "leadership", the National Committee, or the Regional Committees are drifting away from the membership and leading them around by the nose?

If, then, there is such close contact in the movement, between those who happen to be in the directing positions and those who are still working in the factories and the fields, you probably ask, why this loss of militance? Why this continual retreat? Why all this maneuvering? Emma, our movement, and with it, all the people of Spain are in one of the most tragic situations that any people have ever found themselves in history. On the front is international fascism, backed by all the powerful resources of Italy's and Germany's war machinery. In the rear, the Communists and the bourgeois parties are working most unscrupulously to rob the workers and peasants of their conquests. Supporting the latter is international finance and Russia. They, and the latter in particular, are determined to forestall a Social Revolution. Their maneuvers of the past few months definitely prove, to my satisfaction, that all of them, including Soviet Russia and the Spanish communists, have faced the dilemma and made their choice. Between Franco and the Social Revolution, all of them prefer Franco. I stress this because there are comrades here who still do not want to believe that the communists have reached such a low level. As the situation stands now, we too must make a choice. At the present time, we must still depend upon the outside for armaments. We absolutely cannot manufacture enough in Spain to keep an army of 400,000 armed. It is an utter impossibility. If at the present time, we go out on the streets and crush all the counter-revolutionary elements as they should be crushed, and as every anarchist in Spain feels they should, we immediately cut off all possibility of outside aid in any form whatever. There would be civil war within the international war against fascism. The fronts would be torn asunder, and above all we would be isolated from all supplies of arms from the outside. In other words, the fall of Bilbao because of sheer superiority of weapons, should knock all the illusions out of us that the war can be won by spirit alone, etc.. Therefore if take the offensive and wipe out our enemies in the rear, as we can do any time we please, we open the way for a Franco victory, with all the massacre it incurs, and with the complete suppression of everything that today still serves to inspire the workers of the world. On the other hand, if we know that we will only receive weapons to carry on against Franco from the outside, only in measure as the other countries are convinced that we are being put in our place, i.e., that they feel certain that we cannot assert ourselves afterward and put our program into practice. However, so long as Franco is defeated, so long as we have our own armed contingents on the fronts, so long as we have so much arms in the rear, directly under our control, we shall always be able to fight for our ideals after Franco is disposed of. In other

623

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein. — 6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4

23817

words, no matter what retreats we are compelled to make at this time, while the war is still on, the final decision is by no means prejudiced by it. The final decision in Spain will be the test of arms after Franco is gone, and don't forget it. Everybody knows it, we as well as they. That is why they are doing everything possible to put us into a position of inferiority ~~after~~ so that ~~it~~ it shall be that much more difficult for us to move at the end of the war. But whatever they do, they cannot take our weapons from us, and they know it. When the Patrols of ~~the~~ Control were dissolved and they were ordered to give ~~their~~ weapons, they surrendered, as somebody in a position to know put it, "forty old muskets". Literally so. And the Patrols of Control are known to have plenty of arms. When the Valencia Government and the Generality called upon everybody to surrender their arms for the "front", our movement "complied" by printing the order in Soli⁹ (it took up a full page), without a single comment of its own. I understand, that a couple of hundred old rifles were turned in altogether. When you stop to think that in one cuartel alone, our comrades captured 4,000 new rifles and machine guns, and hand grenades, and munitions for all of this during the May Days, and that this was not the only "catch" they made, you can first begin to measure the position and the strength of the CNT and the FAI. In other words, I am trying to say that no matter what the maneuvers during the war, no matter what the retreats we are compelled to make now, the actual strength of our movement rests upon its arms, and we are well armed! The movement is a healthy one and is not too concerned over the political fortunes of our "representatives", nor, I ~~think~~ believe, are the "representatives" themselves. However, on that I cannot speak too definitely, since I have not spoken to any of them personally. But having seen them among the comrades, and the comrades with them, I must draw such a conclusion. As for the rest, the alternative: crush the others now with the almost certain prospects of Franco victory following, or accede now to their puny aggressions, with the assurance that we have the arms, and that the final decision will depend upon the arms. That is the alternative. And I challenge anybody to assume the responsibility of doing other than what our movement, not our "leaders", are doing at the present time. I spoke of the communists as having made the choice of Franco sooner than the Social Revolution, because they are prime movers in the entire counter-revolutionary campaign now in full blast. The bourgeoisie would never have had the courage to undertake it, because they fear the strength of the proletariat, and because they fear the consequences of such internal ~~strength~~ strife for Spain as a whole. The communists, however, have their eyes fixed upon Russia only, and do not care what happens to any ^{other} country in which they happen to be located. I did not want to go into the question as to whether or not our movement had to find itself in its present condition, in other words, if at the very beginning, it had acted differently, and taken over control of everything, it could not have conducted the war along other lines and with

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein. —
6 p. ; 30 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5

greater success, because it is too big for ~~the~~ present discussion. I hope to write something about it in the near future and send it to Spain and the World and the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

Please let Mollie and Sonya and Sania see this if they are interested in it. I was told by a comrade who came from there that Mollie wrote me a letter that I never received, in which she asked me for an opinion on what happened. I never received the letter. However, I doubt very much whether I should have expressed an opinion until the last week or two, because I was honestly not able to.

Also, I have asked my family to send me five or ten dollars a month to help me out while I am here. Knowing the difficulty of receiving it here, I asked them to send it to her. I hope you won't mind, Mollie, ^{even} if we do happen to be in disagreement just now on what is happening here. I also asked them to send me a clip ^{style} machine that binds the bulletins together through you. If you get them, will you mind giving them to G. to bring over here? They just passed a new law here, that if you receive money from the outside, you must change it at the bank at the ~~the~~ official rate. It is therefore impossible to get money directly here. I hope this will not put you out too much.

We had been ~~spring~~ hoping to see you, Emma, here in a very short time. But it seems that we shall have no such luck. The much-put-off International Anarchist Congress is now to be held in Paris on the 11th of July, as a Conference, and I am certain that you intend to be there. Oh well! Such is life. I am supposed to be a delegate at said Conference, but I would not take the chance of leaving the country for it. Besides I don't know either French or Spanish well enough to be more than a poor listener and a spectator. I would rather stay here and do more work. What do you think of the Bulletin lately? In my opinion they have been deteriorating somewhat. I shall have to try to improve them. I also have a plan of putting out a whole series of small pamphlets to sell for 2 pence in England, and 5 ~~cents~~ cents, making a survey of all the collected ^{and} socialised industries. What do you think of the idea? I originally wanted to put them into the Bulletin, but I'm afraid that the stories would be too long and the Bulletin would lose its value as a purely news bulletin. I believe, although I haven't spoken to Souchy about it yet (he is at Valencia just now) that I will be able to get the money for the project. And I can't imagine any better propaganda for our ideas, our movement, and for the workers and peasants in Spain, than ~~the~~ a description of what they have actually been doing. Here's hoping we are able to put it over.

We are organising an English speaking ~~group~~ group and applying for membership in the FAI. I hope they take us in. There are twelve of us to start the ball rolling. Not bad, eh wot? That ought to help us do better work over here.

Selma and I expect to go out next week to the Aragon to visit the Collectives for a few days, if I can finish next week's bulletin this week. She expects to leave Spain in about three or four weeks, and we haven't

625

The Emma Goldman Papers

900117029

[Letter, 1937 July 1, Barcelona to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Abe Bluestein.—
6 p.; 30 x 24 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6

23819

been outside of Barcelona at all. She would like to go to Valencia & Madrid before she leaves Spain, but does not want to do it alone, and I'm afraid that she will find nobody to go with her. However, we will try to see as much as possible ^{before} ~~and the time~~ she leaves, including the Collectives, the new schools, factories, etc., at least around Barcelona.

Frank is supposed to be on his way here. If he actually gets here, I shall probably take a couple of weeks off to go to Madrid and Valencia, if he would be willing to take care of the Bulletin during that time. Otherwise I don't know whether I shall ever be able to see the rest of Spain.

Concerning the present situation here, what can I say? It is atrocious. They are playing the most openly aggressive and contemptible politics possible. Our comrades are not experienced politicians, and the others are making monkeys of them. The only thing that saves the situation is the inherent dignity of our movement, its supreme honesty. Nothing and nobody can ever ~~disturb~~ take that away from us, and from our comrades.

I'm afraid this letter is getting rather long, so I'll cut it short here. Please write soon and let me know what you are doing and thinking. Also ask Mollie to write. I want to know what she thinks of the whole situation as well as what she thinks of my opinion of it.

My love to all of you there in Paris. Selma also sends her love. She expects to see you all in a couple of weeks.

As ever, your comrade,

Abe Bluestein

P.S. I assume that Ruth and Zina, the two comrades from America are still there, waiting. Tell them that we haven't heard from them for a long time. Also tell them that comrade Br. is doing his best to get to Paris in order to try to help them. I hope they are enjoying themselves at least during the forced wait. And please give them Selma's and my love.

July 7
This letter was still not gone out. Contacts have been broken right & left. I am trying another source. It's better. I'll try.
5. It's getting not as hell as before. By the way, I've read it over & think I'll send this to the P.S. & the World. The only trouble is getting it out. Can you make copies of it & send it as a letter to some of those "personas" as *negocio personas*?
Abe

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 19]37 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

H. Rüdiger

Jul 1: 1937



My dear Helmut. London. July 2/37
It is such a relief to have a prompt
reply to ones letters. Our dear comrades
in Spain have worn me out with
their neglect to answer the many
attard letters that concerned my act
ivities here. I could have done
a great deal more if I had been
kept informed. Well that is an old
story & a painful one to me.

Thank you my dear for your
answer. There is one most imp
ortant matter in my letter to you
which you overlooked. I asked
you about my return to Spain
whether I had been admitted and
be able to move about once I
get there. You have no idea how
imperative it is for me to get
back. Imperative for my own
peace of mind and for the work
in England if I am to continue
as the representative of the C.I.R. I
It is for this reason that I implore
you once more to tell me frankly
what you think of my return.

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 19]37 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek, Stockholm, Sweden.

p. 2



What are my chances? Can I be
arranged by Barcelona to get
me over? Please, please answer
these questions.

By the dead one can not
blame the comrades outside of
Spain if they are confused
and on a measure of responsibility
about the stupid taken by our
leading comrades in Spain. The
worst fears I had of other com-
rades not me about the can-
sequences of anarchists in gov-
ernment positions, and the complete
surrender to Naz can have come
true. The criminal comrades who
would never have become
such a power in Spain if other
comrades had not given them
 carte blanche. There is no denying
this is true.
Whatever the reasons for
calling a retreat in the May

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 19]37 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

p 3



events. The fact ³ remains the C.N.P. has
have lost prestige and position.
The Communists & other reaction-
aries could not now go on
annihilating all rights, all pol-
tical liberties, arresting
and lynchering people in their
stolen disguises. A campaign
had just called a retreat. All this
has been a frightful shock to
comrades out of Spain.
The 19th of July 36. Came as
a greater inspiration to all of us
than even the Russian Revolution.
To see it all destroyed, the C.N.P.
now offering a minimum program
which would have
put the Poles in government
to shame is a frightful shock.
I repeat our comrades out of
Spain are naturally bitterly dis-
appointed & critical. The Spanish

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 1937 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman]. —
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

p. 4



comrades should understand this. It is unfortunate that they are so hypersensitive to criticism of even so well meant. I fear they may even condemn me because of the enclosed statement I made for Spain and the World setting forth my stand. After all one has not given 50 years to an idea or a movement to accept without a number of decisions and actions that put everything on its head. I am having my statement translated into Spanish to send to both the National and Regional Committees. I have tried to be just to our Spanish comrades, to explain their actions to the comrades who have been reminding me with questions of the C.N.T. & F.I. will class me with

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 1937 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

p. 4: back



Here French critics I will make
me most unhappy. But I will
have to accept their decided though
I will not give up my right
to question their infatigability. I
will be a principal day for long
christ thought & its substitute of man;
christ will be denounced as traitor
by heretics because they
can not swallow everything they
outstanding men & women
are doing. It will prove that
anarchism & anarchists have
become the same scoundrels as
the Stalin gang. I hope that
day will never come. Anyhow
here is my "offense". Let me
know what you think of it
above everything answer my
question about Spain. Is
there a way. Will you undertake
to see the comrades of the Comité

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 1937 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

p. 5



Regional. Tell them I am in Spain
with very thought, every idea
of my being. I'd rather lose
my life here than go on living
a useless life outside of Spain.
Ask them to try and arrange
my return. Whatever happens
I must be get back to liquidate
before the comrades in Valencia
what I have done in England for the
last 6-7 months. Will you
help me, please.

I am still crippled and may
be for another week or two. It
is enervating for the trouble to
have happened when I was all
ready to go to Paris.

Greetings to comrade Salke
affectionately
Emma

PJ

632

The Emma Goldman Papers

830414008

[Letter, 1937 July 2, London [to] Helmut [Rüdiger, Paris] / Emma [Goldman].—
7 p.; 30 × 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek,
Stockholm, Sweden.

p. 5: back



So Green has been sent to A.
as the ambassador of the C.N.P.
It is so laugh.

But I did not believe a word
about him, Selma & others and
But I am glad to have your
assurance - Thanks

Love to our beloved friends
Mollie & Sam

%

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F. A. I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London

TELEPHONE: FULMAN 6829

[illegible]

in fact. It's just that
I never suggested a. I agree to
apply for a visa now. In saying I want
him to be called to the United
Congressional. I did not receive the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

634

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

Emma Goldman has asked for an extension
5 years ago said, he could do nothing
until Congress adjourns as it would
not do to have any touring a while
that maybe House is in session
I had very little, indeed, any
right to do anything, do anything
under the circumstances, had to be
home.

This again is what I am trying to say
Emma, you are an American & you are
me, the same thing 5 years ago
naturally, particularly at that time
same, & also are inaction in
becoming an American and I
thankfully, I don't believe I really
want to do anything, in this case
I might have been a real soldier
soldier.

I don't know if you are the same
or if you are not, I don't know
could be, getting it under the
people's class to be administered
can be. On any case, I don't

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

635

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

[illegible]

636

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, London [to] Harry [Kelly, New Rochelle, N.Y.] / Emma [Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 26 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

will send copy
of letter to Paul
next reading
cy

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

637

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029118

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Saturday.

Vence

3/7/37

4138

Dearest Emma,

Just got yours - How
dreadable about St. Tropez -
I can't see they can demand
commission - How could they enforce
it? I am going to ask the notaire
here what the law is in the matter.
I will go to Bon Espoir - but
when - how can I say? I can
get someone to run me over perhaps
but this weekend it is impossible
To day is Sat. I could not see the
agent even if I got away - he would
be closed for weekend. My life at
present is just one whirl - never
I know any thing like it. Mr. Charleston
& her Sec. arrive tonight - Archie
D. & his little girl come by car

638

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029118

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

in a day or two - they would take me
to St. T. N. D. was coming down
stair a week ago & met some one about
to come up to see me - Archie's ^{first}
wife - they are not yet divorced -
I met her years ago. She exclaimed
"Heavens here's Daddy" Norman ^{was}
frontally for me - he was with
his of the most charming young people
I have ever seen - staying at the
Eden Rock Cap d'Antibes. Of course
it ended in a big party - the de
Bailli gave eight of a dinner & on
Monday they come up again to give
a dinner - I tell you all the
because I am scared but
Archie should arrive in the midst
of it - I should hate his little girl
to be hurt - the wife is rich. Older
& has everything. What a life?
I come to David's flat & have

639

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029118

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3.

4140

Breakfast with N. every morn.
I am writing this at his place. I
find it quiet to do my letters here —
~~that~~ that is why I don't type now.
But Emma dear, how sad about your
accident — I can imagine how
you feel. Spain & all the world
wallowing in human blood — ghastly.
You must have day & nightmares
about it.

I will do my best about St. T.
But first I will go see the Notaire
— a friend of mine. This place is
packed with people & more crop-
friends I mean. I am afraid I
would hate it more than ever. I
can't walk across the Place without
being attacked by a dozen or more.
N. says they will eat me raw — he
feels wild — But what can we do?
We go at midnight to meet H. & Chentob.
The "Spain & the world" you sent me

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029118

[Letter, 19]37 July 3, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4141

the girl threw away half an hour
after it arrived before I had time to
read it. Send me another.

Tell Nellie it was impossible
to go to Pompadour the other after-
noon. But Archie will take us next
week in his car & we can collect
the things - also tell her, I have heard
that the man who said he "might"
take all the pictures - now want the
Louvre & Coi Wilde & perhaps the
John & Rolandson - I shall know
today on Monday collect - ~~Pages~~
Swine - he swore he wanted St.
Louis four - when one Gods -

You would hate all this life here
I know - crowds of people just
fraternizing away their lives in idleness - but
believe me at the moment I have a
full time job - And love it.

Bless you dear Emma, get well. W.
Say cheerio to you! Must away.
Auntie

Look Nellie. My wife was of course here on day 10
with me & stayed with her. Her address is 10111.
International Institute of Social History.

641

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 6, London [to] Fann[ie] Barrett, [Toronto] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

18 Castletown Road,
West Kensington,
London, W.14.

July 6, 1937.

Dear Fanny Barrett,

I have not heard from you in ages. I believe you still owe me an answer to my last letter, but whether you do or not I am sorry that I could not write you more often. I have had strenuous months here carrying on an intensive publicity campaign for my comrades in Spain. I had fully intended to leave England last week but unfortunately met with a slight accident. I fell down and badly strained the ligaments in my leg which may take quite a time to get right. This leaves me in doubt as to when I can attempt to travel, nor am I certain that I can get into Spain.

Terrible things have happened there since I left which have under-mined much of the political freedom the International Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have established since the 19th July, 1936. You must have received the document in the form of a supplement to SPAIN AND THE WORLD, a paper published here, and with which I have been connected. I have given your name to the editor. I am sure he must have put you on his list. You will see from the document what actually has happened in Spain. I understand that the Toronto Star has had the impudence to charge betrayal to the Anarchists; it would be just like a capitalist paper, especially as it is tainted with Communist leanings. All I can say is that there is no truth in the charge. Incidentally I have sent a letter, which originally went to the Manchester Guardian, to the Toronto Star in regard to the conspiracy against the CNT-FAI. If it appeared you will have read it; I took a chance although I am not at all sure.

Since my return to Spain is doubtful and I simply cannot be idle in the face of urgent need of help of my comrades, and the homeless women and children, I am planning to go to Canada, partly to do as much work for Spain as I can there and partly as a wedge of entering the USA. Unfortunately I am as poor as I have always been and I have to ask the comrades in Canada and in some cities of the States to raise the funds for my trip. Would you undertake to help? To see the friends who have helped before? I have heard from my very dear friend and comrade Jeanne Levey; she has undertaken to raise some money. Unfortunately it is not only a question of the cost of crossing. It is also the necessary amount I must have on landing, \$300, without which nobody is admitted. Naturally that amount would only be a loan to be returned on my arrival but it has got to be raised if I am to sail.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

[2]

18 Castletown Road,
East Kensington,
London, W.14.

I have written¹⁹⁵³ to my comrades in Toronto and Montreal for help. If Dorothy G. has not yet seen you she probably will. Anyhow I know you will do your utmost. Let me hear from you soon too to Paris:
c/o Madame M. Alperine, 23 rue des Volontaires, Paris 15.

Please give my best greetings to Mr. Barrett and the children,

Affectionately

Emma Salzman

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is assigned to the case. The investigator will then gather information about the problem and the people involved. This information will be used to determine the cause of the problem and the best way to solve it.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

643

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1937 July 6 [London to] Fann[ie] Barrett, Toronto / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

Nin Aquitania
 Capt. Angitan
 July 1st / 37



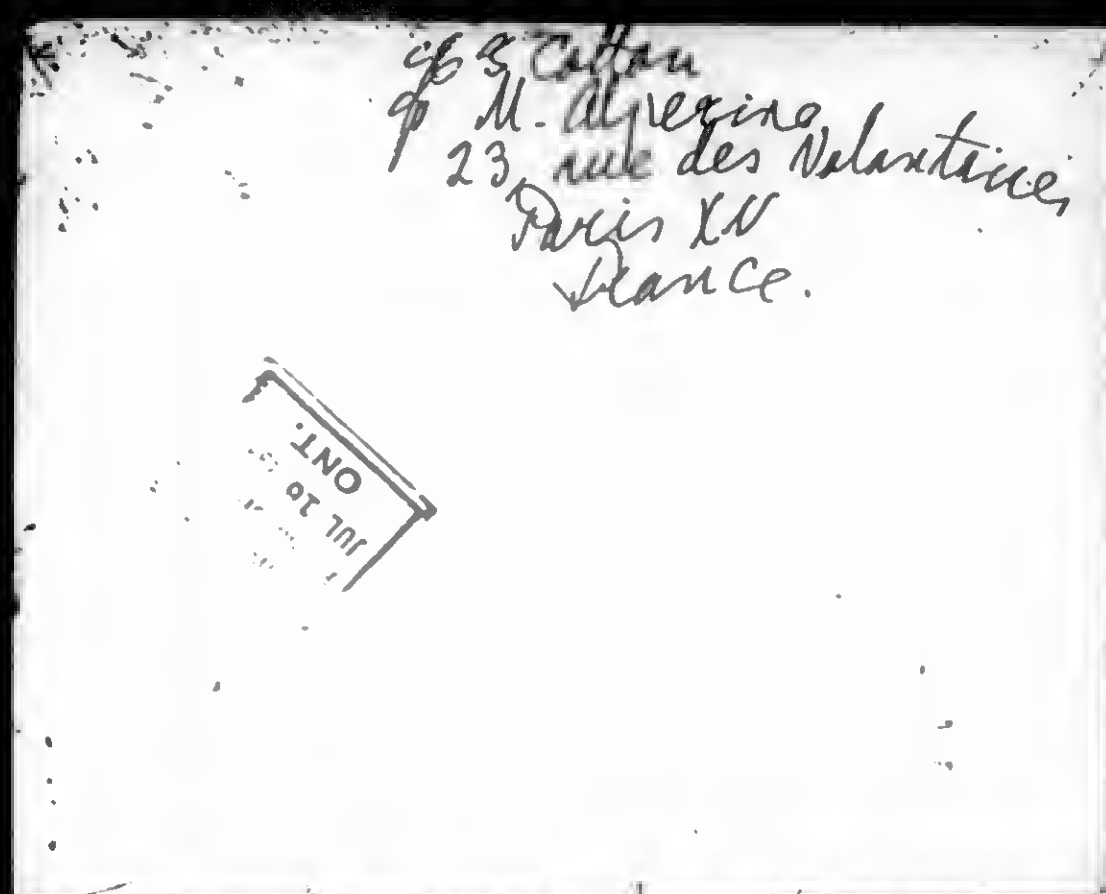
POST
 OFFICE
 THE

~~104 St. Thomas~~
 Genl Del K
 Mrs Danny Barrett
 31 ~~Hudson Stine~~
 Toronto. Ont
 Canada.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1937 July 6 [London to] Fann[ie] Barrett, Toronto / E[mma]
G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 10 × 12 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.



The Emma Goldman Papers

861029119

[Letter, 19]37 July 7, London [to Martha Gordon Croich, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4142

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Galsworthy, The Earl of Lisowet, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

The Hon. Secretary :
Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

London July 7th 37.

Dearest Auntie.

This is the first time in two weeks that I am attempting to write on the machine. My knee still hurts like hell, but I just can not stand the divan any more. The accident itself would not have been so awful were it not for the hundred and one things that usually pile in on me. For in my case it does not rain, it pours in torrents. My concern in Spain as you know as never merely on the surface. It fairly consumed me. But at least I was active for it. I could bear my anxiety better. The last two weeks unable to budge Spain became a veritable obsession. I could not get rid of its spectre day or night. I am sure that ~~the~~ healing process of my knee. ~~erst~~ still I don't know when I will be in condition to undertake the trip to Paris. It may take weeks. You see I can not throw myself on Nellie as is ill herself. Besides it has no sense to merely exchange one divan for another. So I must stick it out here until I can move about with a cane and not in constant misery from every step I take. You may believe me I feel desperate.

This trouble about Bon Esprit certainly did not add to my peace of mind. As you know the place is all I have between me and starvation the next few years. Yet I am forced to hold up the sale. I cannot believe they can make me dispose of it for the original price. ~~Even~~ Even if I have to pay the agent though where I am to get 3700 francs now I have no idea. I got your note with the text of your notaire. I wish to goodness it were written plainer. ~~Unfortunatly~~ I can see though I am in for the loss of the commission to the agent. It is beastly. I am now aching to hear from Sandstrom. If only the French were not so ~~slow~~ slow in writing letters. They all take their time when it concerns others. They are never slow in looking after their own interest. It is worse than having one's teeth pulled to depend for some kind of service even from these French who consider themselves your friend. I know Sandstrom is honest and extremely cautious. He will never put his signature to anything without having absolute authority from me. True I did say that 75,000 francs is the minimum price for Bon Esprit and I left an authorisation for Sandstrom when I left St Tropez last Sept. The sale would have been over and settled but for the delay caused by Stein. However, I have signed nothing nor has Sandstrom. But then the French are capable of any trick

646

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029119

[Letter, 19]37 July 7, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

in dealing with foreigners. I don't mean Sandström. I mean the agent. You can not imagine how unhappy I feel over this new blow. There seems to be no end to it for me.

It was stupid me to intrude on your present life with the request to go to St Tropez and on a Sunday besides. I suppose when one is in trouble one forgets that one should not worry others. I did not realize how foolish it was until David explained to me that you could do nothing to effect the transaction. I was really relieved when I got your letter saying you had not been able to go. The reason for asking you was only the hope that a personal talk with Sandström and the agent might induce the latter to see that the more he will get for Mon Esprit at the present exchange the more he will gain for himself. But it is alright my dear. The matter will have to take its course. If I could travel I would go straight to St Tropez and see what settlement I can make. Since that is physically impossible I must rely on Sandström and my notaire. I will wait until ~~the~~ tomorrow for S.s reply to my letter David took on the machine. If I hear nothing from him I will call up David and ask him to help me with a French letter.

Dearest Auntie I learn from all sides that it would be foolish and quite unprofitable to let the flat furnished unless one is on the premises and can supervise it. I therefore want to remove the furniture. Sonia Clemons has a garrett and she has offered to storage everything for me. This is the more necessary because I have not the remotest idea what will become of me. If I cannot get to Spain, or if I do and my comrades will insist on continuing the work for them in English I will go to Canada for a change. It will be new ground and it will bring me near the States. That in return may facilitate the efforts of my American friends to get me a visa. There is also a possibility that I may be enabled to go to Palestine. I am in correspondence now. Not with Mary Feiwel who came to tea and contribute to the fund. But with comrades of mine and with a certain Dr Rubin who plays quite a part in the cultural life in Tel-Aviv. Something may come of it. In any event I must be free from the responsibility of the flat. So if it is alright for you I will ask Barr to see your agent to tell him that the flat is to be advertised to let unfurnished from the 1st of August. Please let me know at once if you agree. I simply can not carry too many responsibilities. As it is I will probably have to pay the July rent myself. True, Nellie positively said she would share and she would remain until the 25th of this month. Our poor Nellie is really ill. From the moment she got home she developed a catarrh of the nose and head. And the last two days she also had ear bleeding and she was unable to sleep. Nellie gets positive terrified at the least pain. Anyhow she announced yesterday that she would have to go back to the South of France immediately. Now unless she offers to pay her share of the July rent I could not ask her. She may of course. In any event I do not want you to refer to it when you write her. Please dear Auntie do not mention it. She may think of her promise anyhow. I ~~would~~ should hate any shadow to come between me and Nellie. She is in a state of terror about her poverty.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029119

[Letter, 1937 July 7, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

Of course our dear Nollie has not the remotest idea what poverty is and I hope she may never know, but since people are as they think it is no doubt as terrifying to Nollie to have little as it is to those who have nothing at all. Everything is relative after all.

I sent Winnie to your agent in re the payment for the stairs. He would not give her the money owing me. He said he would pay her when I leave. I have already paid Winnie 14/ if I have to go on until the end of the month it will be another three. I know the amount seems small, nor should I mention it at any other time but I must now much as I hate to have any kind of money matters with you my dear. I hope you will take this kindly. There should be no rasping feeling among friends. And we have been and are friends in the true sense aren't we Auntie dear? So will you please let me know if its alright to deduct the amount I have already paid Winnie and for the balance of the time I will have to pay her. I really hate to do it without your consent.

I am delighted to know what a grand time you are having. You are right I should not like the crowds. But I should like to meet Norman Douglas. If people are interesting, if they do things worth while no matter in whatever line I am always glad to know them even if our ideas are worlds apart. The idlers and parasites the people who waste what they have not earned through their own efforts do tire me. But men like Douglas or others like him, or women mean a great deal to me. I always want to know them. Well, perhaps some day your friend and I may meet. If we should find that we have not much in common we will one very important matter our love for you and our admiration for your gay and rich spirit.

Remember me kindly to M.D.

With love

Some one has taken Nellie to the Ivy for lunch. I gave her a note to Abel. She is looking for a Sir Towel who is at the head of the Hotel Syndicate. She hopes to get a job as hostess in a Monte Carlo Hotel. Abel may know the name. I hope Nollie succeeds. Being a hostess is I fear the only thing Nellie can or will ever do. She is most gracious and beautiful in that profession, she has really developed it to an art. Haven't you known 25 or thirty years with Frank was some school eh?

648

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726369

[Letter] 1937 July 7, London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman. — 3 p. ; 30 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24069

ACIARACIONES NECESARIAS A MI POSICION EN EL PRESENTE REVOLUCIONARIO DE ESPANA .

Los tragicos sucesos de Barcelona en Mayo ultimo y todo lo que ha ocurrido desde entonces, me obligan a hacer estas declaraciones encaminadas a fijar mi posicion, especialmente necesaria ahora con motivo de la publicacion del manifiesto de nuestros camaradas franceses, el cual tambien aparecera en el proximo numero de "Spain and the World".

Es triste tener que admitirlo, pero no cabe dudar que a partir de los primeros dias de Mayo, el alzamiento glorioso de la CNT-FAI del 19 de Julio ha recibido una tremenda sacudida y mucho me temo que no pueda en mucho tiempo resarcirse de los golpes recibidos. Desde el momento en que los dirigentes de la CNT FAI aceptaron puestos en los Ministerios y se sometieron a las condiciones fijadas por la Rusia Sovietica a trueque de armamentos, puede prever el precio inevitable que nuestros camaradas habian de pagar por ello. Esto mismo fue previsto por todos los companeros extranjeros residentes a la sazón en Barcelona, todos los cuales declararon que las concesiones hechas por la CNT-FAI constituian los primeros pasos en falso en el camino de la Revolucion. Nosotros anticipamos, y no vacilamos en llamar la atencion sobre ello a nuestros camaradas españoles, que se ponian al borde de un precipicio. No obstante, yo continúe a pesar de ~~xxx~~ ello defendiendo la actitud adoptada por varios de nuestros companeros, lo hice porque presentia que la gravedad de la lucha antifascista hacia inevitable al parecer, la accion de la CNT-FAI. La otra alternativa que se presentaba era la Dictadura, cosa que los camaradas españoles consideraban justificadamente el peor de los males. Pero despues de los hechos, hay que reconocer que desgraciadamente, la participacion de los anarquistas en el Gobierno y las concesiones hechas a Rusia, han dado por resultado un mal casi irreparable para la Revolucion.

Se comprende por tanto, la indignacion de nuestras camaradas francesas y de otros paises contra el proceder de la CNT-FAI. Han demostrado sus dirigentes gran falta de vision y discernimiento al tratar con nuestros aliados. Lo unico que tengo que objetar al manifiesto de nuestros camaradas de Francia es la acusacion de traicion y soborno politico dirigida a los principales camaradas de la CNT-FAI. Los anarquistas despues de todo somos humanos, y en consecuencia propensos a equivocarnos como el que mas; como ha ocurrido en otras ocasiones del pasado revolucionario del movimiento anarquista, segun se ha visto en el caso de los revolucionarios bolcheviques; pero existe una diferencia sin embargo. Lenin y su partido aspiraban a una Dictadura, mientras que la CNT-FAI desde el comienzo de la Revolucion la han repudiado, manteniendo siempre inhiesta la bandera del Comunismo Libertario.

Cualesquieran que sean los compromisos contraidos por los dirigentes de la CNT-FAI, nadie ni aun sus mas enconados enemigos podran decir que los contrajeron en beneficio propio, o porque deseaban encumbrarse en el poder.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726369

[Letter] 1937 July 7, London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.—
3 p.; 30 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 - 24070

Por lo que a mí me atane, encuentro imposible llegar a creer que ninguno de ellos se ha convertido en traidor o que se haya torpado ~~much~~ político intrigante en el corto espacio de seis meses. Repito que el carácter humano es vulnerable. Sin embargo, no concibo que revolucionarios del temple, consecuencia y heroísmo demostrados constantemente en el transcurso de los años por los camaradas de España en el movimiento anarquista, hayan sido tan fácilmente deslumbrados por unos puestos en el Gobierno.

Yo no soy de aquellos que crean en la fantasía de que con entrar en los Ministerios, los anarquistas podían afectar el curso o trayectoria de la Revolución española; o que aceptando las condiciones retardatorias de Stalin, nuestros camaradas conseguirían dar impetu al triunfo de la causa antifascista. Y mucho menos puedo defender la débil postura adoptada por los dirigentes de la CNT-FAI en la trágica lucha de los días 3 y 4 de Mayo. Considero como algo extraordinario y en contra posición a la gallarda postura revolucionaria siempre defendida por la CNT-FAI, el volver la cara, llamar a la retirada y frenar con la lógica de la resistencia pasiva la desbordante acción de las masas. Todo esto no significa que debemos permanecer en silencio. Al contrario, debemos hacer constar definitivamente nuestra ~~parcial~~ disensión y pedir cuentas con toda franqueza a nuestros camaradas; pero teniendo siempre en cuenta que los anarquistas mas que ningún otro grupo social, deben de tener mucho cuidado de arrojar cargos contra aquellos que lealmente han servido nuestra causa toda su vida, al primer sintoma de inconsistencia ideológica, motivada quizás por la magnitud de los acontecimientos de España y la forma acelerada de los mismos que les dan un ritmo casi desconocido por nosotros. Guerra en el exterior y Revolución en el interior? Es que existe alguno entre nosotros que en honor ~~se~~ a la verdad pueda decir que ha permanecido siempre fiel a sus ideas? Kropotkin, en su actitud durante la guerra, cometió un acto de indisciplina a nuestros principios. Su defensa de los Aliados; su defensa de que si fuese mas joven cargaría con un fusil, estaban diametricalmente opuestas al Anarquismo y a todo lo que nuestro gran maestro nos había enseñado sobre la guerra como arma de conquista y saqueo del Capitalismo. Aquellos de nosotros que nos oponíamos a la matanza, criticamos y condenamos la actitud de nuestro camarada y maestro, pero se nos ocurrió tacharlo de traidor. ? Y que de nosotros mismos? Eramos contrarios a la Guerra Europea y algunos de nosotros fuimos encarcelados por nuestra oposición, y sin embargo dejando de lado nuestro pacifismo ideológico, acudimos inmediatamente a prestar nuestro apoyo a la guerra antifascista. Adoptamos esta contraria actitud, porque entendíamos que el fascismo es la mas pavorosa amenaza para las libertades proletarias; la peste contagiosa que envenena y desintegra toda manifestación de la vida política y social. Los países donde impera el fascismo lo mismo que la dictadura rusa, lo demuestran ampliamente. En los países democraticos aun le a uno permitido respirar, a pesar de la poca democracia que en los mismos se respira. Puede uno levantar la voz todavia contra todo abuso político o iniquidad social y gozar de ciertas garantías de seguridad. Todo esto ha sido destruido por el fascismo? No podría resultar por tanto que los camaradas que ahora son escarnecidos por los que han visto los acontecimientos de la Revolución española desfigurados por la distancia; actuaron de la manera en que lo hicieron, porque ellos estaban y estan convencidos que ante todo y sobre todo la lucha

650

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726369

[Letter] 1937 July 7, London [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.—
3 p.; 30 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24 7 1

- 3 -

debe de ser concentrada en derrotar el fascismo ? Porque es a todas luces evidente para quien piense con logica, que la Revolucion se perderia irremisiblemente si el fascismo no fuese derrotado en España. Los que permanecemos lejos de España, sin compartir las privaciones y peligros de los valerosos camaradas españoles y de otras nacionalidades que conjuntamente luchan en los frentes y laboran en la retaguardia, deberiamos procurar al menos comprender, si no excusar los moviles que dictaron las concesiones y compromisos pactados por los dirigentes de la CNT FAI.

Deseo pues hacer constar clara y concisamente hoy dia yo permanezco en el mismo sitio que he ocupado durante toda mi vida de anarquista. Creo con la misma firmeza de siempre que las aproximaciones a Gobiernos y Partidos politicos son perjudiciales para nuestra causa. Por otra parte no puedo cerrar los ojos al hecho de que la vida en sus multiformes facetas impele mas que las teorías; pueden surgir momentos en la lucha revolucionaria en los que sea necesario poseer un ferreo caracter y una determinacion clarividente para escojer la ruta debida, y como que yo no poseo estas cualidades casi que superhumanas, os pue di pre juzgar lo que habria hecho de encontrarme a la cabeza de la CNT FAI como mis camaradas españoles. Por tales razones, no puedo aceptar los cargos de traidores y de corrupcion politica lanzados en contra de ellos, por mucho que difiera mi pensamiento de sus metodos.

En conclusion; deseo afirmar que estoy con todo mi poder y valor al lado de la CNT FAI y del pueblo español en su lucha contra el fascismo internacional. Habiendo convivido con nuestros camaradas en cada ciudad y en cada pueblo de las provincias visitadas durante mi estancia en España y habiendo llegado a compenetrarme con ellos con lazos de entrañable cariño, mi fe en dichos camaradas sigue inalterable. Estoy segura que no toleraran por mucho tiempo que nadie que pretenda poner vallas a la marcha ascendente de sus aspiraciones revolucionarios. Su historial de lucha, su acendrado amor por el Comunismo Libertario me aseguran que nunca permitiran que a la marcha emprendida por el proletariado español se le opong an individuo o institucion alguna. Esto me basta para entregarme por completo a la lucha antifascista y revolucionaria en que estan empeñados nuestros camaradas españoles.

Entiendo que no es labor de critica lo que merecen nuestros hermanos de España en estos momentos en que generosamente dan su sangre para salvar al mundo entero de la peste del fascismo, es colaborando, es estando cerca de ellos, sintiendo en nuestra sangre sus dolores y sus alegrías, aportando consejos quien pueda aportarlos antes de que ignorados puedan convertirse en critica despiadada y perjudicial a la causa nobilísima del anarquismo internacional. Si han habido desviaciones, solamente la colaboracion fraternal de la gran familia anarquista trabajando constantemente en el seno de ella misma podra en tarca facil, hacer volver las aguas a su primitivo cauce. Para conseguirlo estoy por entero al lado de los luchadores de España.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Londres, 7 de Julio de 1937.

651

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Receipt, 19]37 July 7, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / V[ernon] R[ichards].— 1 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

SPAIN AND THE WORLD

Fortnightly Dedicated to the
Anti-Fascist Struggle and the
Social Revolution in Spain

London.....7.7.37.....1937

Received from Emma Goldman, on behalf of "SPAIN & the
World" two cheques value £30 and £6 respectively, making
a total of £36 (thirtysixpounds):

p.p. SPAIN & the WORLD.

W. R. R. R.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 7, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Samuel Freedman. — 1 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

Published Weekly Since 1899

Telephone CHelsea 3-8187

Freie Arbeiter Stimme

JEWISH WEEKLY

45 WEST 17th STREET

New York City

July 7, 1937

Dear Emma:

Your letter of June 25th received. Congratulations on your 68th birthday - may you continue your good work for many more years to come. I sincerely hope you have recovered from your unfortunate accident.

Your statement of the present situation in Spain was given to Mark a bit too late for today's issue of the F.A.S. He will use it in the next issue.

As far as Sasha's book A B C of Anarchism is concerned, I accept your proposition to postpone the printing until next month - August. It will then take about a month to get the book printed. I believe September is a good month to start circulating the book. Please send me the forward as soon as you possibly can. I realize you cannot say very much in 2 pages, but it is utterly impossible to have a forward of more than 2 pages, due to the fact that the book is printed from plates. If we were to have a longer forward, the entire book would have to be reset, which is too expensive for us to think about.

I am mailing you under separate cover a copy of Sasha's book, to avoid the trouble of your looking for it.

Comrade Berkman's Memorial meeting took place on June 28th. The speakers were Harry Kelly, Harry Weinberger, Carlo Tresco, Walter Starrett, Sam Weiner and Abe Grosner.

On June 25th I sent you a letter containing Rose Pesotta's answer to me in reply to a letter I had sent her to speak to Dubinsky. From these letters you can see how the situation is. As soon as Rose returns to N.Y. I will speak to her.

Fraternal greetings from all the comrades, myself and my family,

Comradely yours,

Samuel Freedman

653

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

R. 29-9-32

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London 8 de julio 1937

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6929

Queridos camaradas del Comité Nacional
Valencia

He procurado imaginar que posibles motivos pueden justificar vuestro silencio. He escrito el 19 y el 23 de junio. También os he mandado mi informe detallado del trabajo realizado aquí para la CNT-FAI. Os he rogado de mandarme recibos oficiales del importe del concierto, afin de economizar £ 35 cobrado como impuesto de espectáculo público. Pero ni una palabra de vosotros hasta fecha. Me doy cuenta, queridos camaradas, que vuestra lucha en España debe absorber toda vuestra atención y tiempo. Sin embargo, si los que estamos fuera de España, han de ayudaros, debemos por lo menos conservar nuestro contacto íntimo con vosotros y vosotros con nosotros. Me sorprende en extremo que tu, querido compañero David Antono, estuviste en París para el gran mitin del 18 de junio, y ni siquiera me escribiste. Debía ser más fácil de escribir libremente desde París, mucho más que desde Valencia. Y si no tuviste tiempo de escribir, siempre podías llamarme por teléfono. Solamente puedo explicarme tu negligencia, por la conclusión que vosotros los camaradas no consideren mi trabajo de suficiente importancia para molestaros. Aun así, estaría bien, sabiendo en definitivo que es este el caso. Pero de quedar en la incertidumbre, es francamente inaguantable hasta para mi capacidad de resistencia física.

En una de mis cartas, os imploro de hacerme saber si podéis arreglar mi regreso a España. No puedo creer que la CNT-FAI han perdido tanto terreno que ya no es posible para nuestros camaradas de visitaros afin de cambiar impresiones importantes. Eso sería deplorable de veras. Sin renovar mis impresiones de vuestro labor, me resultaría imposible de seguir con la campaña en Inglaterra y Canadá. Así, debo recordaros una vez más de la necesidad urgente de mi regreso entre vosotros.

No es nada nuevo decir que la táctica de la CNT-FAI en los últimos seis o siete meses ha causado un sin fin de confusión entre nuestros elementos en todos los países. No me refiero solamente a los camaradas jóvenes y inconscientes pero entre los más serios, quienes siguen con vosotros en vuestra lucha. Yo soy una de ellos. Por lo tanto, me sentí obligada de declarar mi posición. Adjunto una copia en español, porque quiero que vosotros, camaradas de la CNT-FAI, conozcáis mi posición. También mando una copia al Comité Regional. Es posible que no aprobéis mi declaración, y quizás no queréis más que sigue como vuestro representante en Inglaterra. En tal caso, debéis escribirme sin falta. Comprenderé y no os echare ninguna culpa. Pero para mí, la declaración de mi posición fue imperativa. Sabéis que he sido Anarquista desde hace 48 años. Los camaradas en todas partes y particularmente en los EE.UU. Canadá y England, tienen una profunda confianza en mi devoción a nuestra causa. Saben que

654

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 22 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archives.

nunca les he faltado y nunca lo hare. Me han mandado una avalancha de cartas pidiendo mi declaracion. ~~Espero~~ Me fue inprecondible de hacerlo y espero que perviva en algun lugar a volver a los jovenes y hasta a algunos de los amigos comunistas y sus juicios.

Deja estar en Paris ha de tres semanas, Pero tuve un accidente que me incapacito con una rotilla danada y ligamentos rotos. El dolor sigue fuerte y me es dificil andar. Pero espero estar en condicion de emprender el viaje por ultimos de la semana entrante. Os ruego de contestar esta y las otras cartas c/o Calve, Paris

Salud

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

655

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921015

[Letter, 19]37 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children

Sponsors—

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE
REBECCA WEST
LADY PLAYFAIR
ETHEL MANNIN
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
HAVELOCK ELLIS
JOHN GIELGUD
THE EARL OF LISTOWEL
SIR BARRY JACKSON
JOHN COWPER POWYS
ROBERT NICHOLS
Dr. S. VERE PEARSON

Dear comrades of Comité Nacional
valencia.

July 8th 37.

Hon. Treasurer—

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL
8 Cumberland Terrace
N.W.1

Hon. Secretary—

Mrs. E. G. COLTON
18 Castletown Road, W.14
PHONE: FULHAM 6829

I have been trying to think what can possibly be the reason of your silence. I have written you June 19th and 23rd. I have also sent you my long report of the work here for the CNT-FAI. I have begged you to send me official receipts for ~~£200~~ the amount from our concert so that I could save £35 from the Customs for amusement tax, but not one word from you until now. I realize dear comrades that your struggle in Spain must be absorbing all your thoughts and most of your time. Still, if we outside of Spain are to help you we should at least be in close touch with you and you with us. I was especially surprised to read that you dear comrade David Antono were in Paris for the large meeting June 18th and that you have not written me from there. It would have been easier to write freely from Paris, much more so than you can write from Valencia. Or if you had no time to write you could have called me up. I can only explain your neglect by the conclusion that you comrades do not consider my work important enough to bother about. That would be alright if only I would know definitely whether this is the case. But to be under the strain of uncertainty is really too wearing.

In one of my letters I implored you to let me know if you can arrange to get me over to Spain. I cannot believe that the CNT-FAI have lost so much ground that it can no longer make it possible for comrades to visit them and to come to them for important consultation. That would be ~~frightful~~ deplorable indeed. Without renewing my impressions of your work it will be impossible to go on with the campaign in England or Canada. So must remind you again of the urgent need of my return to your midst.

I do not have to tell you that the part played by the CNT-FAI the last six or seven months have brought no end of confusion in our ranks in every country. I do not mean only among the young and careless comrades but even among the more serious those who are with you in your struggle. I am one of them. I therefore felt impelled to state my position. I ~~inclose~~ inclose a copy in Spanish because I want you comrades of the CNT-FAI to know my position. I am also sending a copy to the Comité Regional. Of course you may not

656

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 8, London [to] Comité Nacional, CNT-FAI, Valencia [Spain] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

12488

approve of my stand, and perhaps also feel that you do not want me to continue as your delegate in England. In that case you should write me without fail. I will understand and not blame you in the least. But for myself, the statement of where I stand was imperative. You see I have been an Anarhist for 48 years. The comrades everywhere, and especially in the United States, Canada and England have deep confidence in my devotion to our cause. They know I have never failed them or ever will. They have bombarded me with letters asking for my stand. I had to make it known. I am hoping it may bring our young comrades and even some of the older to their senses.

I should have been in Paris three weeks ago. But I had an accident which laid me up with a bruised knee and torn ligaments. The pain is still pretty severe and it is difficult to walk. But I hope to be in condition to travel the latter part of next week. Please answer this and the other letters c/o Galve Paris.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921017

[Letter, 1937 July 9, London to Nemesio] Galve, [Paris] / E[mma] G[oldman].—
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12490

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis,
John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

Dear comrade Galve.

Thanks for the information about the comrades in
Parcelona who are supposed to have been arrested. I really did not
believe the news I received via Glasgow. But I wanted to make sure.

I am sending with comrades Frank the Spanish translation
of my statement in SPAIN AND THE WORLD. The original is to go to the
Sect. of the Comité Nacional in Valencia, the other to the Comité
Regional in Barcelona. I also want a few Spanish copies typed so I
can also send a copy to Soli and give one to Roca. Also one I will
send to Cultura Proletaria in New York. As I wrote the comrades in Valen
cia I hope they will not be too angry with me for writing my stand.
Or that they will not want me to represent them any more. I will be
very unhappy if my statement will effect them in that way. But I
will have to accept their verdict.

I am still in pain with my knee and do not
know when I will be able to travel. I hope I can undertake the trip
to Paris the end of next week. I will let you know when I arrive.
Do you ever speak by phone with the Comité Nacional in Valencia? If
you do would you please ask them why they do not answer my letters.
Why they do not send me receipts for £203-3-9 which I must show to
the Customs to get back £35 for amusement tax. It would be a great
pity to lose that amount. Surely our comrades must be made to under
stand that one can not hope to rouse interest in their struggle if one
can not get the slightest material for one's work or effort. Perhaps you
can make them see it. Please try and write me.

Salud.

658

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010266

[Letter] 1937 July 9 [London to Nemesio] Galve, Paris / [Emma Goldman].--
1 p.; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25281

9 de julio 1937

Querido Companero Galve,

Gracias por las noticias de los companeros que por supuesto fueron detenidos en Barcelona. Francamente ~~no~~ creí lo que me comunicaron desde Glasgow. Pero quise asegurarme.

Mando con el companero Frank la traduccion de mi declaracion en Spain and the World. El original debe ir al Secretario del Comité Nacional en Valencia, la copia al Comité regional de Barcelona. Quisiera tambien unas cuantas copias mas que puedes mandar hacer y enviar una al Soli, otra a Roca, y una mas que deseo mandar a Cultura Proletaria a New York. Tal como escribi a los camaradas en Valencia, espero que no se enfaden demasiado conmigo por haber publicado mi posicion, y que ya no querran mas que yo siga representandoles. Sentire mucho si mi declaracion tuviera tal efecto; pero tendre que aceptar su juicio.

Todavia me duele la rodilla y no se cuando podre viajar. Espero poder hacer el viaje a Paris sobre fines de la proxima semana. Te avisare mi llegada. Comunicas algunas veces por telefono con el Comité nacional de Valencia? En caso afirmativo, te ruego preguntarles porque no contestan mis cartas. Porque no me mandan los recibos de los £ 203-3-9, los cuales me son indispensables para presentarse a la Aduana, afin de conseguir la devolucion de 35 libras que me tienen retenido como impuesto de espectaculo publico. Seria lastima ~~de~~ de tener que perder esta cantidad por la negligencia nuestra. Deben comprender los camaradas que no es posible conseguir sympathy para su lucha, cuando uno no recibe la menor colaboracion ni material para tal fin. Quizas, tu podras hacerles comprender. Ruegote de procurarlo y a ver si te hacen caso. Espero tus noticias.

Salud.

659

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726160

[Letter, 19]37 July 9 [London to] Modest [Stein, New York] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 28 x 22 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23585

July 9th 37

Dear Modest.

I am having the devils own time with our agent in re Bon Esprit. You see the moment the franc began going down I wrote Sandström that I cannot let our two places go for the original price of 75,000 francs I had consented to three months ago. It would mean a loss of all pounds which I simply cannot afford. I asked Sandström to see the agent about the matter. The answer was that I have the right to withdraw the sale but that he the agent will insist on his commission of 3700 francs. Both he and S. claim the agent is protected by law in this respect. Of course I could have done nothing about Bon Esprit had I signed any agreement about the 75,000. The agent justly claims that the fault is not with his buyer. It is with you because of the delay of your authorisation. Had we not lost time with that the deal would have been settled three months ago and the francs changed into pounds or dollars without loss. But I just wrote S. that it was no ones fault but the red tape of French bureaucracy and the fall of the franc. Anyhow we are lucky that I signed no obligations.

Of course it maybe that we will not find another buyer so soon, certainly not a Frenchman. But there maybe a lot of English or Americans and someone of them maybe impressed by Bon Esprit. In any event it would be idiotic to let it go for 20/00 less than the 75,000 to which I had consented. As to the agent I have no idea whats to be done about him. The damned fool ought to realize that the more he will get the larger his commission. At any rate I haven't got 3700 francs in my possession. If he will insist upon this amount he will certainly have to wait until the place is sold. I did not know you had sent S. your authorisation until day before yesterday when I got his letter. What a strange man you are. Why did you not notify me? Not that it matters. Still I was worried more about the thought that you may still be very ill and prevented from going to the Consul than the bally authorisation.

I am still here because of a nasty fall I had which tore my ligaments. I have been laid up for three weeks as a result of it. The pain is lessening so I hope to be able to get to Paris the end of next week. Perhaps I can also get to St Tropez to see about the sale. Or if I can find no buyer make use of the house for August and part of Sept. If you should want to reach me write to c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue de la Chapelle XV.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

660

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029117

[Letter, 19]37 July 9, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence

9/7/37

Dear Emma.

Estimable today. I have just
given your name to a Mrs Russell
Hoadley. she wants to meet you - if
possible in Paris - she will get in
touch with you by letter first. I understand
she is a very charitably inclined lady
an American & rich enough. She was
so useful to me - she is used to meet
N. D. but he is not easy to handle
with regard to casual acquaintanceships.
I would like a cheap edition of
your book - that is all it will run
to. Orioli today sent me his
privately printed edition "Adventures
of a Publisher" with such an inscription
to me - "Darling Auntie - the most
delicious woman I have ever met with
endless love from Pino"
Isn't that rich & charming?

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029117

[Letter, 19]37 July 9, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2,
4138

It is his own life & I am told a
delightful book - I am wishing to get
it read - but I get so little time
every waking hour seems to be full up -
N. O & I dine out somewhere every
night - & often lunch too. He is starting
me on a cure - we take a taxi to La
Gaude - or Carros - then walk for
an hour or more in that exquisite P
country - Norman tells me all about
everything ^{route} ~~on the rocks~~ - the rock trees
birds flowers - on heard of by me before -
you can imagine how interesting it is.
Then the taxi comes along & we drive
back again. I have David &
returning Tuesday. His wife is here at
the Nouvel Hotel & he asks me to find
him a cheap room elsewhere !!!
I have lent Mrs. Chastillon my machine
& miss it very much. She is ravished
with Vence - every one is so nice to her
she has just gone for a drive with some
friends of mine. About the flat - you must

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029117

[Letter, 19]37 July 9, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. - 4 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

3

4137

just do what you think best. It
won't be easy to get it until the
Autumn & I shall have to get Charles
to do it up & make it fresh of air -
of course deduct what, on paid basis
- that is understood.

Please tell Nellie - I have no time
to write her a letter - that everyone tells
me it is asking for trouble to send "Life &
Loves" through the post - the fear of
it is discovered, is the same as for
printing an indecent book. Rogers
who had a book shop in London, told
me this - and then sending it to the
Rates Office - poor Sutton would be
dismissed perhaps if it were found out.
I really can't run the risk - it is not
worth it. I will try & get someone -
Archie D. perhaps, to take them to London.

Poor Nellie - I am so sorry she is
ill - I do hope she has a good doctor -
what a hell of a life it can be. I
hope she gets the nurses job - that
would suit her perfectly. But to come

663

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029117

[Letter, 19]37 July 9, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 4 p.; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Back to Nice with vertigo. I
tremble at the idea of it. Briele
told me that a fund had been
commenced in America for her &
that Ruffie Turner had subscribed
to it. That is the first I have
heard about it.

Give her my love — I will
write later to her.

I do hope you will be about
soon. How hideously restless you
must get — but ~~debt~~ be prudent for
God's sake. Let me know what you
decide about your future destination.
Palestine now seems the best.
But then, as you say, Canada is
near the States & all your friends
wherever transpire I hope it will
be for your ultimate good my dear.
Do you see Stella often?

Much love. Bless you & haste
also to Nellie.
Auntie.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870216034

[Letter] 1937 July 9, London [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Monica Whately.—
1 p.; 30 x 20 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE SIX POINT GROUP

6334

Telephone No.
FOURTYEVEN 1727

31, BROOKFIELD,

WEST HILL,

LONDON, N.W.

Vice-Presidents.

VISCOUNTESS ASTOR, M.P.
LADY HALPOUR OF HURLEIGH
MISS VERA BRITTAIN
CAPTAIN CAZALEY, M.P.
LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER
PROF. WINIFRED CULLIS, C.B.E.
MISS CLARENCE DARR
ALDERMAN A. EMIL DAVIES, L.C.C.

MISS AGNES DAWSON, J.P. L.C.C.
MRS. BRUCE DICE
MR. ISAAC FOOT
MISS CICELY HAMILTON
MR. H. L. MALLALIEU, M.P.
MISS WINIFRED MAYO
MISS EVA MOORE
MRS. FRANK OLLIVY

MRS. JAMES O'HEA, C.B.E.
VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA
SYBIL VISCOUNTESS RHONDDA, D.B.E.
DAME ETHEL SMYTH, D.B.E., M.B. D.C.
LORD STRANGLER
DR. JANE WALKER, M.D., J.P.
MRS. CHALMERS WATSON, C.B.E.
MRS. MARGARET WINTINGHAM, J.P.

Executive Committee.

Chairman: BETTY ARCHDALE

FLORA DRUMMOND
DOROTHY E. EVANS
MARION GRANAM
MARY GREW
MILDRED HAY
ELMER CLIFFORD JONES
GERTRUDE LIEBER

CLAIRE MADDER
ELMER MAITLAND
CHARLOTTE A. L. MARRN
AYARAI MINTA
MONICA WHATELY
LOTTE WHYTE

Hon. Auditor: MISS L. M. HARRIS, A.C.A.

Hon. Solicitor: MRS. CROFTS, M.A., LL.B.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS E. M. HAY

Chairman Nationality Committee: MISS D. E. EVANS

.. Social .. MISS E. MAITLAND

Hon. Secretary: MISS MONICA WHATELY, L.C.C.
TO WHOM ALL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

9th July, 1937.

Dear Emma Goldman,

First of all let me say that I hope so much you are feeling better. Dr. Foot was most distressed to find you so completely crippled.

The question of our co-operation with the Mujeres Liberas was discussed by our Executive and I have written to them asking them if it would be possible to send over some representatives to Geneva in order that they may help us in the fight when the question of the status of women comes before the League. I have had no reply to my letter possibly owing to the circumstances of war, and should the Spanish women be unable to come or even if they can come, my Committee feel it would be most valuable to have you in Geneva for those one or two weeks in September.

We are going to launch our international appeal, and if it meets with its usual response, we shall be in a position to offer you your expenses. We are asking the National Women's Party of America if they will undertake to provide a room at which we will hold a Conference of representatives of the women's organisations in Geneva.

It would be splendid if you could come out in time to assist in this work, and with or without the Spanish Delegates if they are unable to come, you could address the Conference on the means necessary to secure the fullest possible emancipation for the Spanish women. We would of course, give you every assistance in this valuable piece of work and we trust that you will feel it is worthwhile doing. You are so competent to organise a Conference of this sort and I see no reason why we should not have a most successful response.

Will you let me know how you feel about this matter, as in our appeal letter, I should like to be able to mention our project.

Hoping soon to hear that you are feeling very much better.

Very sincerely yours,

Monica Whately P.T.O.

665

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 12 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12496

July 12th 37.

Dear Augustine. I got your short note saying you would be in Paris the middle of this week. Unfortunately I am not yet able to travel. Three weeks ago I fell in my flat and tore the ligaments of my knee also severely bruising the knee. I have been laid up ever since. And I have no idea when I will be in condition to make the trip to Paris. It is certainly not going to be this week. Perhaps next and even then I will not be able to walk about a great deal. Stretched and torn ligaments take longer to heal than a broken bone. I am simply in despair over my whole situation. It was terrible enough to go on with the work here all winter without much help from either Barcelona or Valencia. Whatever communication you people sent me came weeks too late. Everybody had material, the rotten Communists and I.L.P. had current material. Only I representing the CNT-FAI had nothing, or something stale and out of interest. It was maddening I can tell you. ~~That~~ It is impossible to carry on a worth while publicity campaign under such draw backs. Frankly I have come to the conclusion that the National and Regional Committee does not care a hang for outside propaganda. They have no idea about its value and importance. ~~That~~ The amazing thing is that they write appeals to the WORKERS OF THE WORLD but do care nothing about reaching them. It is disheartening and discouraging. And I simply could not face such an ordeal again.

Take for instance the matter of films. Ilse wrote me I could now have them. It is to laugh. What am I to do with the old stuff and who would care about it? I much more prefer the film Frank made peiced together of all the other films made in Barcelona. He brought it here from America and he arranged a showing last Friday. I was in great pain yet I dragged myself down the stairs and someone took me in their car to see the film. It is a great piece of work and the most impressive I have seen. The films you were trying to work on and which you took me to see were absolutely flat compared with the picture Frank peiced together. Of course the trade will not take it or the censor pass it. But it would serve us tremendously. Well, Frank arranged for me to have the film but his representative wants to try two or three small concerns who may display it for a while and enable Frank to get back a little of the money he has put into it which must have been a great deal. If I can get the film I may not go to France at all now. Instead I may organise a series of shows in halls in London and the summer places. I don't know as we would make any profit but the picture is the most powerful propaganda for the CNT-FAI I have been able to give in this country. I will see what I can do, but that means a delay in regard to France. Perhaps it is just as well because I really cannot afford to remain crippled for the rest of my years which is likely to happen if I go about too much now or go through

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921021

[Letter, 19]37 July 12 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. --
3 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

too much strain on my feet.

Another reason why it seems foolish to rush to Paris is my getting to Spain. Dear Augustine you have been in the movement for years how can you continue so optimistic in everything? You write all I have to do is to get a news-paper credential and I would be admitted. What news-paper would give Emma Goldman or even E.C. Colton a credential? Certainly not one outside of our own ranks. And what weight would our papers carry? Excuse me my dear but it is too childish on your part. Moreover, if I could get a ~~credential~~ credential how would I move about in the present Spain with the Communists and reactionaries in complete control? It is a sorry state that our comrades must now be at the entire mercy of the murderous gang. When they cannot even give safe conduct and movement to their own comrades? I do not believe you will think me a coward when I say I have no intention of falling into the hands of the Communist bandits to be murdered in the dead of night by them like Zerner was. So unless the National and Regional Comite can arrange for my coming to Spain and give me safe conduct while there I do not intend to risk it. I am heart broken over the situation, over the compromises that led to nothing, over ~~my~~ the impossibility of seeing conditions as they are now in Spain. I long to do that, but it looks hopeless to me. ~~My~~ And unless I can go to Spain there is no need of my going to Paris now. I know nothing but discord and violent arguments are awaiting me there.

Since it is impossible to get replies to my letters I must ask you to see Mercedes on your return. She begged me to represent the Mujeres Libres here. I succeeded in getting women interested who want to do all they can to help the Mujeres group. An invitation has been sent to Mercedes to attend the International Women's Conference in Geneva, ~~travel~~ traveling expenses and all else will be paid. Why on earth does she not acknowledge the letter. Why does she not write me? How can one help our people when they are so indifferent to what one does. I tell you I never went through such agony and anxiety in the years of my activity as I have since I arrived here and do so now. The group of women who invited Mercedes and her comrades have written me whether I would attend the Geneva Conference if they cannot. I do not know what to answer because I am waiting to hear from Mercedes. Will you please hurry her up when you get back.

Speaking of the film Frank made, he has shown himself a real master of the film and I strongly urge you and the comrades to let him do real filming. It would be done much quicker and better, and above all more adequate for Anglo-Saxon audiences than the Spanish film men have an idea about. Please talk to the Comite Regional about Frank. He is very much worth while. I did not think so when I met him in Barcelona. But I find that his return to A. and his close contact with the comrades in New York has brought him much closer to us. And as to his generous offer of the film as a contribution to my work here I think it most remarkable of him. Anyhow I do hope you will see the Spanish comrades and enable Frank to devote himself to filming for us.

Dear Augustine when you get to Paris I wish you would write me a long and detailed, and above all Frank letter of the situation in Spain. Bear in mind that I am now between two fires the comrades who condemn the heads of the CNT-FAI and the comrades who want to stand by them because it means keeping faith with the rank and file of the CNT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

667

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921021

[Letter, 19]37 July 12 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2.

12498

Fail. I had to make some kind of a stand though it was bitter hard, harder than anything in my life. For I cannot close my eyes to the fact that the leaders of the CNT-FAI by their compromises and their weakness have done much to undermine the Revolution. You remember I expressed fears this would be the case. But even I did not imagine when I left that so the price will be so high, that it will actually mean the ~~loss~~ the Revolution. I am too unhappy over the whole situation and too broken up to be able to decide what to do.

One thing I know if I cannot get to Spain soon I will have to make some plans for next autumn and winter. Go to Canada on a tour. There is also a possibility of a trip to Palestine. There is really nothing I can do in England. A campaign here swallows too much money which grows more difficult to raise. And as the Spanish comrades are too ignorant as to the value of outside publicity, certainly Moscow is not, I will not be able to continue here. Canada, or Palestine would prove new ground. Well, I will see. For the present I feel too helpless and unhappy.

I see by the Sunday Times that Fenner Brockway has gotten the release of Etzel McDonald. Cue Aldred wrote us and wired two weeks ago that she and Abe Bluestein had been arrested. Frankly I did not believe it. I wrote Galve and he replied that from the information he had received this was not true. But then Rudiger wrote that a number of foreign comrades had been arrested in Barcelona. I wonder was McDonald and Abe among them. What a dreadful debacle for our comrades in Spain.

Please write me as soon as this reaches you.

Affectionately

668

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 193[7] July 13, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Threlkirk, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Harold L. Ellis, John Galsworthy, The Earl of Liverpool, Sir Henry Jackson, John Gwynne, Robert Nichols, Dr. A. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer:
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
4, Chesham Road, Tottenham,
N.W.1.

London July 13th 34.

The Hon. Secretary:
Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
12, Cuckoo Road, W.14.
Phone: Fulham 6829

Ethel, my Dearest, If you go on showering so much sweet comradeship on me you will make me weep. Not with sorrow but with joy. You may think I am exaggerating when I say that in all the years of my coming to this country I have never met any one who has ~~shown~~ shown concern in my comforts or my personal struggle, no one to do anything out of the pleasure of doing, or because they thought I needed anything outside of ~~their~~ being a propaganda machine. You dearest mine just came to give out of the fulness of your heart and out of your concern in my needs. Any thanks I might offer would sound banal. But I do wish you to know that you did my heart no end of good by your lovely way of wanting to send me off to France in such a grand manner. I am most welcome my sore knee ~~that~~ I might never have known had I been alright that there is one English woman among the many I have met whose friendship is not merely hot air.

Dearest, I have been obsessed by the film I spoke to you about. I feel it would be criminal to lose the chance of showing it broadcast. And since my wanting to go to Paris as a ~~XXXX~~ means to get to Spain I now feel I should remain in England through August and take the film en route. You see I really have no hopes of getting to Spain. The situation there seems very terrible. I just talked to Fenner over the phone. He tells me the Communists have inaugurated the identical regime as in Russia. They actually seem in complete control at the border and inside. So what chance have I to get through or to move about in Spain if I can pass the border? It looks hopeless just now. So why go to Paris when I can do some good here for my unfortunate comrades and yours whose fate really hangs in the balance? Fenner is coming to see me Thursday afternoon. I will see what he has to say about the situation and what he thinks of my going. But in any event I want very much to make the film known.

I have arranged for another showing for next Tuesday. I want you to be there my dear and I am wiring Reg about it. He wrote me if I gave him enough time he would invite some people. And of course I want you to invite some of your friends. You see I want very much to get together a few people who would help

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925508

[Letter] 193[7] July 13, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17303 A

back the film materially. I mean in the way of expences for halls
and expences in taking it to the provinces. I rather think the pi-
picture would bring returns outside of propaganda. But one will
need some capital to launch it. I am sure you will know whom to
invite. The place where the picture will be shown tuesday is
Called Crown Cinema and it is at 86 Wardour Street. Even if you
have an engagement for Tuesday you can still come to see the film.
It only takes 45 minutes and we have announced it for eight o/c
This will be free of course. But I want to make an appeal after
for help ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to make the picture as widely known as
as possible. Its alright to invite about 15 of your friends. Fenne-
is asking 12, Regie will probabhy ask as many. I think Monica ~~Wark~~
Whately will send out invitations. I am seeing her tomorrow after
noon. Once the picture is set in motion I will go to Paris. If
I am still oripled then I will accept your sweet offer. Your way
of giving is lovely. It makes one feel glad to accept. Thanks
my dearest.

With love.

670

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Thomcliffe, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Lisowol, Sir Harry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer:

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
& Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

London July 13th 1937 Hon. Secretary:

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

My Dears. The day before I got your letter dearest Milly and your authorisation dear Rudolf I also received the inclosed contract and letter from the publisher. I prefer to send the contract to you my dear Rudolf so you can go over it before signing. It is the regulation contract, still it will be advisable for you to have one of our lawyers friends go over it. There is only one thing I think needs correction it is the title of the book. As the title stands it is THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ANARCHISM. It should be THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ANARCHIST SYNDICALISM. That is what Warburg originally asked for. Besides Syndicalism is very much before the public now. I talked to him over the phone and he admitted complete ignorance as to either Anarchism or Syndicalism. There is but one of millions in this and other countries. For all the average man knows about our ideas all of us who ever taught these ideas could have saved ourselves the pain and effort. That's why it is so imperative to have a book on the subject. Of course forty thousand words are nothing. But you will have to make an effort dearest Rudolf to compress a lot in these number of words. As to changing the month of delivery of the MSS to Sept from August you can put that in the contract, I see Sept is given as the date of delivery and you can write Warburg about it to make sure when you send back the contract. Thanks for the authorisation. I will see that your rights are looked after thoroughly. By the way I told Warburg that next winter I maybe able to sell a lot of your book at meetings. I don't know where it will be. But wherever I shall naturally want to help with the circulation.

As you see I am still in London. Not by choice you may believe me. Three weeks to day I had a nasty fall in my flat on the way to the bathroom. I bruised my knee very badly and tore some of the ligaments. I have been laid up ever since in great pain and utterly helpless. What this meant to me you can imagine. I had been all prepared to leave for Paris in the hope I might manage better from there to get to Spain than from here. But the longer it takes the more I realise that it is useless to even try to get to Spain. From all the reports one gets the country where Franco has not yet reached is entirely under the iron heel of Stalin's thugs. It is too terrible that the glorious achievements of our people had to come to such a debacle one year after the Revolution. Rudiger was in Paris. I could not get there. But I wrote him about my going to Spain. He replied that it will have to be the Comité Regional and National that will have to arrange my coming. Else I would not be safe. He is back in Barcelona and he will write me from there he assured me. But I have lost

The Emma Goldman Papers

891109079

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

hope. Even if the CNT should be able to get me in what guarantee can they give that I will not be picked up by the Communist gangsters. Only last week a number of our foreign comrades were arrested. And that is by no means the worst thing the murderous gang does. It is certainly a sorry state of our affairs for our people to have reached that state. They had everything in their hands. And they lost everything largely due to the lack of judgment of the Montsenys and Olivers and to their compromises. There is no doubt about it. I feel completely shattered without an idea what to do or where to turn. There is really no reason to go to Paris unless of the chance of getting to Spain. But remaining here is also terrible. There is only one thing which has come up only the last few days. You have met Franco. He came here with the film he made in America. Of course the trade will not take it for will the censor approve of it. He wants me to have it for propaganda purposes. I am therefore decide to take the picture on tour to all the provincial towns and the summer places where workers and small trades people go. It would be a splendid piece of propaganda and may even make a little money for the children. It will be decided this week. If for some reason I cannot get the picture I will have to leave England. It is hard enough to be here when one is a ~~refugee~~ ^{refugee}. I could not bear it without any work. I will then go to the South of France for a while, to Nice to visit Sasha's grave again, to St Tropez to see Don Esprit once more. I came nearly giving it up. But the fall of the franc has made me hang on. The only trouble is that the agent now demands his commission which is 3700. He had a buyer and according to French law he is entitled to his commission if the seller backs out. I have not so much money to my name. It is an hell of a situation.

I have written the Canadian comrades to see if they want me to come to whether they can raise expenses. I am not ~~keen~~ ^{enthusiastic} about Canada. But it will be a change for a while and it may help to get me to the States although a letter from comrades Freedman tells me that Rose Pesota has approached Dubinsky and he has refused categorially to have anything to do with my case. Nor do I reply very much on Roger B. Life is really too unbearable. I wish I knew why one goes on. Poor Simion Koldofsky could bear it no longer it seems. He died Sunday night. He is being cremated to day. I am going for Liza Koldofsky's sake hard as it is to get down the stairs. X. has suffered terribly for nearly two years. He was a beautiful human being and I loved him as I do Liza who is an angel if ever there was one. But I cannot regret his death because I know he is done with the cruelty, suffering and meaningless of life. He is luckier than I am who keeps dragging it on though I know not why.

Forgive my gloom. But Spain has paralysed my will and killed my hopes. The beginning granted me to see when I was in Spain was in such bloom. Now all has been crushed and there is no saying where it will end.

Better write me c/o Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd. London W.14. Mollie and Senia go on their holiday in August and as I may remain in England all of August it will be safer to write me c/o Barr.

With love to both of you and Fernin.

Emma Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010323

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] /
E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorneike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis,
John Gielgud, The Earl of Lisowal, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Camberland Terrace,
N.W. 1.

London July 13th 1937

The Hon. Secretary :

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

My Dears. The day before I got your letter dearest Milly and your authorisation dear Rudolf I also received the inclosed contract and letter from the publisher. I prefer to send the contract to you my dear Rudolf so you can go over it before signing. It is the regulation contract still it will be advisable for you to have one of our lawyers friends go over it. There is only one thing I think needs correction it is the title of the book. As the title stands it is THEPRY AND PRACTICE OF ANARCHISM. It should be THEORY AND PRACTICE OF ANARCHIST SYNDICALISM. That is what Warburg originally asked for. Besides Syndicalism is very much before the public now. I talked to him over the phone and he admitted complete ignorance as to either Anarchism or Syndicalism. There is but one of millions in this and other countries. For all the average man knows about our ideas all of us who ever taught these ideas could have saved ourselves the pain and effort. That's why it is so imperative to have a book on the subject. Of course forty thousand words are nothing. But you will have to make an effort dearest Rudolf to compress a lot in these number of words. As to changing the month of delivery of the MSS to Sept from August you can put that in the contract. I see Sept is given as the date of deliver, and you can write Warburg about it to make sure when you send back the contract. Thanks for the authorisation. I will see that your rights are looked after thoroughly. By the way I told Warburg that next winter I maybe able to sell a lot of your book at meetings. I don't know where it will be. But wherever I shall naturally want to help with the circulation.

As you see I am still in London. Not by choice you may believe me. Three weeks to day I had a nasty fall in my flat on the way to the bathroom. I bruised my knee very badly and torn some of the ligaments. I have been laid up ever since in great pain and utterly helpless. What this meant to me you can imagine. I had been all prepared to leave for Paris in the hope I might manage better from there to get to Spain than from here. But the longer it takes the more I realise that it is useless to even try to get to Spain. From all the reports one gets the country where Franco has not yet reached is entirely under the iron heel of Stalin's thugs. It is too terrible that the glorious achievements of our people had to come to such a debacle one year after the Revolution. Rudiger was in Paris. I could not get there. But I wrote him about my going to Spain. He replied that it will have to be the Comité Regional and National that will have to arrange my coming. Else I would not be safe. He is back in Barcelona and he will write me from there he assured me. But I have lost

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010323

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Rudolf [and] Milly [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25999

hope. Even if the CNT should be able to get me in what guarantee can they give that I will not be picked up by the Communist gangsters. Only last week a number of our foreign comrades were arrested. And that is by no means the worst thing the murderous gang does. It is certainly a sorry state of our affairs for our people to have reached. They had everything in their hands. And they lost everything largely due to the lack of judgment of the Montsenys and Olivers and to their compromises. There is no doubt about it. I feel completely shattered without an idea what to do or where to turn. There is real no reason to go to Paris unless of the chance of getting to Spain. But remaining here is also terrible. There is only one thing which has come up only the last few days. You have met Franco. He came here with the film he made in America. Of course the trade will not take it nor will the censor approve of it. He wants me to have it for propaganda purposes. I am therefore decide to take the picture on tour to all the provincial towns and the summer places where work workers and small trades people go. It would be a splendid piece of propaganda and may even make a little money for the children. It will be decided this week. If for some reason I cannot get the picture I will have to leave England. It is hard enough to be here when one is active. I could not bear it without an work. I will then go to the South of France for a while, to Nice to visit Sasha's grave again, to St Tropez to see Bon Esprit once more. I came nearly giving it up. But the fall of the franc has made me hang on. The only trouble is that the agent now demands his commission which is 3700. He had a buyer and according to French law he is entitled to his commission if the seller backs out. I have not so much money to my name. It's an hell of a situation.

I have written the Canadian comrades to see if they want me to come to whether they can raise expenses. I am not keen enthusiastic about Canada. But it will be a change for a while and it may help to get me to the States although a letter from comrades Freedman tells me that Rose Pesota has approached Dubinsky and he can refuse categorially to have anything to do with my case. Nor do I rely very much on Roger B. Life is really too unbearable. I wish I knew why one goes on. Poor Simion Koldofsky could bear it no longer it seems. He died Sunday night. He is being cremated to day. I am going for Liza Koldofsky's sake hard as it is to get down the stairs. K. has suffered terribly for nearly two years. He was a beautiful human being and I loved him as I do Liza who is an angel if ever there was one. But I cannot regret his death because I know he is done with the cruelty, suffering and meaningless of life. He is luckier than I am who keeps dragging it on though I know not why.

Forgive my gloom. But Spain has paralysed my will and killed my hopes. The beginning granted me to see when I was in Spain was in such bloom. Now all has been crushed and there is no saying where it will end.

Better write me c/o Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd. London W.14. Mollie and Senia go on their holiday in August and as I may remain in England all of August it will be safer to write me c/o Barr.

With love to both of you and Termin.

674

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127134

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

COPY

 Roc

July 1, 1937.

I received your letter about a week ago, but I did not have time to answer it before. Although all the letters that you have sent me have been reproaches, which I both deserved and did not deserve, paradoxical though it may sound, still I have welcomed them. The tone is so strong, and still so confident. You have been doing a marvellous job all your life and you know that you have been doing the best that you could. And now, faced with a problem fully as perplexing as that which faced you during the Russian Revolution, you once again remain true to your own conscience, and refuse to allow yourself to be stampeded into anything that you might regret later on. I myself have been puzzled. I am staying at the house of a Russian comrade who is in agreement with the FAP and is very bitter toward our "leadership". He attributes to them all the characteristics of the political parties and declares over and over again that they have betrayed their ideas (and ours), and that they are leading the workers into a trap, in which the revolution will be betrayed and they, the leadership, will reap huge benefits from it. Of course I have been arguing with him continually, and absolutely refusing to accept such a thesis.

Now, I was in the Casa CNT-FAI during the entire period of conflict, I saw them making their plans, military plans, figuring and calculating and preparing. I saw who was doing it and under what conditions. One would imagine that in a mili-

675

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



3 2 3

tary situation those who were directing the strategy would keep themselves isolated, would refuse to permit people to stay in the same room with them, would have stinking little orderlies carrying out their orders for them, would keep a certain distance between them and their "followers". Absolutely nothing of the sort was taking place here. First of all we were not known at all to these comrades. Yet, because it was just about the only room in the Casa in which one could relax at all during those days, we spent some time in there several times a day, whenever we would grow tired of walking around, examining our positions and listening to the shooting. We sat not more than five feet from them, at the very next table. More than that, we would walk over and examine their maps and try to follow their discussions. One comrade with us, who knows Spanish very well, but has nothing to do directly with the organisation here, felt free to intervene and ask questions or even to offer suggestions. It was taken for granted that everyone in the Casa during those days was a comrade. They did not treat us with suspicion or keep us at a distance. Nor was this the case because we were, perhaps, foreigners. There was not a worker in the Casa who did not feel free to come and listen; who did not feel the equal of everybody else around the table ----- and let me tell you there were some big shots there at the time.

676

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127134

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.



2 3 3

I saw Frederica Montseny mobbed by a bunch of angry and very indignant Libertarian Youth, who had just come in with the tanks. They wanted to go out and wipe up the city with the counter-revolutionists. I saw them talk to her. And believe me, not only was she not regarded as a leader who had to be handled with respect and kid gloves, but they did not even regard her as an older comrade who might have more experience and whose opinions might be worth listening to. Nor did she expect it. She argued with them on a plane of equality — thorough equality. Nothing could be better to see. At the time, she was still the "Minister of Health" etc. In any other movement not only would the rank and file have held her in awe, but she would have done everything possible to keep them awestruck. In our movement, not only do the comrades refuse to regard such stuff seriously, but it was quite evident that she herself did not regard it as such. She was one of the comrades responsible for directing the movement at the moment; she was not an infallible leader. As a matter of fact, she yielded to them at the end, and that was the only way the argument finally ended. Little as I could understand, I got the meaning of her final shrug of the shoulders and the last few words that brought the discussion to a close. She said something to the effect, "Give us one more chance to end this conflict peacefully. If we fail you have the full freedom to act and do as you please." This took place on Thursday afternoon. By Friday,

677

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

3 4 2

 Roc

the fighting actually did tie down. After seeing that, and after seeing her jostled about in a crowd by the comrades, including Garcia Oliver; and after seeing them moving in the crowd, talking to the comrades, all of them, the great anonymous mass of our comrades, no one can tell me that a chasm has developed between the "leaders" and the rank and file, that there is a distance between the two.

At the present time, a conference of the Local Federation of the FAI is being held. They have only had three sessions so far, but it is becoming evident already that the FAI is preparing to take a firmer attitude from now on. At least that seems to be the trend. But during all these preliminary talks of the comrades, in which the sentiment of the movement is being sounded out, there is no reproach for the "leadership", for Oliver, Montseny and the others. They must give a report of their stewardship, but they are not being reproached for what they have done, because what they done they have done with the consent and upon the advice of the Movement. And if anyone wants to tell you that the FAI is composed of job holding bureaucrats, "bop him over the head" as we say in picturesque American. It is as much a movement of workers as any union could be. A movement of selected workers, of the most idealistic, the most class conscious, the most devoted. I don't believe you could have a finer gathering of men any place as at a FAI gathering. No union could ever have that selectivity, that opportunity for free and open discussion,

678

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

3 5 3



that complete cordiality, that unanimity of basic principles that a gathering of FAI workers shares.

Then again, the unions have also been holding Congresses and Conferences galore. Every day there are announcements of new such meetings. And certainly the delegates to these sessions come directly from the workers, instructed by them. Nor are the decisions of such sessions valid until they are ratified by the local unions represented. Every month Local and regional and national plenums of the CNT are being held, in which the delegates gather from their local organisations with direct instructions of the membership. How can one say that the "leadership", the National Committee, or the Regional Committees are drifting away from the membership and leading them around by the nose?

If, then, there is such close contact in the movement, between those who happen to be in the directing positions and those who are still working in the factories and the fields, you probably ask, why this loss of militance? Why this continual retreat? Why all this manoeuvring? Emma, our movement, and with it, all the people of Spain are in one of the most tragic situations that any people have ever found themselves in history. On the front is international fascism, backed by all the powerful resources of Italy's and Germany's war machinery. In the rear, the Communists and the bourgeois parties are working most unscrupulously to rob the workers and peasants of their conquests. Supporting the latter is international finance and Russia.

679

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman].— 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

6

Roc

They, and the latter in particular, are determined to force
 still a Social Revolution. Their manoeuvres of the past
 few months definitely prove, to my satisfaction, that all
 of them, including Soviet Russia and the Spanish communists,
 have faced the dilemma and made their choice. Between
 Franco and the Social Revolution, all of them prefer Franco.
 I stress this because there are comrades here who still do not
 want to believe that the communists have reached such a low
 level. As the situation stands now, we too must make a
 choice. At the present time, we must still depend upon the
 outside for armaments. We absolutely cannot manufacture
 enough in Spain to keep an army of 400,000 armed. It is an
 utter impossibility. If at the present time, we go out on
 the streets and crush all the counter-revolutionary elements
 as they should be crushed, ~~and~~ as every anarchist in Spain
 feels they should, we immediately cut off all possibility
 of outside aid in any form whatever. There would be civil
 war within the international war against fascism. The fronts
 would be torn asunder, and above all we would be isolated
 from all supplies of arms from the outside. In other words,
 the fall of Bilbao because of sheer superiority of weapons,
 should knock all the illusions out of us that the war can be
 won by spirit alone, etc.. Therefore if take the offensive
 and wipe out our enemies in the rear, as we can do any time
we please, we open the way for a Franco victory, with all
 the massacre it incurs, and with the complete suppression
 of everything that today still serves to inspire the workers
 of the world. On the other hand, we know that we will only

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

7

Roc

receive weapons to carry on against France from the outside, only in measure as the other countries are convinced that we are being put in our place, i.e., that they feel certain that we cannot assert ourselves afterward and put our program into practice. However, so long as France is defeated, so long as we have our own armed contingents on the fronts, so long as we have so much arms in the rear, directly under our control, we shall always be able to fight for our ideals after France is disposed of. In other words, no matter what retreats we are compelled to make at this time, while the war is still on, the final decision is by no means prejudiced by it. The final decision in Spain will be the test of arms after Franco is gone, and don't forget it. Everybody knows it, we as well as they. That is why they are doing everything possible to put us into a position of inferiority so that it shall be that much more difficult for us to move at the end of the war. But whatever they do, they cannot take our weapons from us, and they know it. When the Patrols of Control were dissolved and they were ordered to give up their weapons, they surrendered, as somebody in a position to know put it, "forty old muskets". Literally so. And the Patrols of control are known to have plenty of arms. When the Valencia Government and the Generality called upon everybody to surrender their arms for the "front", our movement "complied" by printing the order in Solix (it took up a full page), without a single comment of its own. I understand, that a couple of hundred old rifles were turned in altogether. When you stop

681

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

1 8 1



to think that in one cuartel alone, our comrades captured 4,000 new rifles and machine guns, and hand grenades, and munitions for all of this during the May Days, and that this was not the only "catch" they made, you can first begin to measure the position and the strength of the CNT and the FAI. In other words, I am trying to say that no matter what the manoeuvres during the war, no matter what the retreats we are compelled to make now, the actual strength of our movement rests upon its arms, and we are well armed! The movement is a healthy one and is not too concerned over the political fortunes of our "representatives", nor, I believe, are the "representatives" themselves. However, on that I cannot speak too definitely, since I have not spoken to any of them personally. But having seen them among the comrades, and the comrades with them, I must draw such a conclusion. As for the rest, the alternative: crush the others now with the almost certain prospects of Franco victory following, or accede now to their puny aggressions, with the assurance that we have the arms, and that the final decisions will depend upon the arms. That is the alternative. And I challenge anybody to assume the responsibility of doing other than what our movement, not our "leaders", are doing at the present time. I spoke of the communists as having made the choice of Franco sooner than the Social Revolution, because they are prime movers in the entire counter-revolutionary campaign now in full blast. The bourgeoisie would never have had the courage to undertake it, because they fear the consequences of such internal strife

The Emma Goldman Papers

891127134

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

3 9 2

SG Roc

for Spain as a whole. The communists, however, have their eyes fixed upon Russia only, and do not care what happens to any other country in which they happen to be located.

I did not want to go into the question as to whether or not our Movement had to find itself in its present condition, in other words, if at the very beginning, it had acted differently, and taken over control of everything, it could not have conducted the war along other lines and with greater success, because it is too big for the present discussion. I hope to write something about it in the near future and send it to Spain and the World and the Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

Please let Mollie and Senya and Sania see this if they are interested in it. I was told by a comrade who came from there that Mollie wrote me a letter that I never received, in which she asked me for an opinion on what happened. I never received the letter. However, I doubt very much whether I should have expressed an opinion until the last week or two, because I was honestly not able to.

Also, I have asked my family to send me five or ten dollars a month to help me out while I am here. Knowing the difficulty of receiving it here, I asked them to send it to her. I hope you won't mind, Mollie, even if we do happen to be in disagreement just now on what is happening here. I also asked them to send me a clip machine that binds the bulletins together through you. If you get them, will you mind giving them to G. to bring over here? They just passed a new law here, that if you receive money from the outside, you must change it at the bank

683

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

4 10 4

 Roc

at the official rate. It is therefore impossible to get money directly here. I hope this will not put you out too much.

We had been hoping to see you, Emma, here in a very short time. But it seems that we shall have no such luck. The much³put⁴off International Anarchist Congress is now to be held in Paris on the 11th of July, as a Conference, and I am certain that you intend to be there. Oh well! Such is life. I am supposed to a delegate at said Conference, but I would not take the chance of leaving the country for it. Besides I don't know either French or Spanish well enough to be more than a poor listener and spectator. I would rather stay here and do more work. What do you think of the Bulletin lately? In my opinion that have been deteriorating somewhat. I shall have to try to improve them. I also have a plan of putting out a whole series of small pamphlets to sell for 2pence in England, and 5 cents, making a survey of all the collectised and socialised industries. What do you think of the idea? I originally wanted to put them into the Bulletin, but I'm afraid that the stories would be too long and the Bulletin would lose its value as a purely news bulletin. I believe, although I haven't spoken to Seuschy about it yet (he is at Valencia just now) that I will be able to get the money for the project. And I can't imagine any better propaganda for our ideas, our movement, and for the workers and peasants in Spain, than a

684

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

J 11 3



description of what they have actually been doing. Here's hoping we are able to put it over!

We are organising an English speaking group and applying for membership in the FAI. I hope they take us in. There are twelve of us to start the ball rolling. Not bad, eh well? That ought to help us do better work over here.

Selma and I expect to go out next week to the Aragon to visit the Collectives for a few days, if I can finish next week's bulletin this week. She expects to leave Spain in about three or four weeks, and we haven't been outside of Barcelona at all. She would like to go to Valencia and Madrid before she leaves Spain, but does not want to do it alone, and I'm afraid that she will find nobody to go with her. However, we will try to see as much as possible before she leaves, including the Collectives, the new schools, factories, etc. at least around Barcelona.

Frank is supposed to be on his way here. If he actually gets here, I shall probably take a couple of weeks off to go to Madrid and Valencia, if he would be willing to take care of the Bulletin during that time. Otherwise I don't know whether I shall ever be able to see the rest of Spain.

Concerning the present situation here, what can I say? It is atrocious. They are playing the most openly aggressive and contemptible politics possible. Our comrades are not experienced politicians, and the other are making monkeys of them. The only thing that saves the situation is the inherent dignity of our movement, its supreme honesty. Nothing

685

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 13, London to Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Crompond, N.Y. (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 12 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

I am writing you about the book which I have just finished reading. It is a book which I have read with great interest and which I have found very interesting.

I am writing you about the book which I have just finished reading. It is a book which I have read with great interest and which I have found very interesting. I want to say that the book is very good and that I have found it very interesting. I want to say that the book is very good and that I have found it very interesting.

My love to all of you that is in London. I hope that you are all well. I hope that you are all well. I hope that you are all well. I hope that you are all well.

As ever, your devoted,
(the author)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

686

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London July 13th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear comrade ^{Samuel} Freedman. New York

Thanks for your letter of June 25th with ~~the~~ the letter of Rose P. inclosed. To say the least Dubinsky is brutally frank. I prefer that to the promises of R.B. I know he is too weak to make a definite move. He did so last time because he had ~~someone~~ at his neck who gave him no peace and who had succeeded in organizing a formidable committee. If only she were still alive I am sure she would again succeed. It needs some one person with the right approach to people who can pull the trick. Well, I have written our old comrade Harry Kelly to try his luck about a committee. He knows everybody, and a great many people know him and like him. He may succeed in getting outstanding people to sponsor my return to the States. Don't think I have any illusions about the success of any effort for me. But at least the effort should be made. Don't you think so?

To come back to Rose's letter, the fact that Dubinsky would not cooperate with Baldwin because he is a Communist does not prove that he D. could not do the trick himself. It is only an evasion. Besides I do not think R.B. is a Communist. He is only a trimmer just as Dubinsky is. So what's the odds. Rose is wrong when she writes I had let her know that Perkins had said she would not give me a visa. I don't know where Rose got that. I wrote her that it was stated in Wash that as long as Congress is sitting I would not be admitted. I got this from R.B. and he from the man who was Commissioner of Immigration at the time and who died last Jan. I dare say Perkins will refuse. But it is not true that she definitely stated she would not grant the visa. Anyhow it seems that everybody is passing up the buck, Rose included. Yes, it might help if Rose could get the right woman to approach Mrs Roosevelt. But between you and me and the lamp post Rose is not so very interested or she would have attempted something long ago. It is merely that all our people who have arrived in the social scale hate to inconvenience themselves, or to jeopardize their own position.

however, whether I can get to the States or not, I shall have to go to ~~Canada~~ or somewhere to be active as I simply could not endure life with hands folded even if I could afford to retire. It is for this reason that I wrote the comrades in Canada, to you and a few personal friends of mine about the expenses. You say nothing in your letter about this matter except that you wrote Michael Cohn. He will do nothing, dear comrade. He has some kind of a grudge against me. I used to correspond with him when he was in France. But I had to stop it because I could not stand his constant complaints. Much ado about

The Emma Goldman Papers

890127026

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to] Samuel Freedman, New York / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

Is there no one else outside of John who might be interested in helping the effort to get me into A. for six months? I wrote Harry he should see you and the other comrades of the Fr. Arb. Stimme to raise a little fund that would enable him to do really systematic work by correspondence to create the necessary committee that would carry weight. There are any number of people in New York, Chicago and in fact in America who would I am certain associate themselves with a campaign to impress Wash. Some money is needed for such a campaign, secretarial, postage ect. If the comrades really care to see me back the least they should do is to help materially. I am certain Harry will be only too happy to lend his time. Let me know my dear what can be done.

To day is the first day that I can sit up at my machine. The accident which seemed not at all serious has laid me up for three weeks on my back and unable to do anything. That is why you have not yet received the Forword to the new edition of Sashas work. I am sorry to have been forced to delay. I hardly need to tell you that I want very much to do it though I will not be able to comply with your request to write about the world situation and Sashas end in six or seven hundred words. That is utterly impossible. But I will write the Preface and send it soon. I think it is a mistake to get the book out in the height of the summers heat. You should not attempt to put it on the market before Oct. and as the reprint cannot possibly take long there is no actual hurry about the Preface. Is there? I really want to wait a little longer until I am free from pain. The knee is improving. But its extremely painful to get about or sit up long. Thats why I have to wait another few days. But I will send something soon, you can rest assured.

I think you had better write me c/o Mr Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd. London W.12. I had planned to go to Paris in the hope of getting to Spain quicker than from here. But the situation there ~~grows~~ grows daily worse, our people are losing ground to an alarming degree. Only last week a number of ~~comrades~~ foreign comrades were arrested. The murderous sappings of Stalin have run amuck. They have it all their way. So it does not look very hopeful for me. Perhaps the situation will change. One clings to a straw. The awful part of it is that it was all so unnecessary. The CNT-FAI had Catalonia in the palm of their hands when I left in Dec. In seven months they have permitted to slip it out of their hold. It is too terrible to contemplate. It makes one lose all hope that anarchists will ever be able to keep themselves on the heights of their achievements and their ideal. Anyway, I may have to remain here at least during August. So write me to England instead of France. By the end of August I hope to know where I might take my old weay bones next. Ten months ago after my world ~~crumbled~~ crumbled with Sashas end it was Spain that gave me new life and a new compass. Now there is nothing except to drift. My old friend Fitz wrote me about Sashas memorial meeting. Too bad you did not make it known to people outside of the Jewish comrades. So few knew of Sashas life and work. Well, perhaps his book will reach wider circles. I am glad my cable reached the meeting.

I have a sad duty to perform. S. Koldofsky one of my most devoted friends died Sunday after two years illness and frightful suffering. The cremation is to day and his widow is sending a car for me.

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010322

[Letter, 19]37 July 13, London [to H. Yaffe?, Los Angeles] / E[mma] G[oldman]. —
2 p.; 28 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Thesdill, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis,
John Galsworthy, The Earl of Epsford, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vera Pauson

The Hon. Treasurer:

Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

The Hon. Secretary:

Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6429.

London July 13th 37.

Dear Comrade, I wonder whether C.V. Cook or comrade Thomas Bell have informed you that it is my intention of going to Canada this autumn. The idea has come to me for two reasons. First because the tragic changes in Spain make it almost impossible for me to get back, or if there to move about freely. Secondly because Canada may be a wedge to the U.S. Friends there have written me that it maybe easier to get the permission to reenter America if I were near than if I am so far away. They did not mean that this would have an effect on Wash. They meant that the friends who ~~may~~ mean to try for a visa would feel more inclined to make an effort.

I can assure you dear comrade if it was my fervent hopes to end the years left me in Spain. I hated so much to leave there But the comrades of the CNT-FAI begged me to go to England and rouse interest in their struggle. I went with a heavy heart. But I hoped I would return this summer and remain in Spain to work with the comrades. Alas the tragic events of May have undermined the position of the CNT-FAI so much they have nearly lost all their grand achievements. They are paying a bitter and heavy price for the compromises they have made. Especially the compromises with the murderous Stalin gangsters. There is no doubt the Communists are powerful now and they have already begun their devastating job of exterminating everyone who does not submit to their rule. You will have seen my article in Spain and the World and other material which has given an accurate account of the present conditions. Actually some comrades have written me that my life would not be safe were I to come to Spain now. The Communists have a long standing account to settle with me. And what better chance than to do to me what they have done to our wonderful comrade Berneri? Now I don't particularly value my life. But I do want to give it for a more worthy cause than to satisfy the blood thirst of ferocious beasts. Besides I would not be admitted to Spain now. And as I simply cannot be inactive I thought Canada would be the next best thing.

In my letter to Cook and Bell I asked whether the Los Angeles comrades would raise some money to help me to Canada. It would be a sort of investment to bring me to A. Of course there is no saying whether I will ever be permitted to get in there. If not the work in Canada would be worth while. What do you think? And could you see the comrades about the matter? The trip across is not so much. But one must have at least three hundred dollars to show on landing. Naturally that amount would be returned once I have gotten into Canada. Or

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

...surprised that I am addressing myself to you for my help
...never come as close or even have corresponded as you had
...you will understand that it is
...for my personal that I am asking you or the committee. It is
...to be able to continue the work Sasha loved and to which all his life
...was dedicated. That is my only excuse.

Please remember me fraternally to all the comrades
with kind regards to yourself.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

690

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921016

[Letter] 1937 July 13, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, London / Emilienne Morin. —
1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

C. N. T.

12489
A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
DELEGACION PERMANENTE EN PARIS

Paris 13 Juillet 1937.

Emma Goldman,
Londres.

Ma chère camarade,

En l'absence de GALVE, parti à Valence, je me permets de répondre à ta lettre du 9 courant, qui me fut remise par le camarade Frank, en même temps que deux enveloppes destinées respectivement au Comité National de la CNT et au camarade Bruestein, à Barcelone; ces missives seront adressées à leurs destinataires.

J'ai fait plusieurs copies de ta déclaration (en espagnol) et, selon ta demande, je t'en adresse quelques-unes afin que tu puisses les faire parvenir à qui bon te semble.

J'espère, ma chère camarade, que tu te remettras promptement de ce fâcheux accident et que, malgré toutes tes désillusions sur le mouvement espagnol, tu retourneras bientôt reprendre ta place de militante anarchiste à côté des nôtres.

Je travaille avec Galvé, comme modeste dactylographe et si je puis t'être utile en quoi que ce soit, je suis très volontiers à ta disposition.

A bientôt donc, et bien cordialement à toi,

E. Morin

Emilienne MORIN
(veuve de Durruti)



691

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114085

[Letter] 1937 July 13 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest [Taylor].— 3 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5261

Chippendale

July 13th 1937

My dear Emma,

I was awfully sorry we were unable to meet you at Strick on Saturday, but we already had three engagements for that week end, or rather on Sunday afternoon and Monday I had promised to visit my step-sister at Gloucester, and we had arranged to pay a long promised visit to the Bishopric at Ashton Keynes. I suppose you know they were driven out of Germany at almost a moment's notice, and made their way into Holland where they stayed for a short time before coming to England. They were practically penniless and it was responsible in finding them an old army hut as a temporary shelter. I am glad to say they are gradually settling down and have taken quite a large farm, and there are about 150 of them. Many of them have been in quite good positions in Germany, and have had to leave all behind. It has a most interesting visit and have every hope they will make good. They are desperately poor, but are glad to say people have been very good in lending a helping hand. On Monday we will be at Oxford visiting some of Margaret's relatives.

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114085

[Letter] 1937 July 13 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest [Taylor]. — 3 p. ; 21 x 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5262

I got in touch with Mrs Clark at Strick this afternoon.
and she tells me there is no immediate need about the
childrens clothes, but they will be wanting warm clothing
directly the weather changes which will be to. wait the
middle or end of August. In the meantime I have put
inquiries through to see what can be done, although
it is rather out of our line I have also found out
their ages, of both the girls and boys, so you can rest
assured they will not be neglected. We shall probably
run down to Strick and see for ourselves what is
really required. I am so glad you are pleased
with the House and those in charge. I feel you can
depend on Mrs Clark for this welfare. We are very
sorry about your accident and hope you will soon
be alright again, it is most trying when you feel
there is so much that you feel wants doing.
We have lately been in France and previous to that
in Switzerland, which we greatly enjoyed, the
Paris Exhibition is really great, but will never
be finished, the two finest buildings are the
Russian & German Buildings. Where do they
get the money from? The British is very poor in
comparison

693

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114085

[Letter] 1937 July 13 [Bristol, England to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ernest [Taylor]. — 3 p. ; 21 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5263

I am glad to say Margaret is very well, except for a very troublesome knee which makes her rather lame and quite painful at times. She is having treatment and making progress, but not as quick as she would like. You women are so impatient! I know something of what you much feel about Spain, the whole situation is one of the most tragic in the world's history. Even so bright as presently with all the internal trouble, it is heart-breaking to the many who have given their all for the sake of their country. Will you forgive this very hurried letter, but I do want you to know without further delay that the Spanish children will be well cared for. We have just received 200 in Bristol, and I have been elected on the Committee. The appeal for funds has just been sent out to pay for a house and to keep them in food and clothing. Margaret sends her love and I join her in this, hoping we may soon hear you have quite recovered from your fall.

Kindest Regards

Yours / Ernest

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029120

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors :

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Listowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer :
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
8, Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

London July 14th 37.

The Hon. Secretary :
Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
18, Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829.

Auntie, my Dearest.

Thank you for your sweet letter. You made your life with H. D so vivid I could almost see you two together. I am delighted beyond words that this wonderful companionship has come to you. One always needs such a rare, fragrant comrade, but after your last winter you were doubly in need of it. I hope it will go on at least for the rest of the summer. I wonder is there anything more about the possibility of your going with H. D to India? I hope it will materialise. Meanwhile dearest take all the joy you possibly can. There is so little in the world. The kind that enriches one's life.

I hate to introduce any sad news in your present gayety and charm, but I feel sure you will not mind to learn that S. K. Goldfossky passed away on Sunday after great suffering during the last two weeks. The cremation was yesterday. Liza begged me to come and say a few words as ~~at~~ their closest friend. I could not possibly refuse. I was taken to the house in a car, to the crematorium and back to our place in cars. Nevertheless I feel the effects of the strain to day. You see I undertook a long trip Sunday to Street Somerset where 42 Basque children are in the care of a Mrs Clark a Friend. I had to see the children and how they were placed because I want to contribute fifty pounds from the amount I raised. I am relieved to tell you that I was pleasantly surprised to find the children in good care. Much better than the other camps seem to be. I have had all sorts of disquieting reports from the Salvation Army Camps. The children are very roughly handled there I am told. At Mrs Clark's they are free to play in the garden and there is a more humane atmosphere all around. I was glad I went but it did not do my knee much good. So I must keep off my feet and rest. Not easy for this holy terror.

I inclose the letter from the P.O. I told it was a bill that's why I opened it. I hope you have notified the Telephone people to continue the phone until I leave the flat. It is awful to have to pay for the use of the telephone until Dec. But I suppose there is nothing to do about it. Is there? My physical handicap and some now that has come up in the way of shorting the struggle in Spain may necessitate my remaining in England all of August. It is thing a friend of mine American who has lived in Spain many years and has been through the events since Feb 36 has made a remarkable film of everything. Of

695

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, London [to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4146

Of course the trade will not touch it, nor will the censor let it pass. It is entirely too strong. Well, my friend gave it to me for use to raise funds for any purpose I consider important. He gave a free showing last week. It was the most impressive demonstration of the events I have seen. I have arranged for another showing next Tuesday. Fennor, Ethel Regie are inviting their friends and I have also written to Stella. Ruth and Donald saw the picture last week and were tremendously moved. If I can get some kind of backing ~~tax~~ for halls and advertising I will remain during August and bring the film before the largest possible audiences I can get. And I will also go to the provinces. In addition it was suggested to take it to various watering places of the poorer sort to display the film. ~~Of course~~ It should make money. But even if it does not the propaganda for anti Fascism and the CNT-FAI is so overwhelming it would be a pity not to try to bring it before the English masses. Of course, if I were remaining in London all of August I would remain in the flat though it is really too much for me to carry alone. But if I will have to be out of London much I could not do it at all. I will stay with Sonia Glomons for the time I will have to come back to London.

If I still had hopes of getting to Spain I would turn the picture over to Barr, Harrison and Sonia. But it looks hopeless. And without Spain there is no object in my going to Paris for the present. In any event I will vacate the flat next week. I have already seen Charles, he will come in and do the flat from top to bottom. Your agent will be seen in a day or two. I have become attached to our menage. I wish I did not have to give it up. But what with the commission I will have to pay the agent in St Tropez and the meagre chance of selling the place at the present rating I have to tighten my belt. I am forced to write my Stella to get me a loan on Bon Esprit to pull through until I go to Canada or Palestine or hell. Any place just so I do not have to sit idle and inactive. I cannot bear that.

Strangely enough I got six copies of LIVING MY LIFE from America yesterday. I gave Barr one to mail to you. It is the cheap edition and cost seven shillings with postage. I did not outograph it because it is not to be for you and I do not know N.D.

Here is the check for this month. I am really sorry I had to deduce the money for the stairs. The amount Winnie received since you left is for four months and one week, this includes two more weeks I began paying her the Saturday after you left. I think it was the 28 of March. I am not sure but I figured out four and six pence a month about 19/ If it is too much please tell me I will make it alright.

The weather is better and Nellie feels some relief. I think she is leaving next week. Outside of seeing Shaw she has accomplished nothing poor soul. She wanted to get to a Sir Francis Towle whose wife is a novelist and whom Ethel M. knows. I spoke to her about Nellie wanting to meet the man so Ethel wrote his wife. So far there is no reply. It's all about a job as hostess in a Monte Carlo Hotel.

Good by dearest Auntie. I rejoice in your happiness and wish it may last for the rest of your life. Just drink it in darling. One cannot have enough in this frightfully callous world.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726169

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 5 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Picker,
Crompond,
N.Y.

Mohegan 14/737

23612

Dearest Emma,

Polly has written us about your accident. You may imagine what a shock we have had. Poor darling! As if you have not had enough heartache for the past year, you needed a foot-ache in addition. With all our hearts we wish you a speedy recovery. There is so much work waiting for you, and you are so needed.

We made sure that you are in France, and have been sending our mail c/o Molly for the last few weeks, already.

What a pity, that you could not be to the conference, may be that things would have taken a different turn. At least the ugly scenes might have been prevented by you. But alas, fate is hard and cruel.

Our old Shopiro is becoming a regular nuisance: to use a mild expression. He is doing a lot of harm, not only to the Spanish cause but to our cause in general, by his attitude towards our Spanish comrades. His articles with the headings: "Anarcho-Nationalism"

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726169

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 5 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25613

does not give him much credit, to be sure. He is using the same terms against our ~~own~~ comrades, as the Communists have used in Germany against the Socialdemocrats, it is disgusting! That is the encouragement, which these brave and courageous fighters are getting: it is too bad. Not enough that they are surrounded by scores of all kind of enemies, ~~and~~ they ^{also} have to fight with their own comrades. How bitterly they must feel it. Is there ~~is~~ no better way for us left to correct mistakes, and avoid them in the future? I wonder, how this same Shapiro would act, in their position?

We have seen and read your articles in 'The New York Times' and in the 'Post' it is a great thing, that they take articles ~~from you~~ ^{from you} indeed, and dearest, it is very important and I hope that they will print more from you on Spain, specially.

A great big blunder our dear Spanish comrades have made again, by nominating Leon Green, as the representative of the C.I.T. for the U.S. and that they have done in spite of the opposition of ranches and Rüdgers. Strange is it?

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726169

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 5 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23614

Dudolf is busy finishing the pamphlet of which
he has written you already. It is going to be
quite a nice piece of work, you will like it.

News of importance here is none. About
the heat here in the States you have read no
doubt. We are lucky to have a nice and
cool place for the summer, but even here
there were days when it was impossible
to work. Luckily here is a lake, and my
boys can swim, as you know.

Ferris is on strike for the past 10 weeks,
and it seems to be quite a ~~p~~ hapless case.

We have heard from Stella, she is intending
to come out to us for a day, we are
looking forward to it already.

Send love to you direct from the
three of us and very best wishes
to get well soon.

affectionate as ever
Milly

P.S.

I shall send this letter also to Maddy? I
let us hope that you will be there by the time
this comes.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726169

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 5 p. ; 31 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23014

Dudolf is busy finishing the pamphlet of which
he has written you already. It is going to be
quite a nice piece of work, you will see it.

News of importance here is none. About
the heat here in the States you have heard no
doubt. We are lucky to have a nice and
cool place for the summer, but even here
there were days when it was impossible
to work. Luckily here is a lake, and my
boys can swim, as you know.

Ferrin is on strike for the past 10 weeks
and it seems to be quite a ~~po~~ hopeless case.
We have heard from Stella, she is intending
to come out to us for a day, we are
looking forward to it already.

Send love to your dearest from the
three of us and very best wishes
to get well soon.

affectionate as ever
Milly

P.S.

I shall send this letter also to Molly? I wonder.
Let us hope that you will be there, by the time the
letter comes.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 14, Crompond, N.Y. [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Milly [Wit-
cop] Rucker. — 5 p. ; 31 × 24 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

Love to Wally and
Lena.

26616

701

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

July 14th 1937

17100

Dearest Emma,

I think you are right to stay and try to organise some meetings and show that film; I agree with you that it should not be ~~wasted~~ wasted. Reg says Aug. is a bad month, but I believe we'd get crowds all the same, for see what a good crowd we got in June without a film. Besides its nonsense that 'everyone' is away in Aug; as much nonsense is that Aug. is summer. In England there is no summer worth mentioning.

We are both coming along on Tues. and ~~on~~ that day is our Branch meeting we have proposed to the sec. That as Reg and Barbara and I can't be at the meeting anyhow, the whole Branch (about 10 active members) should come along to the film, then they can talk about it in their trade unions, guilds, and co-operatives. About 10 Wembley ILP-ers should be allowed for - that includes Reg, Barbara and Me.

I am asking Abel along.

I have two nice Negro friends that I know would like to see the film, though I don't think they could be any help. One is George Padmore, ex-Communist (and how he hates the CP now! And with reason!) and author of HOW BRITAIN RULES AFRICA, and AFRICA AND PEOPLE FREE. Shall I ask them? But please say frankly if there's not room for people who can't help in any way.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

17301

I will also ask Gerald Kingshott, I think, as he is an active ILP-er and anti-Stalinist. He might like to ask old Lady Warwick.

About backing the film, perhaps I could use some of the money I didn't use for that Spanish ship; the ILP were going to try to send and couldn't. I've got the money lying by untouched; I wouldn't dream of spending it for myself after having offered it for Spain; if it can't go into any ship for Bilbao or elsewhere perhaps it might as well go into the film? (Perhaps you'll think it silly that though I am so badly overdrawn I don't draw on this money; but somehow I can't, having once offered it for a Spanish cause)

I don't know why anyone should think that because Emma is tough as a revolutionary fighter she doesn't need a bit of ordinary human comfort; my own view is the fact that she has had such a tough time in her long revolutionary fighting career is all the more reason for trying to make a bit of fuss of her in private! She's one of the few people who deserve a bit of comfort, damn it!

No Underground Russia to hand yet, but the Soc. Bookshop say that if the book's title is really TWENTY YEARS IN UNDERGROUND RUSSIA, then they have a copy for 2/6. So I have told them to send it to me to see, and if it's the book you mentioned will let you know and we needn't put your friend to the trouble of posting hers off.

703

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 4 p.; 10 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

17302

Emma dear, I am so upset about the enclosed from Margery Lawtece (Mrs. Towle) about poor Nellie. I have now written to ML to say then who is running those big hotels in Monte Carlo and Cannes, cos if there is an English director I propose to write to him; he may know my name and it may carry some weight. If all else fails don't you think we might appeal to the Royal Literary Soc. to fork out from its funds for Frank Harris's widow? I think they would, you know. The person to be helped has to be recommended by two reputable authors, and I have once helped in getting an author helped in this way. You might ask Nellie what she thinks of this. Its not 'disgrace' to be helped by the Soc.'s Fund; its what its there for.

I hear you were pleased with the Street Basque home. I am glad, but I thought you would be; for those Reynolds-Clark Quakers are a very decent lot. Which reminds me we must ask Monica W. about getting on to the Spanish Cttee about the alleged illtreatment of the children by the ~~Salvix~~ Salvation-bloody-Army. It makes my blood boil and something in me go sick to think of those unhappy children; as if they haven't enough to bear. You think people would fall over themselves to be kind, wouldn't you?

Have been reading Rosa L's letters from prison. She must have been a lovable woman. Have just bethought me of Countess Markievitz; feel I should have something about her, don't you? What on earth made Steinberg call his book about Spinozovana - 'Spir. Rev-olutionary Terrorist?' It sounds like one of those anti-red books!

704

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 14 [London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. —
4 p. ; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-4-

17.302 A

Would it be correct, Emma, to say that there was a feminist movement in Russia during Tsarist days - advanced women working for feminine 'emancipation' ? And would it be correct to say that the Russ. Rev. has not given Russ. women a greater measure of freedom, social, moral, political, than that enjoyed by Scan. and Finnish women, and brought about by the drive of their feminist movements without the aid of a social revolution ?

Forgive such a long letter, dear, but what with one thing and another

I feel strongly you could be more use here than in Paris just now, till the film has made a good tour, but when you are ready to go you are going in comfort, if I have to pawn my watch to do it, so there !

My love to you. Take care of yourself. You're valuable

Should you show Nellie the enclosed letter ?
You know her better than I, and know whether it would be wise, or whether you should water down its contents to make them seem less brutal. She'd probably wince at the ref. to the necessity for young hotel workers.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 15? London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
1 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Friday

17304

Dearest Emma, I hope you get to the film, but I can't possibly see it myself, though I should have been enormously interested.

No UNDERGROUND RUSSIA has come from your friend 'Doris'. I hope she hasn't repented of her promise. I do assure her that the book would be utterly safe with me and returned very quickly.

I find that Dr. Steinberg's life of S. Irigoin is two years old, and it wouldn't be possible to review it so belatedly (so the "L" tells me) and also I gather it wasn't just overlooked. I suspect it was too anti-Russian for the "L" and would still be, despite their critical attitude. I have ordered it for myself.

I wrote the ~~Red~~ Flame before I had made my big trip to Russia in 1935; some of it was written on the boat en route for that journey of disillusionment. In any case I fear that the dream of Russia as the workers' Eden would be natural to such a boy as that in the story; though had I written the book after I'd made the big journey I'd have made the roman in the story disillusioning him.

Greatest haste at the moment, dear Emma, but I will be writing or ring you shortly. I didn't send the ~~Spain~~ and the World boy any money as I find I am badly overdrawn at the moment, but I will do so as soon as I have some money again.

Dorothy *emv* 

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

706

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921022

[Letter] 1937 July 15, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouchy]. —
1 p. ; 27 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

OFICINA DE SERVICIO
EXTERIOR DE ESPAÑA

12499
55, AVENUE GEORGE V
PARIS (8^e)
TÉLÉPHONE : ELYsées 37-04

den 15. Juli 1937

Liebe Emma,

Ich habe geglaubt, Dich hier in Paris zu treffen. Leider erfuhr ich, dass Du einen Unfall gehabt hast, der gottseidank nicht schwer ist, Dich aber doch hinderte, die Reise zu unternehmen. Solltest Du wieder hergestellt sein, so würde ich Dir raten, doch zum 19. Juli nach Barcelona zu fahren, damit Du dort bist zur Gedächtnisfeier. Du musst Dir auf Deinen Pass von den englischen Behörden eine Erlaubnis nach Spanien reisen zu dürfen, geben lassen. Damit erhältst Du dann das Visum von den französischen Behörden und Du kannst ohne Schwierigkeiten und ohne Hindernisse befürchten zu müssen, reisen. Du kannst ja zum Ueberfluss und zu Deiner eigenen Beruhigung noch bei obiger Adresse anrufen und Zimmer 206 fordern, wo Du nach dem Genossen Roca oder ~~Box~~ Boer fragst. Die können Dir dann noch die letzten Auskünfte geben. Galve befindet zur Zeit in Valencia und ich weiss nicht, wann er zurückkommt.

Ich selbst reise morgen nach Schweden und von dort nach einigen andern Ländern. Anfang August bin ich in Paris zurück. Ich werde erst gegen den zehnten August wieder in Barcelona sein. Möglicherweise werde ich auch nach London für einige Tage reisen. Davon werde ich Dich aber noch später benachrichtigen.

Ich habe in Spanien Fenner Brockway getroffen und ihn nach Valencia begleitet. Er wird Dir wohl das Ergebnis seiner Reise mit berichtet haben. . .

Du kannst mir den nächsten Brief schreiben an John Andersson
Box 415 Stockholm I Sweden. Mit herzlichsten Grüßen

Augustin Souchy

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17271

London July 16th 37.

Dearest Ethel.

Yes, it is sad about Nellie, about tens of thousand of women of the middle classes. Their function in marriage unfits them for anything else in life once their prop is gone. Worse still is the tragedy that they do not know how to get old. They have lived such a narrow and limited life by virtue of their artist or business husbands when that ends they have nothing to give or anything to interest themselves in. So, they grow more self centered than ever occupied only with their desperate effort to keep and look young. Worse luck they only deceive themselves and not the world. I feel the tragedy of Nellie because I am deeply fond of her. But I grow impatient some time when she speaks of poverty. True, she has absolutely no security except the few pieces left for the days of Frank's glory which are being sold. I don't know what she will do then. But if she had taken the money she has already realized from their valuables in paintings and other art objects and had put it into something that would have given her a living Nellie would not now be with but little left. But you see she got the idea first that she could go into film work. For that she went to Hollywood and for that she also came here. It really made me want to scream at her for being so blind to the fact that tens of thousand of mere stripes of young girls are spending their time and energy hanging around offices of the film crooks. But she would only feel mortally hurt that I do not consider her young enough for the job. So I let her keep her illusions. But I feel deeply sorry for the poor kid.

Thank you my dearest for wanting to approach the Authors Society. It would do no good because Frank was an American citizen and so is Nellie. And it is certain that the British Authors Association will not help an American. Nellie is going back to the South of France. I understand Shaw offered her a loan. She wants to start some kind of a Club for the many idle parasitic British who come there and nothing will help her find something. It is really

Thank you dearest for your offer to help launch the film with some of the money you set aside for the food ship. Nothing like it will be necessary especially if I can get a few of the audience who will be at the cinema Tuesday to also contribute.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

708

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p.; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17272

Monica Whateley told me over the phone this morning that she has invited nine news-paper men to the showing. She also wants to try and arrange for a showing in the County Council Hall and to speak of the film at her various meetings. Then I saw Fenner yesterday. He said that he would want the I.L.P. branches to run the picture and the Summer school to have it. This will have to be on some arrangement to raise funds for the defense of the POUM members and for the work of the CNT-FAI. The situation there seems truly desperate. I fear Fenner is taking it too lightly, he shows too much faith in what the "Government" officials promised. It is obvious that the Communists are in power and that they are determined to exterminate the POUM first and the CNT-FAI afterwards. certain the widest world propaganda will have to be inaugurated to prevent this horrible crime on Spanish soil. It is awful enough the world has grown indifferent to the ~~murder~~ continued murder of innocent people in Russia. It must not be permitted in Spain. For you know how poisonous the lies are spread by the damned Jesuits, how infectious if they have become. Anyway, the film could be used advantageously to show the real struggle in Spain and to raise some funds. We will see what comes out of Thursdays showing. ~~Frankfort~~ I will make an appeal, tell me if I may say that we have one promise of a contribution. I need not mention your name if you do not want to.

TWENTY YEARS UNDERGROUND RUSSIA is not Stepniak's book. His is UNDERGROUND RUSSIA. But it may have been reprinted under the other name. I don't know. I just talked to Doris. She told me she has written you that she had not been able to find her copy. That she has arranged for you to meet Mrs. Stepniak. She could give you a tremendous amount of material just in her talk. She must have everything at her fingers tip. I will also write to the Sosikiss which I have not yet done thinking Doris has the book. Perhaps the one the Socialist book shop is getting for you is Vera Figner's Life. I have a faint recollection that the title was TWENTY YEARS. I am sorry I cannot get at all this material at my place.

Yes indeed, Russian women fought for their ~~rights~~ rights fifty years before the Russian Revolution. But it never was purely feminist in the Western sense. It was always combined with the struggle against the autocracy. At the same time the so called women's rights movement was a middle class in nature. I mean the struggle did give women equal rights to the professions and many social advantages. But the vast mass remained in bondage. It was really the Russian Revolution which raised the status of all women in Russia. The Soviet regime did no more for the mass of women than it did for the mass of workers and peasants. Economically and ~~politically~~ politically the Russian masses are chattel slaves more so than under the tsar. But the Revolution itself has raised the status of the Russian people in their own estimation and pride. And especially that of the Russian women. So it would not be right to say that the Russian revolution has done little for the Russian woman. The change has been fundamental and complete in the sense that the Russian peasant woman and the industrial worker can no longer be brow beaten by the man, that he would dare to attempt even. That they have equal access to all trades and professions, they are respected though by no means equally paid. I must go into that more fully when I see you again. I enjoy your visits short as they

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

709

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
3 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17273

so very, very much.

Yes, dear invite your Negro friends by all means. I have counted your friend for 12. Penner tells me he has invited twenty. Monica has invited some people. Stella Churchill can't come. So there will be room since the place is supposed to hold 75.

Yes Luxembourg must have been a very fine person. She hated Anarchists as nearly all Marxists do. Yet strangely enough it was an Anarchist who made her stay in Germany possible. He did what dear old Colton did for me he married Rosa to give her a German status. They probably never saw each other much, if at all. Stranger still is the interesting fact that the same Anarchist offered to marry me when I was living in Germany between 22 and 24. To give me German citizenship. I could not face it then. I had to in 25, while in England with an expired Hansen Passport and an expired British visa. It almost meant jumping into the Thames or marriage. And that Osa L. was no doubt in the same predicament. Our social system is a madhouse my dear and none of us can escape it for very long.

Yes, indeed I am going to remain to launch the film. I should have no rest in Paris if I rushed away now. By the way I talked to Monica about the children in the Salvation Army. She said she'd investigate.

With much love.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

710

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12491

COMMITTEE TO AID HOMELESS SPANISH WOMEN and CHILDREN

Sponsors:

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rebecca West, Lady Playfair, Ethel Mannin, Dr. Stella Churchill, Havelock Ellis, John Gielgud, The Earl of Lisowel, Sir Barry Jackson, John Cowper Powys, Robert Nichols, Dr. S. Vere Pearson

The Hon. Treasurer:
Dr. STELLA CHURCHILL,
& Cumberland Terrace,
N.W.1.

The Hon. Secretary:
Mrs. E. G. COLTON,
Castletown Road, W. 14.
Phone: Fulham 6829

London July 16th 37.

Dear Comrade. You may have thought that I have completely forgotten you because I have stopped writing. If so you were mistaken. I never forget my comrades, much less one ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ who has proven so reliable as you. If only I could write you in English you would have had more letters from me than you would have had time to reply. But my good translator has been hard worked as it is. I could not impose more translation on him willing as he has always been to do the translations. *help me*

Then too I have become very much discouraged with my correspondence with the Comité National. ~~Writing of xxxxx~~ For every six letters I have written I had but one reply and never what I asked in my letters. Since the events in May I have had just two letters from the Sect. of the Comité National. Even when he was in Paris he failed to write though he could have done it with greater freedom than from Spain. ~~Yes, it has been exasperating.~~ So I have decided not to write any more. There seems to be no sense in going on. I know positively that Galve forwarded my letters. I know it because comrade Souchy and others in Barcelona have ~~acknowledged~~ those I have sent them. It is nothing but indifference on the part of the Valencia comrades. I know they are busy. But also if they want me to go on representing them they should show enough comradeship and interest to at least answer a letter containing important questions. Yet even my long report of what I have done here sent to Valencia in Spanish did not meet with any attention. You will agree it is disheartening.

Among other important matters I asked about my going to Spain whether the CNT want me to come and could they arrange my getting into Spain. As they are silent on this too I have ~~come~~ come to the conclusion they do not want me there. Of course Souchy keeps writing all I have to do is to get a news-paper credential *and* have my passport stamped by the British authorities. Such utter stupidity. The British passport office gives no visas except to representatives of ultra respectable papers and these will not give me a visa. I cannot understand Souchy to be so childish. A letter to day informs me you would tell me how to go about. It is simply exasperating as I said I have lost hopes of getting to Spain. Nor do I know if the CNT wants me to go on with the work, *on what conditions* *come*

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921018

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12492

And without the possibility of new impressions, new information of the work of the CNT-FAI it is hopeless to go on with the work here. I am writing you all this dear comrade in a last attempt to get some word from valencia. Perhaps you can write the comrades there ~~for they are in a very bad way and they are not able to make~~ them realize that if they want anykind of publicity in England they must enable me to carry on the campaign more efficiently than they have so far. Another thing in the receipt for £201-3-9 I asked them to send me. It would help to rescue £35 from the Customs here in amusement tax. I have sent them a copy of the receipt. I have written them that they must state the money ~~xxx~~ from the concert ^a I held ~~here~~ ^{was} for the homeless women and children. If it will be signed the Oficina de Propaganda it will not be enough. If they can not send such a receipt all right. We will not bother about the Customs. but it is certainly too bad to permit the British Government to pocket £35. Are our comrades in Barcelona so rich that they can ~~xxxx~~ ignore so much money? The main thing I want you to write them is to make them say frankly do they or do they not want me to come. Please dear comrade it is my ~~last request~~ final effort to reach valencia through you.

I would have been in Paris a month ago today but for my accident. Now I do not know when I will be able to travel But then if no one in Paris knows no more than I how to get to Spain there is no hurry my getting to Paris. Especially now when I cannot get about and people would have to come to me.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Fraternal greetings.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London July 16th 37.

Dear Comrade. You may have thought that I have completely forgotten you because I have stopped writing. If so you were mistaken. I never forget my comrades, much less one ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ who has proven so reliable as you. If only I could write you in English you would have had more letters from me than you would have had time to reply. but my good translator has been hard worked as it is. I could not impose more translation on him, willing as he has always been to do the translations.

Then too I have become very much discouraged with my correspondence with the Comité National. ~~xxxxxxx~~ For every six letters I have written I had but one reply and never what I asked in my letters. Since the events in May I have had just two letters from the Sect. of the Comité National, even when he was in Paris he failed to write though he could have done it with greater freedom than from Spain. Yes, it has been exasperating. So I have decided not to write any more. There seems to be no sense in going on. I know positively that Gálve forwarded my letters. I know it because comrade de Souchy and others in Barcelona have ~~xxxxx~~ acknowledged those I have sent them. It is nothing but indifference on the part of the Valencia comrades. I know they are busy, but also if they want me to go on representing them they should show enough comradiship and interest to at least answer a letter containing important questions. Yet even my long report of what I have done here sent to Valencia in Spanish did not meet with any attention. You will agree it is disheartening.

Among other important matters I asked about my going to Spain whether the CNT want me to come and could they arrange my getting into Spain. As they are silent on this too I have ~~fix~~ come to the conclusion they do not want me there. Of course Souchy keeps writing all I have to do is to get a news-paper credential of have my passport stamped by the British authorities. Such utter stupidity. The British passport office gives no visas except to representatives of ultra respectable papers and these will not give me a visa. I cannot understand Souchy to be so childish. A letter to day informs me you would tell me how to go about. It is simply exasperating. As I said I have lost hopes of getting to Spain. Nor do I know if the CNT wants me to go on with the work, on what conditions

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

713

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010267

[Letter, 19]37 July 16, London [to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

And without the possibility of new impressions, new information of the work of the CNT-FAI it is hopeless to go on with the work here. I am writing you all this dear comrade in a last attempt to get some word from Valencia. Perhaps you can write the comrades there ~~perhaps you can write the comrades there~~ to make them realize that if they want anykind of publicity in England they must enable me to carry on the campaign more efficiently than they have so far. Another thing in the receipt for £201-3-9 I asked them to send me. It would help to rescue £35 from the Customs here in amusement tax. I have sent them a copy of the receipt. I have written them that they must state the money ~~xxx~~ from the concert I held here was for the homeless women and children. If it will be signed the Oficina de Propaganda it will not be enough. If they can not send such a receipt all right. We will not bother about the Customs. But it is certainly too bad to permit the British Government to pocket £35. Are our comrades in Barcelona so rich that they can ~~xxxx~~ ignore so much money? The main thing I want you to write them is to make them say frankly do they or do they not want me to come. Please dear comrade it is my ~~last xxxxxxxx~~ final effort to reach Valencia through you.

I would have been in Paris a month ago today but for my accident. Now I do not know when I will be able to travel. But then if no one in Paris knows no more than I how to get to Spain there is no hurry my getting to Paris. Especially now when I cannot get about and people would have to come to me.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Fraternial greetings.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

714

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921019

[Letter] 1937 July 16 [London to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12493

16 de Julio de 1937.

Querido camarada: Te habras creído que te tenía olvidado ya que hace algún tiempo que no te escribía; pero no ha sido por olvido, pues siempre recuerdo a los camaradas, sobre todo a los buenos como tu. Si pudiera escribirte en inglés hubieras recibido muchas mas cartas mías. Mi traductor ha estado muy ocupado ultimamente y no he querido aumentarle el trabajo con mis traducciones.

Por otra parte estoy algo descontenta con mi correspondencia con el Comité Nacional. Por cada seis cartas que yo he escrito solo he obtenido una contestación y así y todo no lo amplía que yo esperaba. Desde los sucesos de Mayo no he recibido mas que dos cartas del Secretariado del Comité Nacional. Aun estando en París el Secretario no me escribió y ello que podría haberlo hecho con mas libertad que desde Valencia, así es que he tomado la decisión de no escribir mas, ya que me parece una pérdida de tiempo. Estoy completamente segura que tal vez dio curso a mis comunicaciones. Lo sé porque Souchy y demás compañeros en Barcelona me han acusado recibo de las cartas que dirigí a ellos. Verdaderamente no parece sino indiferencia por parte de los camaradas de Valencia. Desde luego, reconozco que estan muy ocupados, pero tambien si desean que siga representandolos deberian demostrar mas interes y al menos contestar aquellas cartas con consultas de importancia. Hasta el informe enviado recientemente a Valencia en español dando cuenta detallada de mis actividades aqui ha sido ignorado. Es lo bastante para descorazonar a cualquiera.

Entre las cosas que consultaba con urgencia podia me digieran si la CNT-FAI deseaba que yo fuese a España y si podian arreglarme el viaje de forma que pudiese entrar en España. Como han permanecido en silencio con respecto a esto tambien, me hace pensar si es que no desean que vaya. Souchy me escribe diciendo que todo lo que tengo que hacer es conseguir una credencial de un diario y hacerme visar el pasaporte para poder entrar en España por estas autoridades inglesas. Las autoridades aqui no dan visas sino a representantes de periodicos "ultra-respetables" y estos no me dan a mi una credencial. No puedo, pues, comprender como es que Souchy me pide tal cosa. Por carta recibida hoy se me dice que tu podras asesorarme sobre la manera de proceder. Tantas contradicciones me desconciertan y estoy que no sé que partido adoptar. Tampoco sé si la organizacion desea que siga con mi trabajo, y sin nuevas impresiones, nuevas informaciones del trabajo de la CNT-FAI, no es posible hacer labor provechosa aqui. Te escribo todo esto, querido camarada, en la esperanza de, por ultimo, tener noticias de Valencia. Tal vez tu podras escribir a los compañeros alli y hacerles ver que si quieren sea hecha propaganda en Inglaterra habran de ponerme en condiciones de realizar la campana en forma mas eficiente que hasta ahora.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

715

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921019

[Letter] 1937 July 16 [London to unknown recipient, Spain?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12494

Otra cosa pendiente es el recibo que les tengo solicitado de
L201.3.9 recaudadas en un concierto dado aquí y que me permitiría re-
cobrar L35 del fisco por devolución del impuesto sobre espectáculos,
puesto que se trataba de una función benéfica. He enviado una copia del
recibo que me hace falta, indicándoles que deben expresar en el texto
que el dinero representa la recaudación en un concierto dado en bené-
ficio de las mujeres y niños desamparados. Dicho recibo ha de ser exten-
dido en papel oficial de la organización y no simplemente en un peda-
zo de papel y firmado: Oficina de Propaganda. Si es que no pueden en-
viarlo por cualquier causa, que lo digan, si bien sería una lastima
tener que perder L35.— Pero lo que mas me interesa saber, querido co-
marca, es si ~~se~~ desean que yo vaya o no. Me lo deben decir fran-
camente. En tus manos dejo este encargo y será el último esfuerzo que
yo haga, encaminado a conseguir ir a Valencia.

Si no hubiese sido por el accidente sufrido en mi pierna
habría hecho ya un mes que estaría en París. Ahora no se cuando po-
dre ir, pero si en París no va a haber nadie que me pueda in-
formar y ayudar para mi entrada en España, no corre mucha prisa que me
mueva de aquí.

En espera de tus prontas noticias te saluda fra-
ternalmente;

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

716

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921023

[Letter, 19]37 July 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12500

July 17th 37.

Lieber Augustin.

Ich bin zur Überzeugung gekommen dass Du entweder meine Briefe nicht liest, oder sie nicht verstest. Ich kann es mir anders nicht erklären warum Du immerfort denselben Unsinn wiederholst. Nämlich dass ich nur ein Mandat von einer Zeitung brauche um nach Spanien zu kommen, oder wie Du in Deinem letzten Schreiben so weise sagst ich soll mir ein ~~visum~~ visum von der Englischen Regierung holen. Du und die andern Genossen in Spanien scheinen mit Blindheit geschlagen zu sein. Den Spaniern kann ich es nicht übel nehmen. ~~Aber Anarchisten~~ Die haben nicht die geringste Ahnung was man in West Europa tun kann oder nicht, was ein Mensch in meiner Stellung und mit meinem Namen von irgend einer Regierung erreichen kann. Aber Du solltest es wissen. Welche Kapitalistische Zeitung glaubst Du ~~wir~~ wurde mir ein Mandat geben? Und welchen Wert hatte ein Mandat von unsere Presse? Es ist direct kindisch so was vorzuschlagen. Betreffs visum von der Englischen Regierung, in diesem scheinst Du auch mit vollständig unwissend zu sein. Das Home Office hat sogar Schriftsteller die zum Schriftsteller Konferenz nach Barcelona wollten das visum abgelehnt. Überhaupt ist es nur möglich ein visum zu bekommen wenn man in keiner Weise verdächtig ist, oder ~~keine~~ Verbindungen mit dem House of Commons hat. In einem Falle als ausgeschlossen.

Überhaupt Du machst es mit dem visum wie Du es mit Einladungen zur Anarchistischen Konferenz gemacht hast. ~~Die Einladung~~ ~~keine~~ Oder mit der Einladung für die Jahresfeier der Revolution. Ein paar Tage vorher und ohne irgend welche Direktive wo die Reisekosten herkommen sollten oder die Möglichkeit nach Spanien zu kommen. Du ladest Steinberg oder Barr ein ohne sich zu fragen wo die Leute ihre Reisekosten bekommen sollen, oder wie der Anarchist Barr, ein Proletarier die Grenze passieren soll. Ich halte dieses für einen ausserordentlichen Unverantwortlichkeit.

Überhaupt scheint es mir das kein Mensch unter unsere Genossen in Barcelona oder Valencia einen Pfifferling giebt für unsere Auslands Tätigkeit. weder Barcelona, noch Valencia haben das geringste Interesse in alledem gezieht was ich in England getan habe. Weiss der Himmel ich verlange keine Anerkennung, oder Lobhudelei. Aber schliesslich hat man das Recht am allerwenigsten Antwort zu bekommen auf wichtige Fragen. Du hast ja hier und da geantwortet aber auch nie zur Sache, und nie in einer Weise die man für die Tätigkeit hier hatte verwenden können. Wie in meiner langjährigen Tätigkeit habe ich so viel Ungewiss

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 17 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

heit und ~~der~~ qualvolle Unsicherheit umzustehen wie seit ich in Engla
bin und für die CNT-FAI tätig bin. Erzähle dir keine Geschichten dass
eine strenge Zensur existiert. Ich ir hat es fertig gebracht die I.
L.P. auf den Laufenden zu halten. Etienne Bonal and Jenny Patrick habe
allerhand rausgeschickt. Nur Du und die andern konnten es nicht. Nur
the CNT-FAI in Barcelona und Valencia können es nicht. Es ist lacher
lich. vor vier Wochen habe ich durch Valvo an Valencia einen langen
Bericht geschickt aus hier alles erreicht wurde und es hieß zu erreich
wa ere. Bis jetzt keine Zeile ob die Genossen zufrieden sind, ob die Ar
beit weiter geführt werden soll, ob sie einverstanden sind die Tätigkeit
zu stützen. Es ist daselbe mit meiner Rückkehr nach Spanien. das
Komitee scheint nicht zu bereuen wie wichtig es für die weitere Tätig
keit in Engla nd ist da es ich frische Eindrücke sammle, hauptsächlich
nach dem Abreise der CNT-FAI im Mai. Vielleicht glauben sie es ist
besser ich sehe nicht wie tief ihre politische Stellung gesunken ist.
Ich weiss es nicht. Ich weiss nur dass die Genossen kein Interesse zeige
in meine Rückkehr, oder überhaupt in meine weitere Tätigkeit. Das ist
schliesslich ihr Recht. Aber ich kann unmöglich weiter mitmachen so
lange ich weiss dass es den Kameraden vollständig gleichgültig ist
ob man ihrer Sache dient oder nicht

Was mich am meisten frappt ist die Tatsache dass
sie sich auflenen gegen die Kritik der ausländischen Genossen und
nicht ~~den~~ das geringste Interesse zeigen für diejenigen die
ihre Kompromisse und Schwäche zu erklären versuchen. Kruz und gut
ich habe das Gefühl dass die CNT-FAI einen Dreck für mein Tätigkeit in
ihrem Interesse giebt. Warum also nicht aufrichtig sagen wir wollen
Deine Arbeit nicht anstatt sich in blödsinniges Schweigen zu hüllen.
Was soll ich schliesslich in Spanien ~~ex~~ wenn es sich nicht darum handle
dort neue Eindrücke und neues Material zu ~~sammeln~~ sammeln? Ein Eng
lisches Publikum oder Amerikaner sind nicht zufrieden mit dem was man
vor sechs oder sieben Monate aus Spanien gebracht hat. Es ist altes Zeug.
Von der Presse schon gar nicht zu reden. Wäre man sich mit Material
versorgt es wäre eine Leichtigkeit im Manchester Guardian fast jede
Woche einen Artikel zu veröffentlichen. Meine Situation als Vertreterin
der CNT-FAI in Engla nd war gerade lachorlich weil ich keine Nachricht
von Bedeutung aus Spanien bekam und erklären musste I am as ignorant as
you are.

Ich wünsche dass Du den Kameraden begreiflich machst dass ich
mich ihnen nicht angelehnt habe, dass die Einladung nach Spanien von
Kuch kam, dass ich mich mit händen und Füssen dagegen gewehrt habe Span
ien zu verlassen und nach dem Lande zu gehen das ich hasse. Ich muss als
dringend darauf bestehen auf eine definitive Antwort, will man dass ~~ich~~
komme. Dann verlange ich dass die Genossen meine Einfahrt organisieren.
Wann nicht den gebe ich den Plan überhaupt auf und lege mein Mandat
nieder. Ich muss das sobald als möglich wissen. Den in England weiter
machen unter qualvolle Ungewissheit kann ich nicht.

Ich hoffe Therese wird Dir mein Schreiben
nachsenden. Ich habe ihn an die Pariser Adresse geschickt. Ich elge
lege Dir die Spanische Übersetzung ~~von~~ bei von den Artikeln der in
Spain and the World erschien. Ich musste meinen Standpunkt darstellen.
Das Spanische Original ist nach Valencia geschickt worden. Es kann wohl
sein das das Comité National mich als "Staatsverfälscher" betrachten wir

Grüsse die Swdische Kameraden.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

718

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726166

[Letter] 1937 July 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.—
2 p. ; 28 × 19 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23606

Modest Stein
61 West Ninth Street
New York

July 17-1937

Dear Emma

Received your letter dated London, July 9-6-
Something is screwy. I have sent no
authorization to S. or anyone else, except
the one I sent ^{you} by registered mail
in care of Alperine, 25 Rue des Volontaires
Paris. That was about two weeks ago
How it could have ever gotten to S. is
beyond me. About your agent. He could not
have sold the place without my authorization,
even if he had a customer. But taking
it for granted that he could have made
the sale it is not likely that you would
have gotten all cash for it. It is usually
done in several payments. And the subsequent
payments would have been in a devalued
franc. However, if you think
the fault lays entirely with me - then
so does the responsibility. And in that
case I shall assume the loss.
The only trouble is that I am flat at present
but shall take care of the matter
in course of time.

719

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726166

[Letter] 1937 July 17, New York [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Modest Stein.—
2 p.; 28 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2) I want to point out to you 23607
that unless you could have gotten
75,000 francs in cash and have
had turned the money into pounds
at once the loss on the sale of your property
would have been much greater than
whatever commission the agent claims.
However, I think you probably could
compromise the matter for a lesser sum
than what he claims if you let
him handle the sale again.

By the way, this is the first
time that I am informed that there
actually was a bona fide buyer
for the spirit —

From your letter I was under
the impression that there were just
possibilities. I am gradually
getting over the after effects of the
operation and if it were not for
this confounded heat I could
get to work in earnest and earn
some real money. I have practically

never not had a day off since I left you
and Sasha on my last trip to France.
Am still hoping and planning to get over there.
Am not but wishes Modest.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 18, London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17308

Sunday.

Dear Ethel. Do you know the American expression "you have put your foot in"? When I read the letter of Margery Lawrence I decided not to show it to Nellie. I knew she would feel hurt to the quick by the brutal frankness of Lawrence regarding her age. But when Nellie told me you had phoned and spoken about the letter I had to let her read it. Well, as I foresaw "Nellie ~~flamxxxxxxxxxx~~" was terribly hurt. The woman knows nothing about her how can she suggest that she was old. And she was not so old, and hostesses are often older than she. Poor Nellie worked herself into tears and into such an upset that she did not sleep all night. She wanted me to write you not to ask Miss Lawrence for a letter of introduction. Of course I would not bother you with such things, wake you up at an early hour with a wire and all such rot. But as I wrote you before Nellie's deepest tragedy is that she makes herself and the world believe that she is in the "dangerous age" of forty. It is really too pathetic. And there is no help for it.

Fact is Nellie could not hold a job even ~~skx~~ if she could find one. She does not know what it means to be a wage slave. She has never been forced to slave. She came to Frank as a very young girl and while he lived whatever his faults Nellie never wanted for anything. I am sure that she would be the most unhappy creature if she had to be at the back and call of hotel guests, Frank Harris's widow. I am sure there is only one thing for her to do it is to open a tea room or something else that would leave her the feeling that she is the mistress of her own place. I understood when I offered her a loan. I told her to go to it. Go to consult Auntie to open something in Venice. I will also write Auntie. It is really the only thing for Nellie.

There is a hitch about our film. It is inflammable and there is no Hall in London, much less in the provinces where inflammable pictures can be shown. I understand that in any event the film will have to be reduced for the use in Halle and that in the process it can be made nonflamable. Barr is to find out what this would cost so I will be able to report on Tuesday. I hope it will not be too much. But in any event it will have to be done as the picture would be utterly useless to us. In fact it would be an expense to have it in a fire proof place and pay storage and insurance.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 18, London to] Ethel [Mannin, London] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17274

If I can only organize a responsible committee to take charge of the film I will leave for Paris when you go the end of this month. My knee is far from well but I really can not stand the awful strain of lying around doing nothing. Not that I will do much in Paris. But somehow it will give me the feeling of closer contact with Spain. So many of our people keep coming and going between Paris and Barcelona, or even Valencia. Here I am cut off from everything and everybody. The uncertainty about the Spanish struggle and the course des of the CNT-FAI as well as the impending danger of the ~~POUM~~ ~~POUM~~ POUM make every day seem a year to me. Another fact is the expense of rent in London. In Paris I will be free from that and later I can go to St Tropez. My place has not been sold and probably will not for sometime. It is too late to let it for the season. I might as well make use of it. Well, I will see what the showing of the film will give and how quickly I can organize some workable group of people. Fenner wants it for the I.L.P. Monica Whateley promised to make it known. Max Sonai Clemens and Barr could act for me. I hope I can be ready to go the end of next week. It would be great going with you and Regie and have you in Paris for a few days.

I am writing The Societe to day about Stepniak's work. He may have it. I knew the title you gave could not be the same work. What is it? Let me know if you got it. I am glad to will see ~~the~~ Stepniak. She ought to be able to give you a lot of material.

Until Tuesday my dearest.

With love.

Tell Regie Mr Taylor reacted to my letter as I expected. He wrote me not to worry the children in the camp will be supplied with all the warm clothing they need. I will send the promised check, alas I have to make only fifty pounds to Fenner to be used for the children as necessary. I really promised hundred pounds. But something else has come up which required urgent help. So it will have to be £50 from the fund I have raised.

722

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 18, London [to] Ernest [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

5264

London July 18th 37.

Dear Ernest. Thanks a lot for your good letter and the assurance that the kiddies in Mrs Clark's Camp will be looked after with winter clothing. It is a great relief to me. I quite agree that the children are in good hands with Mrs Clark and the others who look after their welfare. That is more than can be said for the unfortunates in charge of the Salvation Army. More and more reports come in that they are very roughly treated by the Salvationists. They are much more concerned with "saving the human soul than in the human body". as you know. As if it is not tragic enough for the unfortunate victims of Fascism to be torn from their lovely country, their parents. They must needs also be at the mercy of an organisation that has built up its strength and wealth with the worst kind of exploitation of human labor known. At least this is the case of the American Salvation Army and I do not believe they are much better here. I am waiting to have more authentic data on the treatment of the children in this institution. I will then ask some of the women, Florence Rathbone and Monica Whately to look into the conditions of the Salsquo charges of the Salvation Army. I am very happy indeed to know that the forty one children are at least in humane and kindly surroundings.

When I was there last Sunday I was told that one of the little boys was very ill and the local physician did not know the nature of his troubles. The boy was running a high temperature and was kept isolated from the other children. I wanted very much to see him but I simply could not get up the stairs to where the child was being kept. I wonder how he is and what ailed him? I am writing Mrs Clark to find out.

As I said I feel relieved that the kids will have warm clothing. But I am sending a check of £50 to Mr Fonnor Broway just the same. True the money I collected was for the children in Catalonia. They have about hundred thousand of them there. But I feel I must also do something for the poor little victims here. I am sure my comrades will not object to that.

You will be interested to know that an American friend of mine who has lived long in Spain has made a most impressive film of the struggle since its beginning. It is entirely too strong for the trade to take it or the censor to pass it. He gave it to me for use in my work for Spain. I have arranged another private showing for

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

723

The Emma Goldman Papers

861114086

[Letter, 19]37 July 18, London [to] Ernest [Taylor, Bristol, England] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

5263

a select few because the cinema is small. I wish you and Margaret could see it. I am trying to organize a committee that would help make this truly overwhelming picture known to the masses and to all those interested in the heroic struggle. My knee still being badly behaved I can stay over another few weeks to launch the film. In its present form it is inflammable, hence can not be shown in ordinary halls. But it has to be reduced anyway for the use in halls. I understand in the process of doing so it can be made noninflammable. It will depend on the cost. If we can get it in condition ~~xxx~~ for our purpose the film will be widely shown here and all through the provinces. Of course Bristol will be included.

Affectionate greeting to Margaret and yourself.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 18 [London to Juliet] Sos[k]ice, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
1 p. ; 19 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17506

July 18th 37.

Dear Mrs Soscise.

You will be surprised to hear from me as being in England. Actually I have been here since last Dec. I came as the representative of the above organisation to represent the CNT, FAI and their part in the anti Fascist struggle. I have been so hard worked I could not as I have always done before pay you a visit. I hoped if you will see my name in the Manchester Guardian you might get in touch with me. I fully planned to call you up before leaving for Spain a month ago. But a badly bruised knee and torn ligaments as a result of a fall has kept me in my flat not able to move about much. ~~Myxxx~~ I am on the way of recovery but do not know yet when I will be in condition to walk.

I am writing you to day for two reasons, first I am having a private show of a most impressive film of the struggle in Spain since its very beginning. It will take place Tuesday at 8 P.M. at the Crown Cinema 86, Wardour Street. I would be so glad if you and Mr Soscise could attend. It will be a select audience as the place only has 75 seats. Please do come if possible.

Secondly I am trying to get the loan of Stepniaks UNDERGROUND RUSSIA. My very good friend Ethel Mannin is writing a book about women in Revolution. And I suggested to her that she would find a mint of material in UNDERGROUND RUSSIA about the heroic women of the pre revolutionary time. Of course it has to be in English, not Russian. Would you please ask Mr Soscise for me. I will be responsible for the safety of the book. Or any other work he may have about Russian women in the revolutionary struggle.

I hope that you, Mr Soscise and your family have been well. Give them my heart felt greetings. Would you call me up, or write me if I may expect you Tuesday, and about Stepniaks work.

Sincerely yours.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 18, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —
2 p.; 30 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



LE DÔME

CAFÉ - BAR AMÉRICAIN - TABAC

108, Boulevard du Montparnasse

Téléphone: ODÉON 53-61

R. C. Seine 456-156

PARIS, 18

July 18, 1937

Dear Emmy:

Do not be astonished
that I do not write. I have plenty
of worries to work. Thanks for the
10 Dollars.

I cannot write more, do
not know how I'll be able to
manage. Running for work from
morning till evening. It is
therefore that I have no
courage to write letters.

I heard you will not come.
It will be better for you not
to see my struggle here.

I ask you to say nothing about
it either to Sam, Moly or Helen.
I never bother any of them.

I ask you not to say anything to Sam, Moly or Helen about this letter. I never bother any of them.

I will stay here because I will stay here. Everything will be the same. May and myself will be there.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726135

[Letter] 1937 July 18, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Emmy [Eckstein]. —
2 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

P.1

Until now I had not met the
Trade Union. They are very
satisfied. I did my best. But that
is by far not enough to extend.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726205

[Letter, 19]37 July 19, London [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p.; 28 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23692

London July 19th 37.

Dear Emmy. I was certainly shocked to learn that nothing has come of your visit to May and Lawrence. The invitation seemed to be so certain I thought you are with them. Whatever can be the matter? My dear, my dear I feel rotten and worried frightfully about your material condition. I had hoped to set aside some money for you from the sale of Bon Esprit. But with the fall of the franc I simply had to withdraw my consent from the sale. It would have meant losing twenty thousand francs if I had let it go for the price of ~~fourteen~~ of three months ago. Fortunately I had not signed the pact. But while I had the right to withdraw from the sale I will not be able to do so from the commission promised to the agent. The law in France protects him and if he insists I will have to pay him 3700 francs whether Bon Esprit is sold or not. I have no money now to do so, and I have no idea how I am going to manage. So you see my dear the gods are against us. In fact unless the agent finds another buyer, no Frenchman will pay the increased amount. I will have to find someone in A. who will lend me some money on the house. If I succeed I will send you some money that goes without promises. I only wish I could do it now.

However, I will cable Modest to day to send you some money. He has repeatedly told me in his letters that if you are hard up you should cable him. He is always ready to assist you but he simply cannot remember to do so regularly. You remember it used to be the same with Sasha. Modest was so generous, he has never failed Sasha once. But he had to be cabled each time. I don't know why you have not cabled him before. There is no shame in accepting help from Modest. He was Sasha's oldest friend. He can afford it even though his recent doctor bill must have been very high. I am sure he will be provoked with you if he learns how hard up you are and what a struggle you have and that you have not let him know. Anyhow I am taking the right to cable Modest. I hope you will hear from him by return cable. Now don't fly up because I am doing what you should have done long ago. I understand my dear that it is easier to do things for others than oneself. I appreciate your disagreeable feeling of having to ask. I have explained that to Modest long ago. He admitted he should send you something regularly without putting you to the task to ask. But he simply does not think of such things. He will rather waste money on cables than to think about

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 19, London [to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. --
2 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23693

anything regularly. I am sure unless Modest is away from New York you will hear from him in a day or two.

and

Dear Emmy -ahia, Mollie, Chapiro are so absorbed in the tragedy of Spain as I am. I certainly do not intend to add to their misery by an account of your or my private struggle and hardships. So please do not worry about this, please. They could not help anyhow. Why then worry them.

I am puzzled about your foot note regarding you and Kay. Or why your visit has been postponed to Oct. But as I never pry in other people's affairs I do not wish to pry in anything between you and Kay or Lawrence. But I am surprised that you were left hanging in the air just now when it is more difficult to find work people going away for their holiday than in Oct.

It is four weeks tomorrow that I hurt my knee. It seems to be improving but still causes me a lot of pain when I am on my feet. Nevertheless I hope to undertake the trip to Paris the end of this month. I will not come for long. I must get down to St Tropez to see if what I can do with the agent to save that useless and large expense of his commission. Besides living in Bon Esprit for a little while will not cost as much as living here.

Goodby dear Emmy do not lose heart. Remember we all had to and still have to struggle for mere existence. After all our own hardships are but a speck compared with the struggle of the people for the right to live, for the right to breathe. Just think my dear a million people but there in one year in Spain. And there is no end. I realize the thought of such sacrifice does not lessen our own personal suffering. But it should help us to bear our own.

Affectionately,

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 19, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Monday

17884

Emma dear, I am sorry about this, but I misunderstood Nellie on the phone. I thought she had seen the first letter from the way she spoke, and I said something about had she seen the second letter, the one with the names and addresses (no harm at all in her seeing that) she said no, and I said perhaps it hadn't arrived yet; but by then of course she knew there were two letters. Hence the trouble. But I thought at the time you had taken a risk, as I thought, in showing her the first letter. Oh dear. My mistake was in letting her know there were two letters, but as I said I understood she had seen the first, the one mentioning necessity for young women; I was a bit surprised but rather pleased; I mean I thought if she had seen the first letter and not minded it was rather good, that she was more sensible than you had led me to believe about her age.

How silly it all is! I feel deeply sorry for her. I do wish she could be persuaded that it's silly to pretend about one's age; let a woman be a young fifty by all means, but not kid herself she can compete (in the labour market - or in sex matters -) with women half her age, mere girls. Whatever age she is she looks about 45, not young, and apparently the hotel business wants women of 25 or anyhow in their thirties. I agree with you that she would do best running a t a-room or a nightclub or something, and Auntie might have some good suggestions, and Shaw loan her the necessary capital.

I've written ML today about notes of introduction if she knows any of those S of France hotel people personally. Have asked her to send direct. (Nellie)

Perhaps in a way it's a good thing she saw that letter - it might make her realise - shock her into a realisation of what the world's attitude would be - that a girlish forty or fifty can never compete with the real thing, particularly when so much of the real thing is going begging on the market?

Whatever it costs to make the film right for public showing, we must do it, Emma; we can't scrap anything so valuable if we can at all raise the money, and my money is available.

I'm not going to Paris that weekend after all, Emma; I can't afford it: one spends so much in Paris: I can afford to pay for you to go in comfort, but in my present financial position I don't feel entitled to spend money on myself. You aren't going just for pleasure; it's different. (You do see that, don't you, dear?)

It's true I've got that £1000 life savings, but having said I'd devote that in its entirety to the Spanish Foodship I don't feel entitled to spend it on myself; apart from the fact that my whole training has been that one must never touch one's savings for living expenses. That money is somehow 'dedicated'. We can dig into it for the Spanish film, and to subsidise any such cause, but not for me. It may be silly, but it's how I feel about it, Emma. Do tell me you understand. I don't sort of feel it's mine any more. In any case a socialist has no right to savings.

I think...

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

730

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 19, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I think we should dig into this money to pay your rent whilst you're in London, Emma: I should like you to be free of financial worry.

As for myself, I am scouting about to make some easy money, and am getting an advance from a publisher, and I shall be allright in a few months. Its just that I have such heavy outgoings (family and political) that when I take months off to do a book that is badly paid, like this revolution book, I get into a jam, because large sums are paid out of my account each week, week after week, month after month, and nothing is coming in, so the hole gets deeper and deeper as it were, and takes a lot of filling up afterwards.

Reg will go over for the conference Mon. night and come back Tues. night thus saving hotel expenses (his fare is being paid)

I'm hopeless about money; I can never keep it (that thousand pounds was saved when I lived with my husband and had no expenses) because there are always so many causes to give to, and so many good friends needing help and entertainment: I honestly don't spend a lot on myself (that black suit I wear is three years old; the black and red dress I wear five years old! and I only have a daily girl here, no resident servant)

I've got a copy of Figner's life; am now only wanting the Stepniak book.

Have suggested to a few of the comrades that we adjourn to the pub opposite Daly's Theatre in Leicester Sq. the LEICESTER CORNER, after the film, and have drinks on me. Its a nice cafe sort of pub with tables and its cool. Barr knows it. I need it as he who introduced us to it. As its always a bit muddled after meetings, if we miss each other let us leave it that we will find each other at the Leicester Corner. But of course we'll try to arrange to go along together.

Haste now, dear Emma.

Ever love



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

731

The Emma Goldman Papers

870216072

[Letter, 19]37 July 20 [London to Dorothy Rogers, Scarborough Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6427

July 20th 37.

Dear Comra 49.

I have been meaning to write you, but I have been in considerable pain owing to a bad fall I had four weeks ago, to day. I buried my knee and tore some ligaments which has bound me to my couch. It is improving but still extremely painful when I am on my feet. In addition to this enforced and most trying inactivity is the frightful depression over the situation in Spain. It seems a mad dream to think that only nine months ago one could come and go to Spain with a credential of the C.T.-F.A.I. as the magic key to every place. And that now it is almost impossible to get in or get out much less move about freely in the country. It is a frightful come down due to the perfidity of Moscow and its criminal intrigues. Unfortunately also due to the lack of consistency on the part of our leading comrades. My heart bleeds for the rank and file of the C.T.-F.A.I. and the Spanish people in general. I have tried and tried to find a way to get to Spain, if only to see for myself what had happened and whether there is anything left of the marvelous constructive work of our comrades. But so far it looks hopeless. Were I younger and not temporarily crippled I should risk almost anything to get to Spain. But one can not climb the Pyrenees with torn ligaments or attempt any other strenuous ~~strenuous~~ illegal channel. I am not even certain when I might be able to get to Paris. I was all packed to go four weeks ago. ~~When the fall occurred~~ I had the fall on the day when I was going to the ticket office to get my ticket and I have been bed ridden ever since.

I have been thinking what I might do the coming winter if I can not get to Spain. England is almost barren grounds for our ideas. There is absolutely no movement, no comrades worth their salt except a very few strewn in different provincial towns and ~~only~~ no more than a half dozen in London. No doubt in time something could be created. It would require years and means. The few comrades we do have are nearly all unemployed, frightfully poor. So where is anything to come from. I am thinking of Canada as ~~xxx~~ the next best thing, partly as a possible wedge to get into the States for six months though the outlook is not bright. Still it is certain that being so near the States I would have a better chance to keep after the people who want to help me than being in England. I have written Jeanne Levey all about it and have asked her if she could raise some money for my expenses of getting to Canada.

732

The Emma Goldman Papers

870216072

[Letter, 19]37 July 20 [London to Dorothy Rogers, Scarboro Bluffs, Canada] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

6428

No doubt the Canadian comrades will raise something but there too our people are frightfully poor. I do not mean to say that they are rich in America. It is only that if I could get back it would be less difficult to raise money from my meetings than it has always been in Canada. Do you think you could bring this matter to the group and see what the comrades and you could do provided of course they are sufficiently interested to invest money in the possible chance of my getting a visa to reenter America.

Miserable as I feel I would have made a great effort to get to Paris. One is not so painfully cut off from Spain as here. But I have to remain here a little longer to launch a film given me for the use in my work. The picture was made from a number of films presenting the struggle in Spain since 31. It was made by an American Jewish comrade who had lived long in Spain. I cannot understand why the comrades in New York did not grab it. It is the most effective and impressive piece of propaganda for the U.T.M.I. I have seen. Actually the comrade had this film from those he had brought with him from Barcelona in New York. It was taken over by the trade unions, I suppose the Jewish trade unions. I wonder why the Fr. Arb. Stime did not get hold of it. Well, it is too strong for the trade and the British censor will certainly never issue a licence for it. So comrade Frank left it to me. I have arranged for a private showing ~~xxxx~~ this evening to which I have invited a lot of people in public life here. I hope to raise some funds to organize shows in large halls in London and the provinces.

However there is a hitch, the film is inflammable and there are no halls licensed for such pictures. We will have to get it reduced and in the process make it non-flammable which will cost about sixty pounds, £600. That is of course beyond us here. But as I said I might be able to raise a fund this evening. If I succeed I will immediately organize a committee to take charge of the picture and get it before the masses. Then I will jump myself to Paris. In any event you will be good enough to write me c/o Ralph Barr 100, Conington Rd. London W.12 ~~xxxx~~ Our dear little Nellie Steiner and Benia are going away for a month's holiday so there will be no one to forward my mail from Paris. It will therefore be best to write me to London.

Please greet ~~xxxx~~ all the comrades for me. Tell them not to lose faith in the Spanish people and our comrades. Whatever the mistakes, blunders andupidities of the leaders the rank and file will come out on top. They will never be subdued for long I am certain of that. You have no doubt read my statement in Spain and the World so you will know where I stand.

Let me hear from you soon please.

Fraternally.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

733

The Emma Goldman Papers

811022177

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to] Evelyn [Scott, New York?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London July 20th 37

My dear rest Evelyn,

Stella sent me your letter of May 25th. I was so very glad to hear from you. I knew through Stella that you had a lot of trouble and illness. Also that poor Jack had had a nervous break down. I can imagine how it must have worn you out. Naturally you could not write me. I understood this perfectly. Besides between such friends as we are explanations are unnecessary. I am so sure of your love and your interest in my life and in my work if I never again heard from you direct I ~~would~~ should not doubt you. And I know you feel the same about me. I am only deeply grieved that you should have so many misfortunes piled on you and I so far away and unable to help you.

Darling it is good of you to say I had accomplished so much. I should feel reborn as it were and I must have new belief in my own importance to all of my friends. In the first place I have no accomplishment though I did work like a trojan. And in the second place ~~my~~ the inspiration which sent me forth from Spain to plead the ~~human~~ heroic cause of my comrades has received a terrible jolt in the events of May. In case you have not seen the account of it I am sending you everything, including SPAIN AND THE WORLD, a paper published in London which contains some of my articles. You will see that Moscow's hand is as dead in Spain as in Russia, that it has undermined the Revolution and the marvelous constructive achievements of my comrades. Barely eight months since I left Catalonia politically free for every body and now Communist dictatorship run amuck, the borders in the hands of thugs and no one permitted to get back. It is a terrible commentary on the far reaching power of that Ivan the terrible in the Kremlin. Unfortunately I have to admit that my own comrades are much to blame for their plunge from sublime heights of nine months ago. Their entry into Ministries and their pact with Russia in return for arms have bound them hand and foot. It is the old old story first fatal step of compromise which leads to many more and on to a complete debacle. I should despair utterly but for my faith in the Spanish masses who never have or ever will submit to masters for very long. But as it is I have been frightfully un- since the tragic May events.

I want of course to go back to Spain. But so far it

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to] Evelyn [Scott, New York?] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

has been impossible. The dastardly Non Intervention which helped Franco and set by indifferently to the devastation of Anti Fascist Spain makes it impossible to get a visa. And I am unfortunately not young enough to climb the Pyrenees. Certain not now with an injured knee and torn ligaments as a result of a bad fall four weeks ago to day. I have just written Knopf to beg him for a letter saying I want to go to Spain to gather material for a book on Spanish feminism. It is really no lie I do want to go after that though that is not my main concern. I am not sure he will do it. Another medium would be a credential from a newspaper of some importance. But what paper would give E.G. an assignment? I am really desperate because I am fairly consumed by Spain, by its struggle, by the valour of my people. All other countries seem pale and meaningless in comparison.

I find myself to day almost in the same position as after Sasha's death, utterly lost without meaning or aim in life. And yet I had such glowing hopes for Spain. I still have of course. Only it will take long than I ~~just~~ hope or care to live to regain what the National Confederation of Labor and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia have lost. And what renewed sacrifices. My heart bleeds when I think of it.

Whether I can get to Spain or not I can not face another winter in England. The climate and the people paralyse me and numb my will. I have been thinking of Canada more as a possible wedge to America. Though I have small hopes of being allowed to come for six months. You see there is really no one to take this matter seriously in hand like that blessed friend of mine who started the campaign last time and then died. And without someone to keep at this task it does not look one way going. And so it goes in my life. A moment on the height of hope and the inevitable plunge into the depths.

I don't know when I shall be in condition to travel. I want to go to St Tropez for a little while to see the dear place once more. I came nearly selling it but had to give it up owing to the fall of the franc. And I also want to go to Nice to see Sasha's grave. Sentimental I know. You see I had a tablet put up for those who may come to France and wander out to Nice. I have not yet seen how it looks. For the present I must lie still, a job for my restless and roaming spirit.

You will laugh when I tell you that some suffrage women here have invited me as their guest to an International gathering they will have in Geneva with all my expenses paid for. I don't see for the life of me what I can do there. I certainly am no good for bottoming the utterly inane and stupid members of the League of Nations who have proven so futile and inconsequential. If they will let me speak about the effort of the Spanish Anarchist women to emancipate their terribly backward and undeveloped sisters in Spain I would accept the invitation. But I am no good to deal with politicians.

As I am not sure when I will get away from here you can write me c/o Mr Ralph Barr, 106 Coningham Rd London W.12. He will forward my mail. Inclosed letters may interest you.

With love. Give Jig my affectionate greetings.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2958

London July 20th 37.

Dear Mr Knopf.

Thanks a lot for having induced the correction in your Borzoy announcements about my being the representative of the Spanish Government. Imagine what our Communist friends would say if they had seen the reference to me, or my own comrades. I have so many sins for which I have been put on the stake I could not afford to add such an offense to the many I am supposed to be guilty of. Seriously speaking it is not that I ever minded what charges are hurled against me. It was my own feeling that made me ask you for the correction. I have never represented any government. It would not have been fair to the Spanish Government or myself to go down as its spokes man, or woman.

I have a great favor to ask of you dear Mr Knopf. I would like a letter from you saying that you want me to gather material for a book in Spain. You see the so called Non Intervention has made it impossible for anyone to return to Spain except as a correspondent or for literary purposes. And as I want terribly to go back for a little while and do not know of any newspaper that would be acceptable to the Home Office who would give me a passport it occurred to me that you as my publisher might give me a letter that would be of value. I do not have to assure you that the letter is not to bind you in any shape or form, or that I would make undue use of it. It is ~~xxxxxx~~ only for the purpose of a visa. You can even give me the letter under E.C. Colton since that is my legal name and my passport is in that name. You can if you wish say in the letter that I am going to Spain to gather material on Spanish feminism. There is such a movement in Spain. I have met the women most active in that line. They publish a most interesting paper called ~~LIBROS~~ LIBROS. And I really want to gather material for a book on it. It is only that I have to be able to show something from a reputable publishing house that I have been asked or instructed to go to Spain for the purpose. I repeat you are in no way to be bound or to be held to the letter. I can not tell you how very much you would help me if you could let me have such a letter.

Some years ago when the New York World was still

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

736

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to Alfred A.] Knopf, [New York] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2955

Pulitzer owned its managing editor Mr Swope gave me a credential as the representative of the paper which not only helped me to a stay in Germany but also gave me much freedom of movement in other countries. So you see that a letter from you would do the same for me in Spain and would I am sure easily get His Majestys government whose subject I am at least on passport, give me a visa to Spain. Please be the good friend that you are and say, yes.

Just at present I am hopping on one leg having injured the other in a bad fall four weeks ago. I therefore do not know how soon I will be in condition to go to France as I had fully intended to before the fall from "Grace". So you had better write me c/o Mr Ralph Barr. 106 Coningham Rd. London W.12.

With kindest regards to Mrs Knopf

Cordially.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

737

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to C.W.] Daniel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2960

London July 20th 37

Dear Mr Daniel. It seems strange to be in London so long and not to see you. I dare say it is all my fault. I have been frightfully busy for my comrades in Spain besides having a rather hard winter with all sorts of illness. That is the reason I did not try to see you. I suppose you too have not been idling. I had planned to get in touch with you before leaving for France four weeks ago. But the "gods" who do not watch over me very kindly decided otherwise. Four weeks ago I had a bad fall in my flat, bruised my knee and tore some of the ligaments. I have been laid up ever since except for a bit of fresh air in cars of my friends the last week or two days. I have been fortunate in my misfortune to have a first rate osteopath who is also a regular physician, only more advanced than most of them are. He has come nearly every day to give me massage. The knee is improving there is no doubt but it will take sometime to be able to get about a great deal. Dr Clemens tells me however that if I could only get to the South of France and back the knee in the run I would be cured much quicker than here. Just now I can not face the trip. I hope to be able to do so in another two weeks.

However I did not begin writing you to tell you a tale of woe. It is for another reason. I am very determined to get back to Spain when I can move about. Unfortunately, it is impossible to get a visa from London unless one has credentials as a correspondent. I know no paper in this country or America that would give me such a credential. And anything from the Anarchist press would only queer my chances with the Home office. It occurred to me that I might get the visa if I had a credential from a publisher saying that I am going to Spain to gather material for a book. It would in no way bind the publisher to anything and it would help me. It is hardly necessary to say that I will not use such a letter for anything but the visa. Do you think you could give me such a letter stating that I am going to Spain to gather material for a book for your House? It would help me immensely and in no way bind you.

I am hoping to hear from you this afternoon. I have asked your secretary to give you my message to call me up. It is not about the letter. It is to ask you if you could come to a private showing of a very remarkable film of the events in Spain from the moment of the Republic in 31 to a few months ago.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

738

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to C.W.] Daniel, [London] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

*Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.*

2961

If you will kindly give me a letter you can make it to
W.C. Colton since my passport is to my "legal" name, What a difference it
makes nowa days to have a legal status under a perfectly respectable
name. What a farce, isn't it?

Please let me hear from you soon.

Cordially always.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 20, London [to] Garden City Publishing Co[mpany], Garden City, N.Y. / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

London July 20th 37.

The Garden City Publishing Co.
Garden City, New York.

Gentlemen. &c

I received your statement of June First for the six copies of Living My Life which I had ordered some time ago. Also a statement for \$2.63 for two copies of my book of last year. I can not understand the latter bill because I am quite sure when I ordered the two copies I sent a check for \$2.50. Unfortunately I have not the stubs of my last years check book with me, so can not give you the exact date. I think I sent the check payable to Mr. Alfred A. Knopf. It was acknowledged from his office and I was informed that the check had been turned over to your House since you were now in charge of Living My Life. I am too I can not give you the exact date of my correspondence with Mr. Knopf because my files are in the South of France. I must therefore ask you to please look into this matter. You no doubt have a record of this, or the Knopf office must have one.

Meanwhile please find inclosed my check for \$5.67. Should you find that I am right in saying that I have already paid \$2.50 of the \$2.63 as per your statement please credit me with the amount to the next shipment of Living My Life of which I want one dozen copies. Please send the books to Mr. Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd. London W.12 And the bill to me o/o the same address.

Sincerely yours.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 20, Paris [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Mollie Steimer].—
1 p.; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Senya Flechine Archive.

Paris July 20, 1937

Dearest Emetshka,

I am awfully sorry to hear that you are not coming and that your knee got worse! Have you a good doctor attending to it? I implore ~~you~~ you DO TAKE GOOD CARE OF YOURSELF. No matter what may come up, do not go out unless you feel that you can really do so.

Your letter to Milienne, I sent off yesterday in which I enclosed the one to Frank.

The message to Mercedes I will give over with some one going there. No use of writing, the letters simply do not reach their destination... And to Galve, I do not want to address myself, unless I absolutely need to do so. Further more, letters given to him are not so very sure now of reaching Spain soon.

According to the last news from Rüdiger (who is still in Perpignan!!), the German Group was arrested, their headquarters closed up. He himself, intends to remain in France. Note, I say "he intends to remain". It is not yet decided, he may change his mind. He is awaiting some more news from Spain.

About your being able to stay in our atelier when we leave. Of course dearest. You are welcome here any time you come. The only thing is that we are now having Volin with us. The comrade who hurted her legs, is now better and could go over to the hotel where she now lives with her sister.

As you know, Volin lost his job because he became the editor of ESPAGNE ANTI-FASCISTE. Since the Anti-Fasciste is stopped he remained without any means of existence. He was forced to liquidate his home. His children are: 2 in Serbia, 2 in Spain & the two who remained in Paris took 2 ~~it~~ very small rooms for themselves. So that our Vsevolode is now without a home and without a job. He went to sleep to comrades. One night in one place, another some wheres elses.... Naturally, as soon as the girl could walk again, we asked him to come and stay with us. We shall share with him what we have until he will get a job. Should he not be able to get one very soon, and should he have to stay on here even after the 15th of August, you will be able to share the atelier with him.

Vasquez writes an article where he says that those who criticise live comfortable and at ease and that they have not done much themselves during the revolution in Russia! "Comfortable and at ease" and idle during the Russian Revolution!!! That's just the case of Volin! Poor Vasquez. If he would really know Volin, he would never speak that way, yet he maintains that the others "are not well informed".

As I am writing this, a telegram came for you. I opened it and will send it off immediately with this letter.

What do you know about Ray Oldred? He writes to the comrades here and poses as an Anarchist! He also complains against you of course. If possible, give a brief explanation of his activities in Glasgow so as to put an end to the correspondence between him and some comrades here.

Lots of love from all of us

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 20, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 2 p. ; 26 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Vence
20/7/1937

Dearest Emma,

Got yours and cheque for which thanks. I was

glad to read that you had something new to stir up practical help for Spain. One wonders these days what is going to be the outcome of all the carnage. I have ceased to read the details, one is so helpless and things are so complicated it is a menace to one's sanity to try and imagine a solution. Thanks for sending your book, it is for me and I enclose cheque for seven shillings. I was more than sad to learn that your friend Goldfosky had passed away. Such a good man and with so much energy I thought. Poor Lisa. I would like to send her a line. She will be utterly lost I am afraid without him. Life is bloody. I too heard from Mrs Chesterton that some of the camps where the Spanish children are being taken care of have much to be desired. I always hated the regime of the Salvation Army. The administrators always seemed to be drawn for the ignorant and fanatical - bound to be a mess. I should love to see the cinema picture, although I have no doubt it is terrible in its horrors. Cyril Connelly, (you met him in Barcelona he told me,) of "The New Statesman" was here on Sunday. N.D., he and his wife and self had dinner together, afterwards we went to a party given by a friend on a moonlit roof, very enjoyable. He talked of you and had you been in St Tropez he certainly would have paid you a visit, perhaps if you are still in London when they return he will ring you up. They are staying in Antibes sharing a villa there. He mentioned that letter you wrote to the "New Statesman" and said how very much he was in favour of their publishing it but it was no use. I am glad you have somewhere to go when you finish with the flat, somewhere where you will not be entirely on your own. What did you intend doing with the silver etc I ~~xxxxxxx~~ took from here. I left myself pretty well denuded of forks, spoons, salt sellers etc besides towels and other linen, I wondered if you would send some of it back with Nellie, if she would bring it. One of these days too, when we meet, which I hope will be in the near future, I will explain to you how I arranged the domestic payments for food etc, on the lines we agreed upon when first we set up the place, and then you will understand I hope that any small item that cropped up whilst I was ill was a part of that business and nothing to do with me personally, I mean in the way of milk ~~xxx~~ bread etc. But for the moment that ~~can~~ rest. Mrs Chesterton returns on Sat. then I think Robert Nicholas is coming. Have you settled anything about St Tropez? I had a letter from Stella she spoke of perhaps going there. I had a card from Emmy saying she was going to Kay Boyle for a holiday. I have been expecting to hear that Nellie was en route for Nice, I do hope she is better. This last week has been a constant rush one way and another, last night 16 people came up from the coast

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

742

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 20, Vence [France to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Martha Gordon Crotch]. — 2 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

and had dinner at the little CAFE here, Archie Douglas first wife was among them, a very gay and spectacular gang, the locals thought it was some big American Cinema company, the girls were really lovely all of them - and the men too. Orioli is coming again too, he is only waiting to finish this rotten affair of N.D. He wrote this morning a letter which I will ask H. to let me copy, proving the damnable frame up against him, it is really a scandalous story. I do hope he sues all those foul papers who printed that paragraph for criminal libel. Poor Archie B. is ill and covered with eczema, this new menage is not the greatest success I should think, then it is very embarrassing his first wife being around here. And so the world wags. David has been here for over a week, he looks pale and worried it seems to me, I am glad he paid you something whilst he stayed at Castletown Rd, it would help you with the expenses. Now is Sutton, I never hear from him. I was glad to have the copy of Living my Life, I am enclosing the 7/- for it. I wish you had autographed it. Did you hear from Mrs Rodley? She is leaving for Paris in a day or two, has got very pally with Mrs Chesterton - personally I find her rather trying, but if she helps financially that is not to be sneezed at.

I do hope I shall be able to let the flat, I am writing to the agent.

Fondent love, I do hope your leg is better.

affectionately,

Annie

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

743

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 20, Pickering [Canada to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ev[a Langbord]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Pickering, July 20, 1937

23800

My dearest Emma:

We heard from Marion Seltzer where you were, the other day and since this was the first time in over a year that I knew where to reach you, I decided to write.

I might say that we are all well and trying just as hard as always to make things go. I had a very poor season but am hoping that things will go better in the fall. Considering the fact that all I have accomplished has been by my own efforts, I feel very encouraged.

I have often wondered whether you got the books and my letters sent to you. It would be a shame that they should be lost. I sent them in June, 1936. Please let me know about that. I shall be back at my old address, 421 West 57th St., New York by August 8th.

We saw Babsie and Moe several times this past year and I even went out to the hospital to see them. I also met Stella once or twice. I spent the year mostly in seeing people about work and nothing much happened. I got into a comedy that stood a fair chance of a run but unfortunately it was underfinanced and closed after ten days. Otherwise I studied a lot by myself and did a lot of reading and finally came to Canada for part of the summer where I have gotten a much needed rest and revitalization. I weigh 104½ lbs. now and don't look any fatter than when I weighed 90lbs.

Father has had a tough time of it but at last he has a very fine job that ought to set him on his feet for a while. Mother is well although she had a bad winter. Chave is a big girl now, in fact she looks older than I do. I seem to keep getting younger as the years go by and especially now that I have

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726251

[Letter] 1937 July 20, Pickering [Canada to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ev[a Langbord]. — 2 p. ; 30 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

23809

out my hair, I look twelve and Chave 16. She has finished school and is now in High School. She doesn't seem to want to read but enjoys more to run around with other kids. Well, I have tried to influence her but I feel that unless she herself feels the need for those things that I hold dear, there is no use in trying to make her like them. Maybe she will come to it herself soon.

I should like very much to hear from you and what you have to say about things in general. Mother wishes me to tell you that they are trying their best that you should soon be in Canada and are looking forward to seeing you. Father works out of town and comes in about once in two or three weeks. But he too is trying hard. He sends you his best wishes and regards and hopes that you understand that it is not always easy for him to write although you are in his mind and heart just the same.

Everyone joins me in sending love to you and in hoping that it will soon be possible for you to be with us. Please write the family at 398 Dovercourt Road in Toronto and I have already given you my address.

My love to you

Ev

745

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to] Martin [Gudell, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

July 21st 37.

Dear Martin. What have I done to you that you have stopped writing. I understood that you could not do it during the May events. But that is ten weeks ago. Yet not a single word from you. What can be the matter? I am sure you can not possibly realize how I miss hearing from you. I feel frightfully cut off from you and the other comrades. Yet I am with you all with every thought and with every fiber of my being. Please, please Martin dear do write me. Tell me how the celebration was. I sent a wire to the Comité Regional and also to the Comité National in Valencia. I wonder was it received.

You will see by the inclosed letter to Frank which I want you to read before you give it to him that I am still crippled and can not get about much without pain. Also that I am staying over to launch the film he left me. I must say it is a most impressive picture of the struggle in Spain, more impressive than anything I have seen. In fact it is the best piece of propaganda for the CNT-FAI that has come out of Spain. I only wish I could have had it all through the winter. It would have made my task and struggle here so much lighter and would have enabled me to raise considerably more than I did. I hope Frank will be given every opportunity to make more films especially of the constructive side, the collectivisation.

Please write me my dear.

Affectionate greeting.

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921024

[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to John] Anders[s]on, [Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12501

July 21st 37.

Dear comra de Anderson.

I don't know whether comrade Augustine Souchy has brought some films with him. I have a wonderful one, the most impressive and the greatest piece of Propaganda in favor of the CNT-FAI that have come out of Spain. It was made from several films by an American comrade who lived in Spain long and had lived through the 19th of July. In fact the film is so strong that the trade would not take it, nor the censor give a license. It is for this reason that the comrade left the film with me. He is back in Barcelona. I had a private showing last night attended by people of different organisation who were all carried away with the film. The one trouble is that it is ~~inflammable~~ inflammable and there are no halls in England license for such pictures. We are therefore having it made non ~~flammable~~ inflammable. Unfortunately it is rather ~~expensive~~ expensive, £5.10 for thousand feet. Our film has five thousand feet. We are having it done because as I said the picture could not be shown and it would be a great loss to the work here not to place it before the workers. The I.L.P. is interested and will cooperate with us.

Now I am writing you all this because it occurred to me that the Sybdicalist comrades in Sweden may be interested in this film and may want it. In that case I would gladly send one set to you if the comrades will be willing to pay ~~for~~ the amount required for the change from its present state to a non-flammable film. Will you let me know as soon as you have consulted the comrades what they decide? And also send the amount which would be with shipment to Sweden and insurance about three five pounds. Naturally we do not want to make any profit from organisations in other countries. We will try to raise money here by showing the picture as widely as possible. By the way the I.L.P. is ordering a set for its summer school. Of course if Augustine has brought a film with him that is alright. In any event write me please. If A.S. is still with you tell him I am waiting to hear from him ~~xx~~ before he returns to Spain.

I inclose copy of an article about my attitude to the leaders of the CNT-FAI which appeared in our paper here SPAIN AND THE WORLD. As you may not have seen the paper I inclose a copy of the article. It will be alright if the Arbetaren wants to bring it.

Fraternal greetings to all the comrades
Salud.

747

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 21 [London to Louis Frank, Barcelona] / [Emma Goldman]. —
1 p.; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20440

July 21st 37.

Dear Comrade.

Last night we had another showing of your film attended by a select audience. Evrybody was inspired by it though it was suggested that one or two parts, repetitions might be cut with some advantage. But I do not think I will bother about it. There is however a more serious trouble. Your film is inflammable and there is no hall in London or the provinces licensed for inflammable films. Besides it would necessitate keeping it in a fire proof place, insurance it and having no end of trouble ~~xxx~~ with the railroads. ~~xx~~ Mainly however is the draw back in regard to license halls. As it has to be reduced to 16, m.m. it can also be made non ~~xxx~~ flammable. We got some figures of the cost quite prohibitive for us, £58. But through my connections with Paramount, I know one of the men there I got a lower price, £6, 10 for one thousand meters yours being five thousand it will cost £32, 10. Should we want more a special price will be arranged. Well, I made an appeal last night and go enough to proceed with one film. Barr is taking it to the Kodaks Kinsway Company. They need three days to do it. I also got enough money to ~~xxxx~~ organise a large London showing in connection with a meeting. Unfortunately August is the dearest month in London, everybody who can scrape to gather a few coppers flees the city. However there will still be enough left to fill a hall of five hundred or more. I have invited several people to my flat to propose a Committee that would work together with two or three responsible comrades of ours. All this has necessitated my remaining here longer than I care to stay. But as my knee is still far from well it is perhaps for the best. Especially as I am no wiser today than I was when you were here about my return to Spain. Not a word from anybody either in Barcelona or Valencia. It is maddening I can tell you.

It at least Mercedes Composado of the Mujeres Libres would reply. It makes me feel ashamed before the women who at my suggestion invited her and someone else of Mujeres Libres as a guest to the Geneva conference. There is no excuse for such negligence. Will you please ask Ilse to go after Mercedes? She simply must make her see that people in England are not used to such inefficiency. That if she wants something for the work of Mujeres Libres she must at least show enough interest from her end. In her last letter Mercedes asked me whether I would be willing to represent the Mujeres Libres in England and on the Continent. That was six weeks ago. Not a word since. I am really worn out with uncertainty. Anyhow I hope you will fall into the same indifference. Please, please write me. Love to Ilse. Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726341

[Letter, 1937] July 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / [Louis] Frank. —
1 p.; 35 x 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Barcelona, 21st of July

Dear Emma,

Frank told me that you had not been well and are still in London. Mail takes such a time nowadays; we have not heard from you for ages, and the last few letters I wrote went to Paris. I suppose you had them forwarded to you. Are you alright again?

Now here is a plan that made Mercedes dance with joy, when I told her. Frank says we can make use of the copy of "Fury over Spain" which is still in London and arrange a performance for M.L. Will you do the necessary? Invite the Six Point Group and so forth? M.L. are very hard up. But they are doing such splendid work, they should get some help. What do you think? It would be wonderful if we got some funds that way.

Mercedes also told me today that she had despatched credentials to you. And I am only waiting for some of M.L.'s stationery to answer the letter of M.W. to the effect that M.L. accepts invitation etc. etc. gladly. At least I hope we have made a start.

During the next few days a bulletin in English - extract from the paper and other publications - will be out too. I am at it at the moment. This will also help, I think. Have you got the last copy of the paper, this time an extra number on account of the 19th of July? It is the best of all extranumbers that appeared in Barcelona.

Has my "chef" called on you in London? He thought you in Paris and wanted to see you there.

Another question. M.L. need an address in France where to have contributions sent to. Could we use Molly's, or what would you suggest?

We are suffering from the heat, here. It makes work very hard. O, yes, I nearly forgot. On Sunday we had the premiere of Steinberg's play, and it was a great success. Actors, regie, scenery, everything was very good indeed and promises much for the future. I hope that the responsible comrades show enough sympathy, so that the work begun can be continued.

This is all for today, I do hope that you are alright again.
With much love

Yours Ilse

I have been back only a few days and expect soon to get to work on further films. - Have you done anything yet for a first public showing? - I heartily approve of the M.L. show and believe it will be a good start. I hope you can put it through with the help of the Six Point Group etc. -

Salud -

R. Frank

The Emma Goldman Papers

881027091

[Letter, 1937] July 21, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ilse [Jueneman]. --
1 p.; 36 x 23 cm.
Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

24036

Barcelona, 21st of July

Dear Emma,

Frank told me that you had not been well and are still in London. Mail takes such a time nowadays; we have not heard from you for ages. and the last few letters I wrote went to Paris. I suppose you had them forwarded to you. Are you alright again?

Now here is a plan that made Mercedes dance with joy, when I told her. Frank says we can make use of the copy of "Fury over Spain" which is still in London and arrange a performance for M.L. Will you do the necessary? Invite the Six Point Group and so forth? M.L. are very hard up. But they are doing such splendid work, they should get some help. What do you think? It would be wonderful if we got some funds that way.

Mercedes also told me today that she had despatched credentials to you. And I am only waiting for some of M.L.'s stationery to answer the letter of M.W. to the effect that M.L. accepts invitation etc. etc. gladly. At least I hope we have made a start.

During the next few days a bulletin in English - extract from the paper and other publications - will be out too. I am at it at the moment. This will also help, I think. Have you got the last copy of the paper, this time an extra number on account of the 19th of July? It is the best of all extranumbers that appeared in Barcelona.

Has my "chef" called on you in London? He thought you in Paris and wanted to see you there.

Another question. M.L. need an address in France where to have contributions sent to. Could we use Molly's, or what would you suggest?

We are suffering from the heat, here. It makes work very hard. O, yes, I nearly forgot. On Sunday we had the premiere of Steinberg's play and it was a great success. Actors, regie, scenery, everything was very good indeed and promises much for the future. I hope that the responsible comrades show enough sympathy, so that the work begun can be continued.

This is all for today, I do hope that you are alright again.
With much love

Yours Ilse

I have been back only a few days and expect soon to get to work on further films. - Have you done anything yet for a first public showing? - I heartily approve of the M.L. show and believe it will be a good start. I hope you can put it through with the help of the Six Point Group etc. -
Salud
R. Frank

750

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 23, London [to] Rudolf [Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.] / E[mma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

C. N. I.

A. I. I.

F. A. I.

Roc

Casa C. N. I. - F. A. I. - Via Layetana, 32 y 34 - BARCELONA

Barcelona London July 23rd 37.

Dearest Rudolf. Your letter took three weeks to reach me. The reason for it is that Mollie and Senia were away four days and when they returned they must have taken another two days or more before they forwarded your letter to me here. Of course you will know from my last letter which contained the contract and Martin "Ecker Warburg letter that I am still in London. My damned knee laid me up all this time. And while it seems to be improving the pain is still ver accute and makes being on my feet long or walking sheer torture. Anyhow your letter was delaied. Thats why you will not get a quick reply. I though you understood ~~xxxx~~ what was wanted in regard to a short book on Anarchist Syndicalism. Actually the publishers do not seem to know what it is all about. Warburg admitted that he knows nothing about the subject and would leave it to you to write what you considered the best. That is a fine spirit of course, m larger than any publisher would offer to the writer. But it is because of Warburgs ignorance.

However, I think a short work on Anarchist Syndicalism should be in a very popular vein since it is the masses we should reach and not so much the pseudo intellectuals. Of course you will have to givw a brief histoire outline of the incwption of Anarchist syh dicalism, but more important is its structure and its application. Its application to the struggle of the workers within the present system and its application to the future. You see the main question asked repeatedly is how Anarchist syndicalism can be made to work during the Soical Revol ution and as a basis of ~~anxxx~~ Anarchist society. I therefore feel it should not be too theoretic. It should be concise, simple and above all very much alive to hold the attention of the reader. You must bear in mind that it must also be short, no more than fifty thousand words at the highest, actually the contract calls for only forty thousand. So you will be limited. But I hope you will manage to keep within this limit and yet ~~cover~~ cover the ground. ~~For~~ It will be the first primer as it were of Anarchist syndicalism in English. For the rest you know yourself how dense the Anglo-Saxon mind is about Anarchism or Syndicalism. You will have to keep that in mind dear Rudolf to make it plain and easily understandable. We never had such a chance to bring a book before a large reading public. So fire ahead.

I have difinitely decided to leave here the third of August for Paris for a week or so. Then to Bon Esprit. The fall of the franc forced me to stop the sale. Teanwhile it got too late to let it. So I might as well have a few weeks in the old place though I know I will be besieged by a thousand painful memories. My doctor insists that backing the knee in the sun would cure it quicker than anything

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Rudolf Rocker Archive.

I am so glad dear Rudolf that you agree with my

I am so glad dear Rudolf that you agree with my
attitude in the Wagner love
no time to go into the matter. Love, etc.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

752

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921025

[Letter, 19]37 July 24, Stockholm [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouch]y. — 2 p. ; 28 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12503

Stockholm, den 24. Juli 37

Meine liebe Emma!

Ich kam heute hier in Stockholm an und finde Deine beiden Briefe vor, den vom 12. und den vom 17. Juli. Einen sandte mir Therese aus Paris nach und den andern erhielt ich direkt hierher nach Stockholm.

Ich will Dir sofort antworten und Dich nicht einen Tag länger mit meiner Antwort warten lassen.

Mir war es natürlich unbekannt, dass es jetzt so schwer ist, von den englischen Behörden den Stempel auf den Pass fuer die Einreise nach Spanien zu erhalten. Ich habe Fenner Brockway gefragt, er sagte mir, er habe als Journalist den Stempel erhalten, ohne dass er besonders angeben brauchte fuer welche Zeitung er schreibt. Er ist ja momentan auch nicht mehr Member of Parliament. Ich denke Du solltest mit ihm sprechen und ihn um Rat fragen. Du kannst Dir doch fuer einige amerikanische Zeitungen schreiben. Du hast doch Buecher geschrieben und bist doch eine genuegend bekannte Schriftstellerin. Deine Qualitaet als Schriftstellerin und Journalistin kann doch niemand in Zweifel stellen. Und jeder Schriftsteller und Journalist, der einen Namen hat oder beweisen kann, dass er fuer Zeitungen in seinem Leben geschrieben hat, muss doch zur Ausubung seines Berufes in das Land reisen koennen, ueber das er schreiben soll. Ich denke Du solltest zuerst alles, aber auch alles unternehmen, um von der britischen Regierung den Stempel in Deinen britischen Pass zu erhalten. In diesem Falle benoetigt Du keine andern Papiere. Roca oder Galve wuerden Dir dann in Paris alles weitere besorgen. Ich werde morgen an Roca schreiben.

Wenn Du nicht den Stempel in Deinen Pass erhalten kannst, dann ist die Sache schlecht. Die spanische Einreisebewilligung von der Regierung in Valencia koennen wir schon erhalten, aber wenn das Land, das Deinen Pass ausgestellt hat und dessen Staatsangehoerige Du bist, Dir nicht die Erlaubnis gibt, dann kann Dir gesetzlich nach den heutigen Bestimmungen mit Nonintervention und allem was darum und daran haengt auch Spanien schwerlich die Einreise gesetzlich ~~sich~~ genehmigen. Dann bliebe uns nur der illegale Weg uebrig. Und wir koennen doch nicht Dir zumuten, dass Du eventuell Stundenlang zu Fuss ueber die Pyrenaeen und die Berge kraxelst. Wir muessen erst alles zu tun versuchen, um die normale Einreise fuer Dich zu erwirken. Und wenn Du den englischen Passbehoerden oder Homeoffice oder welche Behoerde das auch sein mag, erklaerst, Du muusst, um Dein Brot zu verdienen, als Journalistin nach Spanien reisen, dann wird man es Dir ebenso wenig verweigern, wie man Fenner Brockway den Stempel verweigert hat.

Reisegeld. Ich weiss nicht, ob Du noch irgendwelches Geld von oder fuer die CNT hast. In diesem Falle kannst Du natuerlich von diesem Gelde fuer die Reise nach Paris benutzen und in Paris werden Dir Roca oder Galve Geld fuer die Weiterreise geben.

Film. Wir haben jetzt endlich einen Vertrag mit dem Sindicato de Espectaculos publicos gemacht, laut welchem wir von diesem Syndikat Filmstreifen fuer Propagandazwecke kaufen. Das heisst also, das Nationalkomitee der CNT kauft vom Syndikat die Filme und stellt sie dann zur Verfuegung. Ich habe mit Fenner Brockway darueber gesprochen und Du kannst Dich mit ihm darueber unterhalten. Uebrigens, nun hat ja Frank seinen Film aus Amerika gebracht, und wenn Du, wie Du mir schreibt, vielleicht

753

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921025

[Letter, 19]37 July 24, Stockholm [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Augustin S[ouchy]. — 2 p. ; 28 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

2

12504

in England bleiben willst, um zunächst die Filmgeschichte zu regeln, dann wird es wohl am besten sein, Du wartest mit allem andern bis ich selber nach London komme. Ich habe Fenner versprochen, vom 7. bis 14. August in London zu sein und ich werde es schon möglich machen mit dem Einreiseerlaubnis. In diesem Falle können wir alles besprechen und es wäre vielleicht am besten, wenn Du es so einrichten könntest, dass Du mit mir zusammen nach Paris kommst und wir würden dann zusammen weiter reisen nach Spanien.

Glaube mir, liebe Emma, dass wir alle, ich meine auch die Genossen in Valencia, Deine Arbeit ausserordentlich schätzen und wir wissen auch, dass es in England ausserordentlich schwer ist fuer Dich zu arbeiten. Als ich zum letzten Male in Valencia war — das war zur Zeit als ich die Reise mit Fenner Brockway machte — da sprach ich mit Mariano darueber und er sagte mir, dass er durchaus den Wunsch hat und billigt, dass Du nach Spanien kommst, und diesmal nicht nur in Barcelona bleibst, sondern nach Valencia gehst und nach Madrid usw. Dass es nicht immer nach Wunsch geht in Spanien, davon kennst Du ja die vielerlei Ursachen zur Genuege.

~~Johannessen~~ Bluestein war nie einen Augenblick verhaftet. Seine Freundin war einige Stunden festgenommen worden, doch sie kam gleich wieder frei. Eitel Macdonald war verhaftet, die U-stande usw. werde ich Dir bei unserer naechsten Zusammenkunft erklären.

Ich moechte dass der Brief noch heute abgeht und will ihn sogleich zur Post bringen.

Ich sende Dir meine herzlichsten Gruesse und hoffe, dass Dein Bein - schaden inzwischen geheilt ist. Ich wuensche Dir alles beste und bitte Dich, mich nicht zu sehr auszuschimpfen.

Dein ergebener

Augustin Ly

754

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 25 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

July 25th 37.

Dearest Auntie. I am so sorry I did not know the book is for you. I would certainly not have mentioned the price. Great god all the gifts you gave me. I'd be a dirty dog to charge you anything that I had always meant to give you as a gift. I am alright about the autograph. It shall be given you when I am near enough for you to come to see me.

First of all I am keeping the flat, at least until Sept and most likely for longer. Whatever happens I will have to come back here to launch our film. It cannot be done before Sept. Every body assures me August is impossible. And since I have to come back, whether for a short time or the whole winter I must have a place to go to. It would therefore be waste to move from your flat and again when I come back. So I am keeping it. I take it you have no objection.

The film has a hitch. It is inflammable and there is no licensed halls in London or the provinces to show such films. We are having it reduced to 16mm the size for halls and at the same time it will be made non-flammable. It is rather costly, it may come to about £45 pounds, if more will be ordered they will be cheaper. But it has to be done since we can not use it in its present form.

We had a sort of committee meeting at the flat Friday. Ethel, Fenner, Sonia, James Harrison, Barr and Monica Whateley were present. Much to my horror I saw that Fenner wants to repeat the stunt with the Spanish Exhibition Committee. I bluked. I have written him a long letter to say that one experience with such people as Lady Hastings DeBaho and others are enough for me. Fact is I have never gotten over my disgust for having gone in with them. I am glad to say Ethel, Sonia, James and Ralph feel the same way. We won't no official committees. And we are not going to hedge and lie to get the support of the rotten respectable gang. They do not good. They will be terrified when they will see the film. It is frankly and unashamedly revolutionary C.N.T./F.A.I. So why try to make it appear innocuous. I simply want stand for it. You were quite right that I had no business to undertake anything under false colors. Never a gain my dear. We have another gathering next Friday to make it clear what we mean to do and to go ahead the best way we can. As I said nothing can be done in August. I therefore need not hang around. Sonia, James Barr and Fenner's comrades can organise our first large showing for the middle of Sept. I need not be here. On the other hand I need sunshine. The doctor tells me the best cure for my knee is sun bathes. Where can I get it more than in Bon Esprit. And since the place was neither sold or let I am going back there.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

755

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029121

[Letter, 19]37 July 25 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Nellie left before your letter arrived, but I will bring along your silver and some of the linen. I can't take it all because I am not taking my trunk. I will take along my own silver and linen from St Tropez. So that will be alright. Nellie will probably see you before this arrives. She said she would go to Vence. Auntie darling you must help Nellie to a place that will be suited for a country club she wants to start. She assures me Shaw offered her a loan. She ought to take it and establish something permanent that would give her a living. Even if she would have gotten a position as hostess she would have galled under the need of being at everybody's back and call. She felt terribly hurt because a woman Ethel knows and whom she was trying to interest in helping Nellie to a position because the owner referred to her age. I am sure the owner meant no offense. She merely tried to show the terrible economic competition hundred or more people to every job, and the preference of youth, especially where it concerns women to every position. Nellie does not realize that any more that no amount of cure will stop the years from piling on. No, there is but one thing for Nellie to start something on her own. God knows Shaw cannot take his money to his grave so why not accept his offer. And you are the one to help her choose.

Don't let me have never written me what is this about N.D. troubles I cannot make out what you are driving at. But whatever it is I hope he will come out on top. Connolly. Alright if he is still in Vence when I get to St Tropez about the 18th of Aug, he can come to see me if he wishes and bring you along. About the American woman, I have heard nothing from her. Don't you are so trusting. Don't you know that people express all their actions merely in words? I don't know the woman and do not see why she should want to give me money. I would indeed be rich if all the people who had assured me of their friendship and their help would have kept even a fraction of their good intentions.

Well, dear I leave her the 2nd of Aug. Blessed generous Ethel is struggling far as to go by the new arrangement of travel to Paris. You go into a place at this end and get out at the Paris station without change and without double bother of Customs. It would be an awful strain on my knee if I had to travel the ordinary way. ~~xxxxxxx~~ And that is what the doctor insists I must not do if I do not want to remain lame for the rest of my years. That's why I am so grateful to Ethel for having made the offer. We have grown very close since you left. She certainly grows on one. A rare and fine spirit and so very clear on the social struggle.

Dearest, dearest if only you had not so misunderstood about the small items. It never occurred to me you had spent them on yourself. Nor would it have mattered if you had. It was only that I thought whatever amount you had spent had included the items which I found unpaid. It was really to make sure that the shops did not ask for another payment for what you had paid that I mentioned them. But you were distressed and in that state you misunderstood. And I damn fool felt hurt when I know you meant no hurt. Golly dearest the whole matter is not worth the least shadow on our friendship, is it?

If you wish to reach me before I leave you still can write here. If not to Nellie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires.

With much love

Greetings to N.D.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

756

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 25, London [to] Ethel [Mannin, London (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 19 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17276

London July 25th 37.

Ethel my Dearest. Here is a copy of my letter to Fenner. I hope it also expresses your reaction to the attempt of hoodwinking the damned respectable Labor and Communist gang to swallow our film as a fight for "democracy". They may come the first time. But we know that they will not come again. Nor do we want them to ~~take us in~~ if it will mean to smooth over the fiery spirit of the film.

I hope Fenner realizes what a humbug it is to have to cow tow to the Morrisons and their ilk. As I said Monica Whately is naive but the others are too cunning not to see at once the real danger to their little scheme for Spain ~~in the~~ or the G.T.-P. picture. If Fenner does not like my suggestions and withdraw from working with us I will proceed without him and without the L.L.P. I know I can count on your help. Unless I think we can make the picture self supporting.

You don't know how encouraged I feel having your cooperation, or support and your friendship. Don't think I am slobbering compliments. But it is something to have tried and tried for years to find some ~~persons~~ ~~one~~ who feels as I do about the revolutionary struggle, about the gallant people whose vision transcends all petty personal ambitions, all personal considerations. It was more than galling leaving all these years trying to find an echo, a sympathetic understanding of what I wanted to do. Actually until we met again after our first fleeting evening at the Goldfinkys and was like a desert to me. ~~and~~ I can hardly believe it that someone has come close to me as I do about certain things. Above all who is as one with me in the hatred of sham and respectability and the pretense of those who dare to talk in the name of the people. In the name of those who dream and fight and die for a lofty ideal of a free world. I actually have to go away now that I have discovered so precious a comrade and friend.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

757

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929436

[Letter] 1937 July 25, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, London / Secretario, Comité de Ayuda a Euzkadi y Norte. — 1 p.; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



20646

Comité de Ayuda a Euzkadi y Norte

RELAYO 56-2°-1°

~~Relevo de guardia~~

Teléfono ~~150000~~

19.276

Barcelona 25 de Julio 1.937

EMMA GOLDMAN- COLTON
160 Castletown Road

L O N D O N W 14

Estimados compañeros:

Por la presente os confirmamos nuestra carta fecha 23 del pdo mes de Junio, por la que os comunicábamos la constitución y la labor que viene desarrollando este Comité desde últimos de Abril.

Al mismo tiempo os manifestamos que por este mismo correo remitimos un poco de propaganda que hemos editado últimamente con el fin de que sea repartida por vosotros en la forma que os creáis más conveniente con vistas al fin que perseguimos, cual es engrasar el fondo destinado a ayudar a nuestros hermanos, los heroicos defensores de la Libertad en tierras del Norte de España.

También os comunicamos que las remesas de dinero, víveres y ropas que con dicho fin nos hagáis, podéis consignarlas al "COMITE DE DEFENSE DE LA REVOLUTION ESPAGNOLE ANTIFASCISTE." - 310 avenue Marechal Joffre. PERPIGNAN. (Francia) el cual a su vez se ocupará de hacernos la correspondientes reexpedición.

Esperando encontrar en vosotros unos valiosos colaboradores de la obra que estamos llevando a cabo, y no dudando recibir prontas y gratas noticias de vosotros, quedamos vuestros y de la causa antifascista.



Por el Comité de Ayuda.
El Secretario

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

758

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 26, London to] Emma [Goldman, London] / E[thel Mannin].—
1 p.; 10 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Monday

17003

Emma dear: I have ordered your ticket, specifying a lower berth: I'll let you have full details as to times of dep. and arrival when sending the ticket; have asked for these details.

I fully endorse your letter to Kerner. I began to get very worried at that meeting on Fri with all this talk of Scaffer and Morrison and god knows who, and it all seemed such a waste of time MW being there at all, and babbling of getting social-democrats and communists interested! Only you will have another revolutionary ally, I hope - Reg. You cannot possibly feel more strongly about the Spanish revolution than I do, or about kowtowing to the supporters of the 'rightist legitimate Government' and the bourgeois democracy!

I hope to write the copy for the leaflet tonight. We should discuss with Harrison as to whether we should just have a neat single leaflet or a four-page folder showing 'stills' from the film; the latter would be nice but probably eat up the money. I will probably send you two pieces of copy - one the way I personally would like to see the leaflet go out, and the way it may be necessary to send it out if we are going to be 'tactful' - which I personally am not much in favour of being, I can assure you. Frankly the only person amongst your assistants I really (politically) trust is Earl!

Will write again tonight.

My love to you, dear.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

759

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 27, London [to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.



C.N.T.

A.I.T.

F.A.I.

London Office:

18 CASTLETOWN ROAD
WEST KENSINGTON
LONDON, W14

London July 27th 37.

TELEPHONE: FULHAM 6829

Dear comrade Freedman, here is the Preface. I worked over it a week to get it within your prescribed number of words. I am not sure I succeeded. I am having someone come to do decent typing for me as mine is impossible. I will then have an accurate idea how many words I have written. Now on earth you could suggest that I should write on the world situation and about Sashas death all in six hundred words is beyond me. I was not even able to treat the one point in the book which is not borne out by the Spanish Revolution, the idea that the workers can not hope to meet modern methods of warfare, that their sole strength is in the productive power which they can bring to bear on the struggle by means of a General Strike. Well, the Spanish Revolution while sustaining Sashas contention of the productive power of the masses beautifully demonstrated by our comrades on the form of collectivisation etc certainly was not enough to prevent Franco from conquering Spain. Our comrades also needed arms. It is because they did not have them in the beginning that the struggle has been dragged out so long. Another factor was that the revolution did not entirely crush the so called Republic. That ~~unholy~~ brought about the unholy alignment of our comrades with those who are now trying to destroy them. It is certain that every revolution brings its own problems. One might theorise all one likes about them, but life will bring forth issues not foreseen by the wisest. Now this should have been stated in the preface to the new edition.

Another thing that should have been treated if only briefly is the ~~dark~~ road of Russia. Because in this Sashas word where truly prophetic. As indeed they were in regard to our ~~ideas~~ and I had worked out about the need of harmonising the means with the end. The compromises of the leaders of the CNT-FAI prove us right a thousand times. Namely that compromise leads away from the revolutionary aim and not towards it. Well, I did the best I could. If it is still too long get someone who knows English to get the preface within the number of words you need.

I am leaving for Paris the 4th, a week from tomorrow. I want very much to go to St Tropez to take sanbathes for my knee. The doctor tells me that is the best cure. Just now I cannot say what I will do. Better write me to England c/o comrade Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd London W.14. I am so uncertain about my movements it is best to write me to an address that will always reach me.

Greetings to all the comrades.

Internally.

Emma Goldman

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

760

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27, London [to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 24 x 19 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Solo Linder Archive.

Dear Comrade. I am sorry to
say it was impossible to squeeze
in what there was to say in so
few words. I have made it
as short as I can. I would
rather not have the message
appear than mutilate it.
Perhaps it can appear
as an insertion.

E.G.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

761

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 27 [London to Samuel] Freedman, [New York] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 23 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.



July 27th 37.

Dear comrade Freedman. Here is the Preface. I worked over it a week to get it within your prescribed number of words. I am not sure I succeeded. I am having someone come to do decent typing for me as mine is impossible. I will then have an accurate idea how many words I have written. Now on earth you could suggest that I should write on the world situation and about Sashas death all in six hundred words is beyond me. I was not even able to treat the one point in the book which is not borne out by the Spanish Revolution, the idea that the workers can not hope to meet modern methods of war fare that there sole strength is in the productive power which they can bring to bear on there struggle by means of a General Strike. Well, the Spanish Revolution while sustaining Sashas contention of the productive power of the masses beautifully demonstrated by our comrades on the form of collectivisation etc certainly was not enough to prevent Franco from conquering Spain. Our comrades also needed arms. It is because they did not have them in the beginning that the struggle has been dragged out so long. Another factor was that the Revolution did not entirely crush the so called Republic. That ~~movement~~ brought about the unholy alignment of our comrades with those who are now trying to destroy them. It is certain that every revolution brings its own problems. One might theorise all one likes about them. But life will bring forth issue not foreseen by the wisest. Now this should have been treated in the preface to the new edition.

Another thing that should have been treated if only briefly is the down ward road of Russia. Because in this Sashas word where truly prophetic. As indeed they were in regard to our diens he and I had worked out about the need of harmonising the means with the end. The compromises of the leaders of the CNT-FAI prove us right a thousand times. Namely that compromise leads away from the revolutionary aim and not towards it. Well, I did the best I could. If it is still too long get someone who knows English to get the preface within the number of words you need.

I am leaving for Paris the 4th, a week from tomorrow. I want very much to go to St Tropez to take sunbathes for my knee. The doctor tells me that is the best cure. Just now I cannot say what I will do. Better write me to England c/o comrade Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd London W.14 I am so uncertain about my movements it is best to write me to an address that will always reach me.

Greetings to all the comrades.

Fraternally.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12505

July 27th 37.

Dear Augustine. I am sorry to seem unkind to you, but my dear our Spanish comrades as well as you and Martin have tried the patience of a saint. And I never claimed to be one. You cannot imagine what it has meant all these months to write and write and write into the void. Or what good is Vasques praise or that he wants me to come to Spain and go to Valencia and ~~Mexico~~ Madrid when he does not take an hour to answer important letters? Take only such a matter as the receipts I have asked him in re the money for the Concert here. I did not need the receipt for myself I needed it for the Customs to save £35 in amusement tax. Moreover I needed it for the people who helped me in the venture. This is nearly two months ago. But nothing from Valencia. It is the same with my long report which I had translated into Spanish to make it easy for the Sect of the Comité National. Wouldn't you think he would consider it worth while to acknowledge the receipt, to let me know whether I am to continue and whether the suggestions I make are acceptable. Now, I realize that the comrades confronted with difficulties, plots and danger these things are of no consequence. But it is of the utmost importance in England if my work is to be kept up. And what is even more to the point if my position as the representative of the CNT-FAI is to have any effect. Surely you must understand that it puts me in a fools position every time the press, or people interested in Spain come to me for material for news about the struggle of the CNT-FAI. I cannot very well shake news out of my sleeves, make them up. I never was a good liar or politician which is about the same. In short its been hell all these months and it ~~seems~~ seems there is to be no change.

It is for this reason that I must go to Spain. I must make the comrades understand the situation here, the difficulties, the heart breaking oppression and now the painful duty to gloss over their own compromises. You probably do not realize that since the May events I have been in a dreadful state. First my own disgust with the compromises. Secondly with the need of standing between to fires. Those two of our comrades who demand the Olivers, Montsenays and Vasques without mercy and those who accept everything they have done and do without reserve. Vasque is of course a fool. He proves once more that the man risen to power is worse and more dangerous than the one born into it. The idea of Vasque writing that the Russian Anarchists did not know danger, or that we are comfortably situated hence have no right to judge comradeship is preposterous to say this of Volin for instance who is almost destitute. I suppose Vasque would have said the same about Sasha if he dared to criticise the holy trinity Vasque, Montseney and Oliver. cannot stand such methods among comrades. I think it scandalous question the revolutionary integrity of people who have done this.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

763

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12506

for the movement. I hate the charges of Vazsque as I hate the charges of treachery against Vazsque Montseny and Oliver. I insist that Anarchist should be above such contemptible narrowness and sectarianism. So here I am between the frying pan and the fire. As if it ~~fx~~ had not been difficult enough to work for the CNT-FAI against all the mean and cruel charges of the Communists, to work in the face of their open and secret opposition to the CNT-FAI and to me. Since the May events I also had ~~to~~ to wrangle with our comrades. I tell you my dear it has worn me out. However all this would have been easy to carry were it not for the lack of help from Spain, the lack of cooperation. It is really absurd for Vazsque to tell you the comrades want me to come. The one to tell it to is me. They did it last year. Yes, I realize it was at your instigation. But nevertheless the Comité Regional and National did send invitations. Perhaps they have not done it this year because they know that their credentials far from carrying weight have become scraps of paper no one in Spain will honor? Yes, that is the tragic fact, and to me the most agonizing fact. The CNT-FAI have lost prestige, that they must now be at the mercy of the rotten criminal Communists. Some debacle I must say.

I am glad you have come to understand how difficult it is to get a visa from Mr Eden. May I also inform you that a number of British writers who applied for visas to attend the writers Conference in Valencia were refused? What does Eden care whether writing is your profession and means your bread? Besides, I am not known in England as a writer. You forget that? After months of thought how I might be able to apply for a visa I have been asked by my London publisher who got out MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA to go to Spain to gather material for a book on the new educational experiment in Catalonia. I don't believe for a month it will help me, but I will go tomorrow to try my luck. I will let you know of course. I am fairly obsessed by my desire to go to Spain and had I not sustained the injury to my knee and ligaments I think I should even have attempted to walk and climb the Pyrenees. That is of course out of the question now. Although it is five weeks to day since I had the fall I am still far from well. In fact the physician tells me I will remain a cripple for the rest of my years if I do not get some sunbathes. It was therefore my intention to go to Bon Esprit for a few weeks. In fact my ticket for Paris is booked for next Monday. Naturally had I known you were definitely coming here I should have postponed my departure. I cannot do so now. Besides you are so vague, you say the 7th or the 14th. There is no reliance on that. We will have to meet in Paris. But there too I do not want to remain long. I thought I would remain until the tenth and then go to St Tropez for a few weeks. But if the miracle should happen and I should be granted a visa I will certainly prefer to go to Spain, and to go when you return. It will be a strain on my knee but I don't give a damn. I can go to St Tropez when I come out of Spain. Nothing is so important to me than Spain if only for a short time. So you see how I have felt all this time and still feel. Actually I have lived in Spain so intensely I could neither rest or sleep. I am sure our comrades can not realize that or they would have shown more solidarity and cooperation.

You misunderstood about the money for travel. I have enough for

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

764

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

that. But there is more than travel expences to send comrade Barr or other comrades. And I simply could not take the responsibility to use money from the small fund I have raised without having such definite directions from the National Committee. You see Vazsque wrote me distinctly that I am to deal with the Committee in Valencia. And it is from there my instructions should come. Besides, no one took the trouble to let me know how Barr or anyone else I would send will get to Spain, or if there how he will have the freedom to move about. All

I know is that none of our comrades are safe any more, safe in Cataluna where only eight months ago everybody including the murderous Stalin was as free as birds. In any event it is necessary that Barr should remain here while I am away. He is the only dependable help I have had. I am now organising the film venture the one Frank left me. And Barr will have to do the preliminary work to organise and advertise our first large showing in Sept. I arranged a free show two weeks ago and raised £110 for expences to launch the film. We can not make use of it in its present form because it is inflammable and there is no hall in London or the provinces licenced for an inflammable film. To make it non inflammable and to reduce it to 16.m.m. useable for halls will cost a lot of money, in fact more than what I first thought, about forty five pounds. We will need more than one film so the amount I collected will not go very far. But I think I can raise more when I return to London. In any event we must make the film known all over London and the provinces since it is the most forceful piece of propaganda for the CNT-FAI I have seen. And believe me, this propaganda is desperately needed to counteract the horrible lies of the Communist gangsters.

We have another little meeting Friday, Fenner ~~will~~ represents the I.L.P. Ethel Mannin the writer who has contributed hundred pounds to the film venture, "Gerald Reynolds both I.L.P. members are intensely revolutionary and entirely with the CNT-FAI. I also have Sonia Clowes and Anarchist and the daughter of a once famous American Anarchist and a friend by the name of James Harrison very efficient and helpful. Between us we hope to cover the country with the film and any other film that will come out of Barcelona. I understood from Fenner there is one other very good film. Why did you not bring it out? What is the good of the Cautious Committee having bought up the films from the film syndicate when it takes months to get anything out of Spain? I think Frank who understands the nature of the American and English masses should be given the utmost opportunity to make films for America and England, especially of the constructive work, the collectivised factories and the land if anything is left of that grand venture.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

765

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27 [London to] Augustin [Souchy, Stockholm] / [Emma Goldman].— 4 p. ; 25 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12508

I will arrange with Barr to get toget or a private reception for you at Sonia's house. Fenner and several others will be invited. By the way, Sonia with my help has organised an Anarchist Syndicalist Union. Most of our comrades there are worthless you might as well know that. You remember Capt White, he is one of the members. He is pathological ambitious and I rather think is in the Union ~~tm~~ for that purpose. He is too neurotic to be of much good to us. However it might be worth your while to meet the members of the A.S.U. If you would let Barr know definitely whether you are coming and when and for how long he and Sonia could organise a small meeting of the A.S.U members. It might put life into them to hear a direct report from Spain.

Now, I must know right away when you are definitely coming back to Paris. Of course if I fail tomorrow I will want to go to St Tropez and not hang around in Paris though I must see you. But if I succeed I will wait for you because I will want to make the trip to Spain with you. In any event I hope you will be in Paris the tenth of Aug. You should if you come here the 7th, or don't you know? You can still reach me here until next Monday the 2nd.

Greet the Swedish comrades for me.

Even if I scold you as you say I nevertheless have a warm ~~heart~~ spot for you in my heart

Affectionately

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

766

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. —
2 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

I. T.

A. I. T.

F. A. I.

20543

UNION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
UNION ANARQUISTA IBERICA

- F. A. I. - AVENIDA SUZANAVENTURA DURUTI, 22 Y 24 - BARCELONA

UNA DE PROPAGANDA EXTERIOR

Barcelona 27 julio 1937.

Chère Emma:

Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 21 juin écoulé
et j'ai eu grand plaisir à sa réception.

Vous m'accusiez de que j'ai laissé de vous écrire ce qui
n'est pas certain. Moi aussi j'avais l'intention de vous dire le
même, mais je pense que ce qui s'est passé a été ceci: je vous
ai écrit une lettre avant de la préparation de la Conférence qui
aurait dû avoir lieu à Paris et comme vous m'aviez dit que vous
aussi pensiez vous rendre à Paris et de ma part moi aussi je pen-
sais me rendre à Paris j'espérais vous rencontrer à la Conféren-
ce. La Conférence, la malheureuse Conférence, n'a pu s'effectuer
par causes qui ne dépendaient pas des camarades espagnols, et avec
cela à échoue tout mon plan de pouvoir vous rencontrer.

Par votre lettre vous me faites connaître que vous m'
avez envoyé la copie d'un article destiné à la presse espagnole
et américaine. Je n'ai pas reçu cet article et sans doute le cen-
sueur l'a interdit, car maintenant toutes les lettres qui arrivent
à ce Bureau doivent passer par la censure,

Vous me demandez sur la forme que nous avons célébré le
19 juillet et cela a été très simplement: en travaillant tout le
monde. La C.N.T. et l'U.G.T. avaient préparé pour le 18, qui
était dimanche, un mitin monstre, dans lequel devraient parler des
représentants de ces deux organisations et dans la manifestation
devaient prendre part aussi les partis républicains; mais les
communistes, qui maintenant ont une certaine influence dans le
Ministère de la Gobernación, ont interdit toute classe de manifes-
tations. Ils ont fait cela à cause de que le peuple aurait pu
apprecier les grandes masses qui se agrupent autour de la C.N.T.,
tandis qu'autour de son parti il aurait bien peu du monde. La ma-
nifestation que n'avait pas eu lieu le 18 juillet, se fut le jeudi
suivant. Celui-ci a été organisé par les organisations libertaires
.....

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Martin Gudell. — 2 p.; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

20544

C.N.T.-F.A.I. et les Jeunesses Libertaires. Ce fut un mitin monstre et à Barcelona l'on n'a pas vu jamais une si grande agrupation du monde. Dans ce mitin ont parlé quelques camarades de la C.N.T., mais qui a parlé le mieux de tous a été Federica Montseny. Elle disait qu'elle ne pouvait résister plus longtemps et que pourtant elle dirait tout ce qui remplissait son coeur. Dans ce mitin s' a mis, une fois plus, de manifest que la plupart des ouvriers sympathisent avec la C.N.T.; mais les gouvernants encore osent nous faire des injures. Nous pensons que cela ne peut pas durer très longtemps, mais entretemps, les staliniens continuent en faisant des friponneries.

La lettre que vous m'avez fait parvenir pour Frank, aujourd'hui même je la remettrai à son destinataire.

La semaine dernière l'on disait par Espagne que les staliniens avaient tué à Nin, qui est l'homme le plus intelligent du P.O.U.M. et d'autres de ces partidaires. L'on s' adressé au Gouvernement en demandant des explications sur ce cas, mais jusqu' aujourd'hui on n' a pas eu de réponse. L'on n'a pas pu confirmer ce rumeur, mais le Gouvernement ne l'a pas démenti non plus et nous nous trouvons sans savoir rien de certain sur cela.

Hier nous avons reçu un télégramme de Feener Brockway, nous demandant de lui communiquer les décisions qui ont prises dans le jugement des leaders du P.O.U.M. et nous n'avons pu lui répondre rien sur cela, car ce jugement n' a eu lieu.

Maintenant je vais vous prier de bien vouloir ramasser tout ce qui a été publié dans la presse anglaise concernant la campagne que la C.N.T. a fait à faveur du P.O.U.M., lequel se trouve maintenant arbitrairement persécuté. Nous savons que la presse de I.L.P. a publié quelque chose dans ce sens. Je vous serais gré de bien vouloir faire cela le plus rapidement possible.

De ma part, je vous envoie un colis contenant quelque littérature qui vient d'apparaître dans ces jours. Dans quelques jours je vous enverrai la brochure du mitin dont je vous ai parlé par la même lettre.

Recevez mes très affectueux salutations.

C. N. T. - F. A. I.
32, Via Layetana, 34
BARCELONA (España)

Martin Gudell

Получите пожалуйста несколько номеров
журнала, которые должны перевести на русский
язык и выдать в нашей прессе
Сергей Митин

768

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 27, Barcelona [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ilse [Jueneman]. —
1 p. ; 15 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20593

**mujeres
libres**

Periódico de orientación social

Plaça Catalunya, 4 - Tel. 22050
BARCELONA

Barcelona, 27-7-37

Dear Emma,
enclosed you will find a copy of a letter I wrote to Monica Whateley. I did it myself as no one else seems to be willing to do it. Mercedes, who has not been well for some time, told me that they accept the offer and invitation and that perhaps she and another comrade would be able to go.

The bulletin I spoke about in my last letter is ready to be printed, but you know, how things go sometimes..... Still I hope to be able to send it off tomorrow or the day after.

I wish you could do something about a performance of F's film for M.L. How did you like the last issue of the paper?

Souchy told me that Fenner wants a picture of about an hour time of performance. I suggested to F. that he might take the one you have in England. He will write you about it today, he promised.

I am sending you some posters today, the pamphlet on the Events in English is not YET out. It is aggravating at times, you know.

I hope your knee is better, much love

yours ilse



The Emma Goldman Papers

870929261

[Letter] 1937 July 27, London [to] E[mma] G[oldman, London] / C. W. Daniel.—
1 p.; 19 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17953

THE C. W. DANIEL COMPANY LTD.	
<small>INCORPORATED</small>	<small>C. W. DANIEL</small>
40 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1	
<small>(Opposite the British Museum)</small>	
Telephone Museum 8681	Telegram Oprodan (Phone) London

Ref: CWD/G
Mrs. E. G. Colton,
18 Castletown Road,
W.14.

27th July, 1937.

Dear Mrs. Colton,

I am pleased that you have agreed to go to Spain to collect material for a book on the new educational experiment in Spain, which we are to publish.

I am sending herewith a cheque for £25 to cover expenses. It must be understood of course that the decision whether the material is used or not rests with me. It is agreed that should the material collected not be used by me it remains at your disposal.

Yours sincerely,

C. W. Daniel

770

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Vence, France] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p.; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4157

July 28th 37.

Dearest Auntie. You know by this time through my last letter that I am staying on in the flat. Or rather I am keeping it indefinitely. I will send you the August rent from Paris. I am leaving here the 4th. Ethel Maurin has arranged for my transportation on the night train via Dunkirk with a sleeper. It gets me in to Paris at 8:10 A.M. on the 5th. So you need not fret about your Apartment. I continue to be responsible for it. There is trouble with the W.C. It was never done well and what the man did last time evidently wore off. Charles was here just now and asked him to go to your agent and see if he would not have his man come to redo the job. The trouble is the same as when you were here. So you will know. It is not serious & dear, so please do not let this rob you of sleepless nights.

The man from the telephone company was here. He dictated the kind of letter the company would want from you to make it bonafide that the telephone continues under your name until the 15th of Dec. I explained to him that as much as I am paying the bills and am obliged to pay the rental of the phone for the balance of the year there was no need to worry yet. But he insisted on the letter from you, so I inclose the text.

Charles has just come back to say that Jyles will do nothing unless you write him. So will you please do it. I should not worry you if it were a little job. But I rather think that the sticking the plumb line paste on the door it is called has smeared over the toilet has come loose. The door when it is pushed goes out on the side with the result that the door is a very strong order. So it has got to be fixed.

I got an assignment from my London publisher C.W. Dineall to do or material in London for a book on the new educational movement. I had not much hope I should get a visa on the strength of that. So I wrote him to the nearest office. Of course I was refused. Writers do not come under the rubric of the Non-Intervention force. Yes, if I could prove that I am on a news paper staff regularly employed they would give me a visa. He suggests the Daily Mail, Post or Telegraph. Can you imagine me wanting to represent them or they giving me a visa. I feel sick that I have to give up Spain for the present. But what with my knee and my teeth I cannot climb the Pyrenees much as I long to return to Spain. From Paris I will go to St Tropez for two or three weeks. I must get some sunbaths. My doctor insists sunbaths would help me. So I am going. It will be grand to see you again on my lovely Terrace. Perhaps N.D would want to come.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

771

The Emma Goldman Papers

861029125

[Letter, 19]37 July 28 [London to Martha Gordon Crotch, Venice, France] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4158

You will never guess who will be in the flat while I am away. The fine
anish friend whom you used to like. His hazardous trip I am happy to say
d not come off. So he is very much alive and kicking. He has to be here
or sometime, anybe even until the end of the year. So this worry is off you
nd and mind. When I return which is probably going to be the 15th of Sep
will share the flat with me. It will relive me of having to carry the
ole expenses myself. Winnie will continue to come every day and she will
ake V's breakfast for him. For the rest he will eat out. I am no end of
elieved that I do not have to move the furniture and you do not have to
ose anything waiting for a new tenant.

And I heard from Ethel Mannin yesterday that a wire from
openhagen informed her that Nedie is ill in an Hospital. He went there o
only a week ago yesterday. Poor Ethel must have been in an awful state.
he flew to Kopenhagen. I sent her a wire to let her know I am with
her in thought. I am waiting for a letter or wire to know how serious
series condition is. The man does not seem strong enough to with
stand a fever illness. He is a vegetarian and he eats little. He looked
ill when he left.

I wonder did Nellie already see you. Ethel got a letter
of introduction for Nellie to the manager of the Metropole in Monte Carlo.
The very man Nellie wanted to see. I forwarded the letter to her. I hope s
she will get the job.

Write me c/o Mollie Alperine 23, rue des Volontaires
Paris XV. I will be there the fifth. As I already wrote you I will
bring your silver with us except two knives, forks and tea spoons which I
must leave for V. And also some of your towels. I can give you some sheets
and pillow cases from my linen because I must leave some here.

With much love.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

772

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929421

[Letter] 1937 July 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Abramovich. — 4 p. ; 25 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20608

СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИЙ ВЕСТНИК — LE COURRIER SOCIALISTE

FONDÉE EN 1921

R. Abramovich *to Le Courrier Socialiste*

141, Rue Broca, bat' 11

(Square Albin Cachot)

PARIS (XIII^e)

Téléph. : PORT-ROYAL 05-25

Chèques Postaux Paris 359-84
R. C. Seine 576.974

28 июля 1937 193

Дружески
61-120

Дор. тов. Эмма Гольдман !

Разрешите мне обратиться к вам по делу, для меня лично чрезвычайно тяжелому и горестному. Вы, м.б., слышали, что мой сын, инженер Шарк Рейн, таинственным образом и бесследно исчез в ночь с 9-го на 10-ое апреля с.г. в Барселоне, куда он поехал в качестве волонтера, для того чтобы работать на военной фабрике, организованной СНТ.

По соображениям международного контроля на франц. границе он формально объявил себя журналистом, корреспондентом нью-йоркского "Форвертса" и стокгольмского "Социалдемократа". Но он и по существу собирался написать работу об "Организации коллективизированной промышленности" в Каталонии и Испании, однако корреспондентом он никогда не был, и газетных статей не писал ни разу. Подчеркиваю это в виду обстоятельств, которые вы поймете из дальнейшего изложения.

Приехал он в Барселону 5-го марта, по приглашению Николая Сунделевича, (племянника Арона Сунд.), который этой фабрикой заведовал. Но так как фабрика, по испанскому обычаю, не была готова к сроку, то он пока занимался собиранием материала для своей литературной работы и ознакомлением с барселонскими условиями. Политически он принадлежал к левым немецким социалистам /он вырос в Германии и политически считал себя немцем/, но был сторонником единого и народного фронта и в качестве такового наладил сношения со всеми политическими группировками /немецкими / в Барселоне: с коммунистами, анархистами и исукон, стараясь, вместе с другими друзьями, создать "народный фронт" всей немецкой молодежи в Каталонии.

9-го апреля, после полуночи, он, попрощавшись со своими знакомыми, с которыми провел вечер в холле гостиницы "Континенталь", пошел к себе в комнату, в этой гостинице, а с тех пор бесследно исчез. Все его вещи, туалетные принадлежности, белье, бумаги, книги, все осталось нетронутым, его же самого нет, точно испарился.

Повидимому, он на минуту сошел вниз, на улицу, и там его кто-то арестовал, похитил или увез. Таких случаев исчезновения в Барселоне было немало. Но то, что отличает этот случай от других подобных, и делает его единственным в своем роде, это то,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

773

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Abramovich.—
4 p.; 25 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

— 2 —

20609

что через недели примерно после его таинственного и необъяснимо-го исчезновения, от него в Барселоне получились два письма, датированные 13 апреля и с почтовым штемпелем Мадрид, 14 апреля. Одно из этих писем /написанное по-русски/ было адресовано Николаю Сунделевичу, второе, по-французски, менеджеру отеля. В обоих письмах мой сын пишет, что по непредвиденным обстоятельствам вынужден на некоторое время отлучиться из Барселоны и сообщает, что „податель сего“ упишет счет в гостинице и тп.

Письма эти безусловны написаны рукой моего сына. Но стиль же безусловна дата „13“ подложна. Подложен и штемпель Мадрида. Нечего говорить, что никакого „подателя сего“ не явилось, и что письма доставлены были почтой, 16 апреля, в момент, когда об исчезновении сына стали уже писать в газетах, и полиция его усердно разыскивала. То была последняя весточка от моего сына, и больше ничего с ним никто не слыхал.

Не подлежит ни малейшему сомнению, что сын мой не был ни убит хулиганами на улице в ночь 9-го апреля, ни застрелен ночным патрулем, ни раздавлен в темноте автомобилем и тп. Во всех этих случаях не было бы писем. Не был он, повидимому, арестован /какой бы то ни было государственной полицией, ибо и в этом случае не было бы фальсифицированных писем. Значит, он был похищен какой-то политической организацией для каких-то политических целей. Таких организаций в Барселоне в то время были две: ПСУК /или ГПУ/ или анархисты.

По целому ряду соображений, не только теоретических, и по целому ряду собранных мною в Барселоне и Мадриде улики /правда, все косвенных, прямых доказательств найти не удалось/, я пришел к заключению, которого держусь и сейчас, что виновниками похищения /или убийства/ моего сына являются коммунисты /ГПУ при посредстве немецких коммунистов, с которыми мой сын поддерживал связи по линии „единого фронта“/. Гипотезу об анархистах я все время отбрасывал и по отсутствию всяких политических мотивов, и благодаря личному впечатлению, которое на меня произвели разговоры с анархистами в Барселоне /я беседовал с Сухи и о Эскалэ, особенно с последним, который ведь в анархистской полиции играл огромную роль в то время/.

Однако, с тех пор я узнал ряд деталей, которые, скажу откровенно, несколько поколебали мою прежнюю уверенность в том, что анархисты не могли быть виновниками несчастия с моим сыном. Я изложу Вам их со всей откровенностью:

Во-первых, оказалось, что был политический мотив, который мог вызвать вражду со стороны анархистов по отношению к моему сыну. Примерно в то время, как мой сын поселился в Барселоне, в штокгольмском „Социалдемократене“ появилась неподписанная корреспонденция из Испании, которая взваливала на анархистов ответственность за падение Малаги. Статья эта вызвала среди испанских анархистов большое негодование и литературную полемику с их стороны. Так как мой сын формально являлся корреспондентом Соц.Дем., то мыслимо, что некоторые горячие головы из анарх. сочли его автором этой статьи и решили ему отомстить. Когда я, будучи в Барселоне

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

774

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929421

[Letter] 1937 July 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Abramovich. — 4 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 3 -

20610

говори об этой возможности с Сухи, то он на это мне возражал, что лидеры партии знали о том, что автор статьи не мой сын, а что касается массы, то кто-же из них понимает по-шведски и следит за Соц-деи? Мне это тогда показалось убедительным, но теперь я знаю, что Сухи мне не сказал всей правды, хотя сам ее знал. Сказывается, что в Барселоне в то время была группа немецко-шведских анархо-синдикалистов, которые очень следила за шведской печатью, и среди которой были люди, способные на все. Шейер, знакомый Штейнберга, писал ему еще 23-го апреля, что члены этой нем.-швед. группы Фредер и Борс, уголовные типы, способные на любое преступление. С другой стороны я теперь узнал, что Фредер имел отношение к анархистской „Инвестигасион“...

Затем, тот же Шейер, который хорошо осведомлен о барселонско-полицейских делах, глубоко убежден, что мой сын был не похищен, а арестован испанской полицией „Групо д'Информасион“. /Контр-разведкой/ помещавшейся на ул. Паласа 24, и во главе которой в то время находился анархист Гомес Император. Правда, Шейер думает, что арест моего сына был произведен по распоряжению Антонова-Овсеенко, у которого Император находился будто бы на жаловании. Это более чем вероятно, но не исключена ведь и возможность, что мой сын был взят Гомес Императором по просьбе Фредера и компании и затем расстрелян, как „подозрительное лицо“, занимавшееся клеветой на анархистов. Такое предположение не является невозможным, это должен был признать и сам Шейер. Признан ли это и видный представитель СНТ, с которым я беседовал только вчера.

Возможность не является уверенностью или даже вероятностью. Я и сейчас еще на 90% убежден, что это дело рук большевиков, а не анархистов. Но факт, что Сухи мне не сказал тогда всей правды, меня несколько беспокоит. Беспокоит меня и еще один факт: Ускорза, которого вы, наверное тоже лично знаете /Горбун, калека на костылях, бывший председатель ФАИ/ и который произвел на меня впечатление очень интеллигентного и искреннего человека, уверял меня, что он /и его полиция/ не имели никакого отношения к делу моего сына. Я ему верю и сейчас. Но он завис свято обещал мне при процании пустить в ход все свои могущественные связи, чтобы узнать что-нибудь о виновниках преступления. Однако, несмотря на все запросы, он мне ничего не сообщил. Не сообщил ли мне ничего и по поводу Императора. Однако, как бы ни изменилось сейчас его положение /я знаю, что он теперь сам наполовину скрывается/, он во всяком случае полностью осведомлен о прежней деятельности Императора и коммунистической ЧК. Почему же он не выполняет своего обещания? Потому-ли /как думает Шейер/ что он боится сейчас разоблачить большевиков, или же потому, что убедился, что какие-то анархисты причастны к этому преступлению и не хочет в этом признаться?!

Вот сомнения, которые меня мучают. Не знаю, как думать, но вы, тов. Гольдман, меня наверное поймете. Многие, анархисты и не-анархисты, мне говорят: какое Вам дело, кто в действительности виноват? Большевики ведь могли это сделать, ведь они делают и худшие дела. Так ведите против них кампанию. Я на эту точку зрения не могу стать ни по соображениям моральным, ни по

775

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929421

[Letter] 1937 July 28, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / R. Abramovich. — 4 p. ; 25 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20611

тем более по мотивам целесообразности. Представьте себе, что я и сам поведу резкую кампанию против коммунистов за преступление против моего сына, и вовлеку весь наш интернационал, и часть демократической печати в эту кампанию, а затем вдруг большевики /полиция у них хорошая, и связи в Испании неограниченные! /предъявят неопровержимые доказательства, что убийство моего сына дело рук анархистов! Вы представляете себе, что весь одиум нашей же поднятой кампании обратится тогда против анархистов и социалистов, "клеветующих" на большевиков, а престиж невинно оклеветанных коммунистов необычайно подымется, и им простят по этому поводу много преступлений, уже бесспорно совершенных ими!

Нет, я не могу идти на кампанию против большевиков и ~~иных~~ немецких коммунистов, пока я не имею абсолютной уверенности, что анархисты тут не при чем.

Эту уверенность можете мне дать только вы, глубокоуважаемая тов. Гольдман! Вам я позволю без колебаний, а вы в свою очередь, сейчас единственный человек, которому ваши единомышленники в Испании не посмеют сказать неправду. И вот в чем моя просьба, просьба отца и товарища: запросите немедленно и в самой категорической форме ваших товарищей в Барселоне, в особенности Эскору, что они знают по делу моего сына, и дадут ли они вам свое слово революционеров, что анархисты к этому делу непричастны ни в какой форме?

Если они вам это слово дадут, а вы его сообщите мне, то у меня не будет больше никаких колебаний и сомнений. Это мне важно не только по политическим мотивам. Если мой сын пал жертвой дикости Эскора и ко, то он был убит: ничего другого они с ним сделать не могли. Если же его похитили большевики, то вряд ли им было интересно его убивать. Наоборот, тогда они держат его где-нибудь, в Испании или России живым, как заложника. Поймите, тов. Гольдман, что это означает для меня и для моей жены знать, жив ли наш сын или нет. Если его нет в живых, я предпочитаю это знать, чем терзаться в бесплодных предположениях. От нашего ответа будет зависеть отчасти и решение этого вопроса.

Итак, я жду подтверждения получения этого письма, а затем буду терпеливо ждать и ответа по существу, зная, что это потребует некоторого времени. Мне лишнее вам говорить, что, если мой сын погиб в результате изуверства маленькой группы анархистов, я не сделаю этой драмы поводом для политической кампании против анархизма, испанского или в целом. Если барселонские товарищи скрывают от меня правду по этой причине, то вы можете дать им от моего имени все нужные заверения: я прежде всего хочу знать правду!

Крепко жму вашу руку.

С тов. приветом

R. Abramovich

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

776

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 28, New York [to] E[mma] Goldman, London / Alfred A. Knopf. —
1 p. ; 24 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

July 28, 1937

Miss Goldman -
Dear ~~Mrs. Colton~~,

Many thanks for your kind letter of July 20.

I certainly admire your energy and enthusiasm and am
glad to help you all I can. I am accordingly enclosing
a letter which I trust will suit your purposes.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Knopf
Alfred A. Knopf

Mrs. E. G. Colton
c/o Mr. Ralph Barr
106 Coningham Road
London, W. 12

b

777

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 28, New York [to] E[mma] G[oldman], London / Alfred A. Knopf. — 1 p. ; 17 × 11 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

18145



ALFRED A. KNOPF, Inc.
301 MADISON AVENUE
New York

July 28, 1937

Dear Mrs. Colton,

It is good news indeed that you intend to go to Spain to gather material on Spanish feminism. Naturally, we would be interested in, and I think eager to publish, such a work from your pen. Do keep me in touch with your progress.

With kind regards and all good wishes, I

am

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Knopf

Mrs. E. G. Colton
c/o Mr. Ralph Barr
106 Coningham Road
London, W. 12

778

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 28] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 11 × 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



HOTEL COSMOPOLITE
KØBENHAVN

Red

17307

TELEGRAM-ADRESSE:
COSMOPOLITE, KØBENHAVN
TELE. CENTRAL 33

Dear Ethel, thank you for your wire; such gestures of sympathy are comforting at a time like this. I intended writing you. I rushed off on Tues. morning by plane as at three that morning I was awakened by two cables, one from Reg saying he was going into hos. & one from his dr telling me to ring Copen. in the morning. When I rang I was told R had had two haemorrhages. I was terribly shocked as he had never had a cough except a slight one a few weeks back. But when I got here I knew there was no mistake. He coughs all the time and spits blood all the time. Don't tell any of the comrades this, Emma, please, as we don't want it gossiped about all over the party that Reg is t.b. and people taking a morbid interest, or staying away for fear of infection (though chiefly we dread the morbid interest. Its a fine hos. here, very modern and lovely gardens full of roses, not a bit like our dreary London hospitals right in the middle of noisy streets. But its terribly expensive for foreigners - over a £ a day! And I have to pay 400 Kronen (about £20) deposit. And the plane fare was £12.10. and I must bring him back first-class the dr. says - so I think I am justified in taking from that money I had hitherto refused to touch for other than political purposes, don't you? In fact I simply can't manage if I don't, for as you know all this couldn't have come at a worst time, either financially or from the point of view of work. However I don't care about anything now except getting him well again; the drs

779

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 28] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 11 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

- 2 -

17308

here say it can be done. Oh, before I forget R wants you to tell Feener that he won't be able to speak at the summer school. He isn't to work for some months. I intend asking Laurence Housman whose flat R is sharing if he will make R an allowance of two or three pounds a week for a few months - don't you think so, Emma? LH is raving in over £200 a week from Victoria Regina (that bloody play that makes people go away feeling all soft and sentimental ~~and~~ royalty and the poor old Queen! Bah! LH with his £200 a week professing to be so fond of 'dear Reticio', yet taking back the £20 R borrowed from him when he was writing his India book, and charging him a share of the rent and all of the electric light bill at the flat, and sending us £100 only for the Spanish food ship project! I suppose he will write back and say he has many commitments already; but Christ as though I haven't - and no £200 a week to meet em with! Wells wouldn't send me anything for the Spanish exhibition because of his 'commitments'. They make me vomit, all these people.)

I can't plan very far ahead, Emma, but I was wondering about yr villa for the winter, me renting it from you if you are away for Reg and me, or if you are there perhaps coming with R and as paying-guests? I'd rent it for the winter and perhaps Jan. as I hope to get to Africa in Feb (only its no use trying to make plans very definitely) As soon as R ~~stops~~ ^{stops} bleeding I am to bring him home first-class and shall take him to the cottage; I must go to my little girl in Austria the middle of Aug. and I then thought he could go to his family for a week or two; when Jean returns to Austria (in Sept. I hope) then I thought perhaps we could come to yr villa..but of course its all very vague, just me turning over in my mind what should best be done.

Will you send me this Friday's New Statesman Emma? I am hoping they have run R's letter about that abominable review of his book.

780

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 28] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 11 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

-3-

17309

Darling Emma, I wrote a pc to Lean and Dawson's before I left giving them this address to send the acc to you, and giving them yr number in case there was any query about the ticket. I hope you have it safely now, dear. Alas, that I cannot come to see you off as I had intended.

Well, dear, let me know that the ticket is alright, and what happens at the meeting Fri. Don't let Fenner twist you or MW subtly cajole you into compromising about the film - the point of the film is VIVA LA FAI, and those that can't accept that can have nothing to do with it - we don't want them and their blasted bourgeois democratic ideas. I told R about our stand over this and how reactionary F had been, and he reminded me how 'diplomatic' Fenner had been at our Easter Conference when R was attacking the United Front, and how sick we had both been with him then (much as we like him personally) and how we'd felt we simply couldn't remain in the party.. Fancy uniting here with a party whose colleagues are shooting our own comrades in Spain, and which supports those murders ! Its incredible ! How fantastic it must seem to outsiders who understand the situation ! They must think us insane, I should think !

Tell me about the leaflet and everything, Emma, and let me have yr Paris address. I must now write to Laurence Housman and a few more letters, then go and get the 400 kroon, and before going to the hos. try to get in a bit of work - I've got two stories commissioned if only I can get down to them, and the money will be a help. But just now I feel so exhausted. It was a very rough flight and I was horribly sick. I can't seem to eat since I got those cables and have a perpetual headache. Life deals pretty stiffly with some of us, doesn't it ? I don't know how much more

781

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 28] Copenhagen [to] Emma [Goldman, London] / Ethel [Mannin]. — 4 p. ; 11 x 18 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17310

fight there is left in me. I've had that suicide to live through, and then those five years of living abroad, stormy unhappy years that ended in being deserted; then a bit of peace with Reg, and now this at the end of the two years, and the feeling that the happy days are gone for good...but its no use thinking along those lines. I guess for some of us life will always be a fight, politically and personally, and we'd better accept it like that. I think of you and Gaol and Sacha and the ultimate tragedy of that; I think of poor Doris Zhukov and his series of tragedies... and wonder how anyone has the courage to have a child deliberately, knowing the things life can do to us all!

Send me the New Statesman, dear, and let me know you have the ticket safely, and tell me about the Fri. meeting and the leaflet, and send yr Paris address, and tell me what you think of the villa idea....

My love to you, dear.

E. Goldman

The Emma Goldman Papers

870925513

[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman].— 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17311

July 29th 37

Ethel, my Darling. What a dreadful thing to happen. My heart goes out to you and Regie. My dear, my dear I feel I ought not to accept the fare to Paris now that you need every penny. And even more because I should remain in London and when you bring Regie back help you nurse him. You know I am a trained nurse though years have passed since I worked at this profession. But I still know enough especially about tubercal cases. If only my damned knee did not so handicap me I would remain whether you want me or not. In my present condition I could not get about much so I would probably not be of much good. But I want so much to be of help to you and Regie I just hate to leave. I know I will have no rest or joy with your having to take care of Regie and slave at your writing besides.

Dearest, let you my cottage. Of course you are welcome to it. I would certainly not accept any pay. But the winter would be impossible for Regie it would kill him. The frightful mistral which blows for ten days at a stretch and the rains are not for anyone with lung trouble. August and Sept. would be great. I wish you could come and bring Regie. It would be grand to have you both and take care of you both to leave you free to do your writing. Since you can not come for August perhaps you can for Sept. I hope fervently Regie will have improved sufficiently to stand the long journey South. I will be overjoyed to have you both.

Use the money you have set aside. My dearest how can you have a moments doubt that you have the right to use it. Thank heaven we are not such cold machines who for the sake of the whole destroy the part. That is the merit of Anarchism that it lays such stress on the individual, the unit of society. It does so because it knows that there can be no change in the world unless the aggregate is made up of free units, unless we cherish every free life. Especially such lives that have much to give to the world, you and Regie and some others. So do not permit your conscience to worry you about the fund you have set aside for the ship or for whatever else that might be needed. Everything should be done to get Regie well. Never mind other things. In point of truth the help our heroic comrades in Spain need is not money but the active solidarity of labor. Had the workers of England and France declared a General Strike in aid of the Spanish Revolution ~~then~~ ^{France} would have been finished long ago. But this rotten conscience money raised in England is like all charity. It is like bringing the unfortunate Basque children to England a country that has no understanding for or feeling with these high spirited, revolutionary children. Now they already talk of them as "bad children" to be sent back to Bilbao.

783

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to] Ethel [Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

My dearest do not fret about having to touch the money for Regie's needs. It must be gotten well first of all. Nothing else should count in your estimation.

What you tell me about Housman does not surprise me. That has been my experience in England all the years of my coming here. Not that I have ever approached anybody for material help for me though there were times when I was absolutely strapped and did not know where to turn, or who to get my rent. But whenever I tried to raise anything for the political victims of Stalin, or the children in Spain the response was meagre and in addition I always had to listen to the many "commitments" they had to meet. Can you wonder what your generous spirit means to me. As I have told you you are the first to show ~~me~~ humanity, ~~me~~ comradeship and friendship. I tell you it put new life into me to know there is such a being in this this blood freezing and callous country. Darling you seem to hate America and Americans. But I can tell you there is no such self-sufficiency even among the middle class. And as to the more or less socially conscious people their readiness to help is large and without reserve. But that is beside the question here. I only know that outside of you and the Taylors my Bristol friends and they are ultra Scotch I have never seen even ordinary willingness to respond. And it is this that has made my work here sheer torture.

Of course, I will tell no one about Regie's condition. Their sympathy wouldn't go further than words anyhow. And I am sick of words and of idle sympathy. As, dear your agent called me up to say he had reserved a berth for me but it was an upper. I could not face that so I said it does not matter if I go a day or two later. He phoned again to say he had a lower for Wed, the 4th. But now I feel I should stay at least until you are back, until I have seen you and Regie again. I suppose there is no saying when he will be fit to travel. Of course you must not take move him too soon. Let me know. I am sure I could cancel the ticket at the last moment if it will be a short delay. So keep me informed.

Ralph Barr just came back to say the New Statesman is not out until tomorrow. I will of course send it to you. Rest assured my darling that no one will "cajole" me to presenting the film under ~~my~~ camouflage. Fenner too has drawn in his horns. And Monica does not matter. I mean she is welcome to withdraw if it is too hot for her. I will write you after our session tomorrow.

Yes, dearest life for some of us is one continuous battle, one shock after another. But these shocks are our test as revolutionists. ~~None~~ No one who has not withstood them, who has not gone through fire and come out unscathed amounts to anything as far as revolutionary work is concerned. Knowing what you have already gone through I feel confident that you will be brave and that you will meet whatever emergencies you will that will come your way. As you say yourself "VIVA LA PAI" Long live the eternal struggle for freedom, for real social kinship.

Write me again soon please. I will tell Fenner that Regie will not be able to speak at the summer school.

I hold you close to my heart. With love. Love to Regie and with all my being I wish him speedy recovery.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17313

July 29th 37.

Dearest, I was in a gr at hirry this morning. Ralph B. was waiting to take my letter to ~~post~~ the Post Office to send it Avion. Now I have a fresh moment so I want to write you again. I want you to know that I am with you and Regie with all the intensity of my being. I wish I could be with you to help, comfort and see to it that you can do your work. I am ~~truly~~ really frightfully concerned. Darling you must not hesitate to let me know whether you need me, whether I could help nurse Regie. I don't have to go to Paris the 4th. I could be with you and R. until he is better and can go to his parents. If he were strong enough to travel I could take him to St. Tropez when you go to your daughter. Then you could come on to my place. Of course it is most essential that Regie should be quiet, get the care he needs now and not be moved or undergo exertion until the doctor thinks it is safe for him to go. I hope you will be able to write me that Regie is improving. I ~~must~~ won't have peace until I hear from you. If by Tuesday you will know whether you can move Regie and whether you need my help in any way I could cancel my trip to Paris. Just now I do not care for anything so much as to be near you in this crucial moment when Regie is so ill and you are harassed by the need of drudging on with your writing.

I induce C.W. Daniel who was once my publisher and Sasha's, got out a British edition of MY DISILLUSION KMT, and Sasha's PRISON MEMOIRS to give me an assignment for a book dealing with the new educational experiment in Catalonia. I thought I might get a visa with that. I was in the passport office yesterday. But they refused. They said the rules of the Non-intervention does not provide for authors. Journalists yes, if they are regularly employed on the Staff. "The Daily Mail for instance, or the Telegraph" the man said. It was all I could do to hold on to myself not to tell him who the hell wants to represent the Daily Mail, or the other sheets. Well, I spoke to Fenner about the matter and he said he would get a Labor M.P. to take up the matter. He also wrote to the Authors Club or whatever it is called. And Daniel will write to publishers and a lot of authors to protest against such discrimination. I had to laugh about the list of authors Fenner suggested, Shaw, Wells etc. You are on the list. I don't care whom Daniel will write to the main thing is to make a public and wide protest against the outrage to refuse a visa to an author, a British subject at that. You will probably hear from Daniel next week. I have no illusions about getting a visa. But I do not think it ought to be allowed to pass without protest and to let that Fascist Eden get away with it. Do you not think so.

As I wrote you Fenner changed his tone. He now wants our handling of the film to be ultra revolutionary. Its different as a Part

785

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 29 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p. ; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17314

member at a political Party Conference. But it certainly is insanity and the height of inconsistency to fight the Stalin murderous methods in Spain and go hand in glove with his satraps in England. That is the stupidity of politicians dearest. Well I think even the I.L.P will change their mind when they will see to what depth of depravity and barbarism the gang will go in Spain. Else they will have to be exposed as much as the Communists.

I too loath committees unless they consist of kindred and free spirits. So you need have no fears that I will permit anybody to dictate terms to me or to try to emasculate the film. Thou that is of course out of the question because the film speaks for itself. By the way, Ralph tells me that at last night's meeting where Fenner spoke of his visit to Spain he spoke very glowingly of the CNT. But said not a word about the FAI. I cannot imagine why he did it because the CNT and the FAI are inseparable. A new compromise I suppose. I could not go owing to the pain in my knee and I had no one to take me.

dear sweet child all this seems far away now with Regie so ill and you torn out from your home and your work worried I am sure so much that you are neglecting your own needs. Keep me informed please.

With my deepest love and devotion.

Love to Regie. I wish I knew if Karin Michaelis is at her estate in T. I would write her to go over to Copenhagen to see you. She is an old friend of mine and a very large generous soul.

786

The Emma Goldman Papers

870921020

[Letter, 19]37 July 30, London [to] Mariano [R.] Vázquez, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 27 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

12498

London July 30th 37.

Dear comrade Mariano Vazquez. I have given up hopes of hearing from the Comite "ational since it is full of two months that have I have written ~~and~~ *end* have sent you a long report of the work here without having received a line. I would not write again were it not for the fact that we have contacted a valuable trade union man who might prove of great help to us. I inclose the letter comrade Barr has received. You will see that his questions are most valuable and should be answered with care by our comrades who are competent to do, perhaps someone from the metal syndicate or textile or any that are still under control of the CNT Committees. I hope you will see to it that it is done at once. The man knows Spanish so you can see ~~that the letter is written to it that the reply is sent either to him~~ *or* direct or to comrade Ralph Barr 106 Coningham Rd London W.12. Some months ago you asked me to send such labor people as the writer of the letter. You failed to say how they might get into Spain. Now we have a chance to connect up with the organisation of the writer and through him with other workers bodies who would be of great help here in my work and also for your struggle. So I cannot impress upon your mind too stringly that you should attend to the inclosed letter at once. *W*

I had planned to go to Paris six weeks ago but had an accident which tied me to the house, a badly injured knee and torn ligaments. I am still far from well but I am going to Paris the 4th. I will be there ~~about~~ *about* until about the 15th, then go to the South of France for two weeks to cure the trouble of my knee. I understand A.S. who is in Sweden is coming to Paris I hope to meet him there and have a talk with him about my further work in England. He will report to you. I see no other way of reaching you since my letters remain unanswered. If you should decide to write me you can do so c/o Calve, Roca or Emilienne Morin. But it will have to be written in French as I will not be near the comrade who has translated my letter in this city. And my Spanish is still not good to understand everything I read.

Salud.

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 30, London [to] Mariano [R.] Vázquez[z, Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman].— 1 p. ; 24 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

4115

London July 30th 37.

Dear comrade Mariano Vaszque. I have given up hopes of hearing from the Comite National since it is full two months that have have written and have sent you a long report of the work here without having received a line. I would not write again were it not for the fact that we have contacted a valuable tradeunion man who might prove of great help to us. I inclose the letter comrade Barr has received. You will see that his questions are most valuable and should be answered with care by our comrades who are competent to do, perhaps someone from the metal syndicate or textile or any that are still under control of the CNT Committees. I hope you will see to it that it is done at once. The man knows Spanish so you can see ~~that the letter is in Spanish~~ to it that the reply is sent either to him direct or to comrade Ralph Barr 100 Coningman Rd London W.12. Some months ago you asked me to send such labor people as the writer of the letter. You failed to say how they might get into Spain. Now we have a chance to connect up with the organization of the writer and through him with other workers bodies who would be of great help here in my work and also for your struggle. So I cannot impress upon you mind too stringly that you should attend to the inclosed letter at once.

I had planned to go to Paris six weeks ago but had an accident which took me to the home, a badly injured knee and torn ligaments. I am still the same old but I am going to Paris the 4th. I will be there about until about the 15th then go to the South of France for two weeks to cure trouble of my knee. I understand A.S. who is in S adon is coming to Paris I hope to see him there and have a talk with him about my further work in England. He will report to you. I see no other way of reaching you since all letters are unanswered. If you should decide to write me you can do so by Marie, Rene or Emilienne Corin. But it will have to be addressed to London as I will not be near the comrade who has translated your letter in this city. and my Spanish is still not good to understand even being I am 1.

Sincerely,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

788

The Emma Goldman Papers

870929443

[Letter] 1937 July 30 [Spain? to] Emma [Goldman], London / A. Vidali Arabi. —
1 p. ; 24 x 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Londres 30/7/1937

DELEGACION CNT-FAI
LONDRES

Estimada camarada Emma; Salud:

Teniendo necesidad para
atender asuntos urgentes de mi cometido en Inglaterra, por cuen-
ta de la unidad de guerra a que pertenezco; te ruego me facili-
tes como prestamo a devolver tan pronto reciba fondos de mi
Departamento, la cantidad de libras esterlinas 21. (veintiuna)

Tuyo y de la Causa

A. Vidali Arabi

789

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1937 July 30, Barcelona [to] Emma Goldman, [London] / Mercedes [Composada]. — 1 p. ; 15 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

20652

**mujeres
libres**

Periódico de orientación social

Plaça Catalunya, 4 - Tel. 22050

BARCELONA 30 de julio de 1937

A Emma Goldman

Chere camarade Emma:

Seulement deux petits mots pour t'envoyer - par fin! - le document t'accreditant comme notre representante. Celui de l'Agrupacion nous ne te l'envoyons pas encore parce que bientôt - le mois prochain - nous aurons une nouvelle structuration nacional comprenant toutes nos Agrupaciones, et nous voulons te faire déléguée de la Federation qu'en sortira.

Je t'embrasse tres affectueusement. *Mercedes*

790

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1937 July 30, Barcelona to Emma Goldman, London (enclosure)] / [Mercedes Comaposada]. — 1 p. ; 17 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Mujeres Libres
Periódico de orientación social

Plaça Catalunya, 4 - Tel. 22050
BARCELONA

Le presente acredite a la companera Emma Goldman
corresponsal y representante de las "Publicaciones Mujeres
Libres" en Europa y Estados Unidos de América.

Barcelona, 1º de julio de 1937.

Por la Redacción,



M. Comaposada

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 20 × 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

17277

July 31st 37.

My dearest, No word from you to day. I hope it is not due to Regie's worse condition. Perhaps a letter will yet come. It is only 1.0/0 now, I am most anxious. I know you will not mind my speaking to my physician about Regie. I naturally did not mention the name but asked about such a case. He is a modern man and a good Anarchist. I knew his judgment is good. He told me he would advise Switzerland. I myself fear that London will not be good for Regie. And neither will St Tropez. Venice would be preferable. It is high and it is a place for people with t.b. Once there would be Auntie to cheer Regie while you have to be with your little girl. But of course Switzerland is the place for the condition in its present stage. A nephew of mine, my beloved sister's son was cured in Switzerland. Like a damned fool he wasted his life and his great talent in the war. But his attack of t.b. happened some years before and his stay in Switzerland performed the miracle. Do you think I am taking too much liberty to suggest going there? It is my deep concern in Regie and my love for you dear that make me write as I do.

You will be glad to know that everybody liked your sketch for the folder, even Monica Whately. We must never give people as hopeless for our cause. Everybody felt a free showing for the Press and some of the "leaders" in various movements should be given some time in August. I made no objections because I know perfectly these people will not care for our film. It is just as well that Monica, Fenner and Sonia learn from their own experience. Besides we need one more free show for the people of the Academy, the Forum and Everman. They could not decide about the film unless they see it. So there is to be another free show and Ralph Barr will arrange it. The invitations will be sent out by Fenner, Sonia, Monica to their groups and I will or rather Ralph will cover the people who have responded to my appeal for the children and women. It has also been decided to organize the first public demonstration of the film in about the third week in Sept. I will be back then. You see my going to Spain is hopeless. And I would not have the patience to remain in St Tropez longer than about the tenth of Sept. So I hope to be here. We are to get either Conway, or the Friends Hall for that purpose and use the time between now and the third week in Sept to advertise our meeting as widely as possible. Meanwhile Fenner is to have the film for the I.L.P Summer School.

I had quite a shock yesterday. The man from Kodak who is doing the film and who had definitely assure me the price for the negative and positive would be 10.10 per thousand told me over the phone he had

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

792

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to Ethel Mannin, Copenhagen] / [Emma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 20 x 16 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

negative and positive would be £8.10 a thousand feet told me over the phone he had received the exact figures only yesterday and they are, don't faint darling, £168. Of course I told him he must be ~~wifkin~~ out of his mind or think ours is a commercial film. He will have to stick to the original price or he can keep the reproduction. Well, James Harrison went to Kodaks to day and everything is straightened out. We will not pay more than agreed upon and the man assured J.H we will have the finest sounding film of 16, m.m made. It may not be ready for Fenner this coming Weds.

it was £168 the man told me. I assure him he must be off his hind and that I certainly do not intend to pay any such hold up price. he came down from his high horse very quickly. He must have thought ours is a commercial film. I cannot explain such dealings in any other way. However everything is fixed now, we pay £42.10 for the first film and £35 for an additional we want to have. It will probably not be ready for the I.L.P Summer School next Wed. But they will have it soon after.

Your agent sent me the ticket and berth. I can hardly believe I'll travel in such state. My knee is very grateful to you my dearest. I am now waiting to hear what you intend to do. I cannot bear to go away with your in such trouble and anxiety and Regie so ill. Please write me soon.

New Statesman goes to day.

With loving greetings to you my Bear and also to Regie.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

793

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726203

[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman]. —
2 p.; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23689

July 31st 37

My dear Emmy.

I am so relieved to learn that Modest has sent the money. ~~That~~
Not that I doubted he would. I only thought he might have sent it to Nice
and it would delay you. My dear, dear Emmy you must never wait until you
are without a sou and in debt. You must always leave yourself enough for
a cable. How many times ~~xxxxxxx~~ have Modest and I told you that you should
feel free to turn to him when you are in desperate need. Modest outside of
myself was Sasha's oldest friend and has always responded to every call
Sasha has ever made on him. And I am certain Modest will do the same with you.
It is true he is no longer so ready with money. Especially this year when
he had such high doctor bills, hospital and medicine. But no matter how
short Modest is he can still spare about enough to keep you from starving.
It is not as if you are not trying to get work. But Modest knows the diff-
culty not only you but millions have he knows you are ill most of the
times and he would never, never let you down. Besides he agreed with me in
one of his recent letters that he ought to send you a monthly allowance
that would take away the insecurity from you. But you know how he is, he sim-
ply cannot do the regular thing. He'd rather waste money a cables. Anyway, you
will simply have to make up your mind to send him a cable before every
sou is gone. Even if he will send you only twenty five dollars at a time
you could manage in addition to the ten the Fr. Arb. St. sends you. Really
dear you must not permit false pride to stand in the way. It is all unne-
cessary with Modest. About the check I sent you tear it up. No use having it
lie around since you do not need it now.

I hope you will not have trouble with that neighbor in
St Cloud. You once told me that one neighbor had been very nasty had
threatened you and Sasha as Anarchists. I hope it is not the same. If she
kind then that is the best thing you could do go to her for a week. No doubt
you have strained yourself carrying the machine though portables are not
supposed to weigh more than six pounds. I don't remember how heavy the new
one is that you have got. In any event it cannot be so heavy to have injured
your inside. I hope not my dear. By the way I am bringing you a ribbon and
some carbon.

I am leaving Wed not Monday. I still have much to do and I can
not do much in the present condition of my knee. It is still very painful
and tires me frightfully if I am on my feet too long. Of course my dear
I will get in touch with you at your hotel, or St Cloud. Send me a line or
Mollie to say where you will be the latter part of ~~xx~~ this week, Friday or

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

794

The Emma Goldman Papers

880726203

[Letter, 19]37 July 31 [London to] Emmy [Eckstein, Paris] / [Emma Goldman].—
2 p.; 28 x 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

23690

Saturday. ~~xx~~ I cannot climb stairs nor walk far but we will get together
somewheres where we can be alone.

Do take a little rest and do not worry so. Above all
you must never again wait until you are so frantic with worry. There is no
earthly need for it my dear. Modest is as devote to you as he was to
Sasha he will and he wants to help you and keep you from material worry.

Affectionately.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

795

The Emma Goldman Papers

881010261

[Letter] 1937 July 31, London [to] M[ariano R.] Vázquez, [Valencia, Spain] / [Emma Goldman]. — 1 p. ; 28 x 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

25272



31 de Julio de 1937

querido camarada M. Vázquez: Salud:

Ya tengo perdidas las esperanzas de que me escriba el C.N. pues hace mas de dos meses que les escribi incluyendo una memoria referente al trabajo realizado por mi en Inglaterra y esta es la fecha sin que haya tenido noticias. No escribiría nuevamente si no fuese porque hemos establecido contacto con un valioso elemento de una "Trade Union" quien nos puede ser de gran provecho. Acornpañó para tu gobierno la carta que de dicho elemento ha recibido el camarada Barr. Vera por las preguntas que en ella hace son de verdadero interes y deberian ser contestadas con cuidado y por persona competente, bien del de la Metalurgia o del arte Textil.

El autor de dicha carta conoce el idioma español así es que podeis contestarle con vuestro idioma, bien directamente o al cuidado del camarada Ralph Barr, 106, Coningham Rd. London, W.12. Hace algunos meses que me interesastes enviase gente del Partido Laborista como el autor de la indicada carta y ahora tenemos la oportunidad de entablar relaciones con la organizacion de este camarada y por su mediacion con otros centros obreros que serian una gran ayuda para mi en mi trabajo aqui y tambien para vuestra lucha, por lo que te ruego prestes la mayor atencion a esta carta y no dejes el asunto de la mano.

Yo tenia pensado ir a Paris hace seis semanas, pero con motivo de un pequeño accidente tuve que aplazarlo y aunque todavia no me encuentro bien del todo, estoy decidida a emprender el viaje el día 4 de Agosto, donde pienso permanecer hasta el día 15 para luego trasladarme al sur de Francia por dos semanas haber si logro restablecerme.

Tengo entendido que A.S. que esta ahora en Suecia pasará por Paris, espero poderme entrevistar con el y tratar sobre mi futuro trabajo en Inglaterra. Una vez que te haya el enterado de lo hablado en nuestra conversacion podrias escribirme a Paris por mediacion de Galvez, Roca o Emilienne Morin. Pero habreis de contestarme en frances pues alli de momento no cuento con quien me traduzca el español.

Fraternalmente tuya y de la Revolucion

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

796

The
Emma
Goldman
Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 40

Correspondence

April 1, 1937, to July 31, 1937

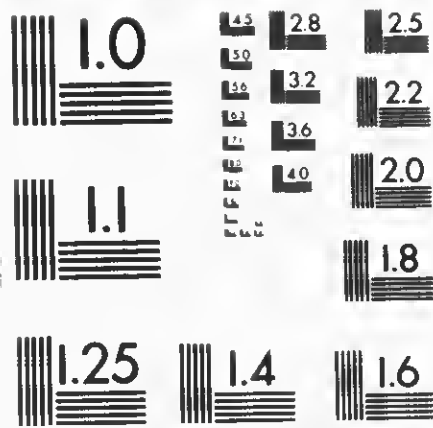
Edited by
Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
and
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia

Cambridge, England

16X



END

